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II

# CORPUS BASILICARUM CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS OF ROME

(IV - IX Cent.)

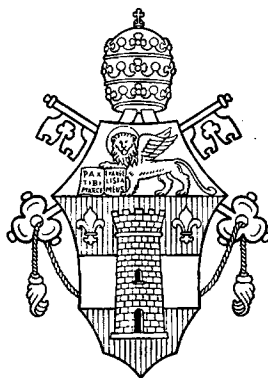
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SPENCER CORBETT

VOL. II



1959

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI  
ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA  
ROMA — VIA NAPOLEONE III, I

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
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HENRICO JOSI  
AMICO OPTIMO  
ET  
IN ERVENDIS VRBIS ROMAE  
CHRISTIANIS ANTIQVITATIBVS  
SODALI



CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIST  
OF ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY QUOTED WORKS<sup>1</sup>

A) CORRECTIONS

- ARMELLINI, *Chiese*, 1891, see: ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, 1942.  
 CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monumenta*, 1741, read: *Vetera Monimenta*, 1690-1699.  
 LANCIANI, *Itinerarium Einsiedlense*, read: *Einsidlense*.  
 LANCIANI, *F.U.*, read: *F.U.R.*  
*Am. Jour. Arch.*, read: *AJA*

B) ADDITIONS

- |                                              |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, <i>Chiese</i>           | — ARMELLINI, MARIANO, <i>Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX</i> , nuova ed. di CARLO CECCHELLI, Roma, 1942.                                                            |
| BOLDETTI, <i>Cimiteri</i>                    | — BOLDETTI, MARC'ANTONIO, <i>Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi cristiani di Roma</i> , Roma, 1720.                                                |
| BOURQUE, <i>Sacramentaires</i> .             | — BOURQUE, EMMANUEL, <i>Etude sur les sacramentaires romains</i> , Città del Vaticano, 1948.                                                                               |
| DEICHMANN, <i>Frühchristliche Kirchen</i> .  | — DEICHMANN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM, <i>Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom</i> , Basel, 1948.                                                                                       |
| FERRARI, <i>Monasteries</i> .                | — FERRARI, GUY, <i>Early Roman monasteries. Notes for the history of the monasteries and convents in Rome from the V through the X century</i> , Città del Vaticano, 1957. |
| FERRUA, <i>Epigrammata Damasiana</i> .       | — FERRUA, ANTONIO, <i>Epigrammata Damasiana</i> , ( <i>Studi di Antichità Cristiana</i> , 23) Roma, 1942.                                                                  |
| HUELSEN-EGGER, <i>Heemskerk</i> .            | — HÜLSEN, CHRISTIAN and EGGER, HERMANN, <i>Die römischen Skizzenbücher des Martin van Heemskerk</i> , Berlin, 1913-16.                                                     |
| LANCIANI, <i>Ancient Rome</i> .              | — LANCIANI, RODOLFO, <i>Ancient Rome in the light of recent discoveries</i> , London, 1897.                                                                                |
| LANCIANI, <i>New Tales</i> .                 | — LANCIANI, RODOLFO, <i>New Tales of old Rome</i> , Boston and New York, 1902.                                                                                             |
| <i>Liber Pontificalis (L.P.)</i> .           | — <i>Le Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. LOUIS DUCHESNE, Paris, 1889; <i>Supplément</i> , 1957.                                                                                |
| LUGLI, <i>Monumenti</i> .                    | — LUGLI, GIUSEPPE, <i>I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio</i> , I-III, Roma, 1930-38. <i>Supplemento</i> , 1940.                                                        |
| MARANGONI, <i>Cose gentilesche</i> .         | — MARANGONI, GIOVANNI, <i>Delle cose gentilesche e profane trasportate per uso e adornamento delle chiese</i> , Roma, 1744.                                                |
| FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, <i>Itinerarium</i> . | — MARIANO DA FIRENZE, <i>Itinerarium Urbis Romae</i> , ed. ENRICO BULLETTI, ( <i>Studi di Antichità Cristiana</i> , 2), Roma, 1930.                                        |

(1) See Vol. I, pp. VII ff.

- MARTINELLI, *Roma ricercata*. — MARTINELLI, FIORAVANTI, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito con tutte le curiosità che in essa si trovano tanto antiche come moderne*, Roma, 1677.
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- Diss. Pont. Accad.* (= *Atti, ser. I and II*). — *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*.
- Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.* — *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
- Mem. Pont. Accad.* (= *Atti, ser. III*). — *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*.
- Rendic. Pont. Accad.* (= *Atti, ser. IV*). — *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*.
- Papers Brit. School*. — *Papers of the British School at Rome*.
- Röm. Mitt.* — *Roemische Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.

## P R E F A C E

The preface to this, the second volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum*, must of necessity begin with a postscript to the first volume. To a large degree this postscript has inevitably become a self-critique.

Some of the shortcomings of the first volume were caused by circumstances beyond anyone's control. Publication was interrupted by the vicissitudes of the war and the postwar years, and thus dragged on from 1937 to 1956. Also, while the publication of the first three fascicules was guaranteed by the munificence of Monsignor J. P. Kirsch, the late rector of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archeology, the financing of their preparation was based entirely on what little the author was able to raise from various sources. Only the preparation of the fourth fascicule rested on a sounder financial basis, due largely to the generosity of the *American Philosophical Society*. However, the plates for the entire volume had been printed prior to 1937. To bring the plates up to date and reprint them was impossible. In one case, that of S. Giorgio in Velabro, I was able to insert a small revised plan into a page of the text; in other cases, written revisions were made in the text.

The surveys of buildings for the entire volume had been made and the drawings executed by a number of architects, some inexperienced. Only at a relatively late point was it possible to secure the services of so superior an architect as Wolfgang Frankl; but the bulk of his work for the *Corpus* will appear only in the present volume and in those following. As a result of these difficulties, the surveys included in the first volume contain occasional inaccuracies, and the drawings are very heterogeneous in quality and style.

While these matters were beyond the author's control, volume one contains a number of mistakes, particularly in its first fascicule, for which the author is responsible and which he apologetically acknowledges. To mention two significant errors which unfortunately have been accepted by others: S. Anastasia in the IV century was not cross-shaped, but presumably basilical in plan, as pointed out orally by Prof. B. M. Apollonj-Ghetti; the huge building near S. Agnese was not a *circus ambulatorius*, but a basilica, as suggested first by Prof. F. W. Deichmann and later confirmed by excavations.<sup>1</sup> A number of other mistakes are known to the author, both errors in observation or in judgments, and misprints. Others have probably escaped his attention, but are presumably known to both benevolent and malevolent readers. Also, the author blushes at the barbarous English used, particularly in the early parts of volume one. Writing a tongue not native is never easy and I can only hope for the English reader's indulgence; should he feel that my style has improved, I would feel satisfied. Originally I had intended to close the first volume with an appendix, correcting mistakes known to me and adding the results of new finds made by others and by myself over the past twenty years. However, much as I feel the need for such a list of *Addenda et Corrigenda*, I have decided to postpone it in favor of continuing the publication.

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(1) F. W. Deichmann, "Die Lage der Constantinischen Basilika der Heiligen Agnes an der Via Nomentana", *RAC* 22 (1946) pp. 213 ff; R. Perrotti, "Recenti ritrovamenti presso S. Costanza", *Palladio*, n.s. VI (1956), pp. 80 ff.



The publication of this second volume and of the following volumes appears under the joint imprint of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archeology and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. While part of the surveys and plans included in this second volume and in the following volumes had been prepared in years past with means provided by the American Philosophical Society, since 1956 the Phyllis B. Lambert Architectural Research and Publication Fund established at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, has generously provided the resources for the continued preparation of the work and for the printing of the English edition. Indeed, the English edition of the fourth fascicule of the first volume was financed by that Fund.

The title page of this second volume shows another change. The names of Mr. Wolfgang Frankl and Mr. Spencer Corbett appear together with my own name. I have been most fortunate in securing the collaboration of these two experienced archeological architects; both have been of immeasurable help not only in surveying the buildings and executing the plans, but also in assisting with the text. Their respective contributions will be indicated at the head of each chapter, as will be contributions of others which may occasionally occur. The responsibility for the over-all plan and for the major conclusions, however, must still rest with me and criticism should go to my address.

The plan of work, as outlined in the preface to the first volume, will be continued in this second volume and the following volumes, though with minor modifications. It has appeared advisable in certain cases to be more explicit in discussing and illustrating important monuments at the expense of less significant buildings. S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, which occupies nearly half the second volume, may well seem to have been dealt with at excessive length; still, the importance of the church and the need to include two excavation reports justify the length of the text and the large number of plates. On the other hand, it was decided to omit small catacomb chapels, such as S. Ippolito; they should follow in a supplementary volume. However, large cemeterial basilicas, such as S. Lorenzo f.l.m. and SS. Nereo and Achilleo in the Domitilla catacomb have been included, formal logic notwithstanding. A minor change—to place the table of contents at the end rather than at the beginning of the volume—seemed advisable.

It is a pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude for the encouragement and the backing, both moral and material, received time and time again, in the course of our work. May I first be allowed to express my humble thanks to their Eminences and the other members of the Pontificia Commissione Cardinalizia per i Beni della Sede for permission to survey the basilicas under their jurisdiction. I should like to express my gratitude equally to Count Galeazzi, who in his capacity as Director of the Servizi Tecnici del Vaticano was good enough to lay the matter before the Commission. Finally, it is a pleasure to thank the ecclesiastical authorities who have graciously consented to let us carry on our sometimes disturbing work in the buildings under their charge.

My very warmest thanks go to Mrs. Phyllis B. Lambert in New York. At one time my student and for these last years a dear friend to myself and my wife, her architectural interest is deep, but not necessarily focused on the Early Christian period or indeed on the history of architecture. Nonetheless she has established at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, the Architectural Research and Publication Fund which, much against her wishes, bears her name, its principal purpose being that of securing within the foreseeable future the completion of the *Corpus*.

Next my sincere thanks go to the institutions which in the past have, and at present are supporting the *Corpus* in many ways. The Pontifical Institute for Christian Archeology in Rome, which under its first rector, Monsignor J. P. Kirsch, initiated the publication of the *Corpus*, will continue to supervise the editing and the printing of the English and to take care entirely of publishing the Italian edition; the present rector Monsignor Lucien De Bruyne, and the secretary of the Institute, Dr. Pasquale Testini, have time and again smoothed the path of the undersigned and his collab-

orators, as has the Rev. Father Antonio Ferrua, S. J., in his capacity as head of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. The authorities of New York University and its Institute of Fine Arts, through its director, my good friend, Craig H. Smyth, have provided time, given constant encouragement and very practical help in furthering the *Corpus*. Mr. Laurance Roberts, the hospitable director of the American Academy in Rome, has supplied accomodation for my frequent visits to Rome and also a spacious permanent workroom. The American Philosophical society in years past has generously contributed from its Penrose Fund towards defraying the cost of preparing a number of architectural surveys and of carrying through an excavation. It is a pleasure to remember in this connection the late Professor Charles Rufus Morey, who was largely responsible for inducing the Society to contribute so generously.

Time and again I have called on friends and colleagues for help and advice and have received unstinted response. To mention just a few: Dr. Filippo Magi in charge of the Vatican Museums; Professors Ceschi and Guglielmo Matthiae and the late Prof. Alberto Terenzio, all of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio; Professors Antonio Maria Colini and Guglielmo Gatti of the Reparto X (Belle Arti) of the Comune di Roma; Prof. John B. Ward Perkins of the British School in Rome; Prof. Erik Sjoqvist, now of Princeton University, but then director of the Swedish Institute in Rome who was good enough to lend us a theodolite for some of our surveys; Prof. Karl Lehmann, whose advice I have sought frequently and never in vain; finally the Rev. Father Dom Guy Ferrari, O.S.B., and Prof. Enrico Josi who have been good enough to supervise the Italian translation.

Throughout, the staffs of print rooms, archives and libraries, whether in Rome, Paris, or New York have been helpful beyond the call of duty. My special gratitude is due to the Vatican Library, in particular to its prefect, the Rev. Father Dom Anselmo Albareda, O.S.B., and to Prof. Augusto Campana; to the Library of the American Academy in Rome and its librarians, Col. Peter de Daehn and Mrs. Nina Longobardi; and to the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, especially to my friend Jean Adhémar.

Like everyone who has worked in the field of Christian Archeology in Rome during the past forty years, I have drawn a thousand times on the vast store of knowledge, on the unfailing courtesy and on the unstinted help afforded to colleagues of all nationalities by Enrico Josi to whom this volume is dedicated in friendship and gratitude.

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

Institute of Fine Arts,  
New York University.  
Spring, 1959



## S. LORENZO FUORI LE MURA

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(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl) \*

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- PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, pp. 155 ff; 1725, pp. 69 ff.
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- COMO, *De sanctitate... B. Laurentii...*, Rome, 1771, pp. 222 ff.
- FEA, *Miscellanea*, Rome, 1790, p. 261.
- NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, 1839, pp. 296 ff.
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- DE ROSSI, "... Tombe... nell'Agro Verano", *BAC*, I (1863), p. 16.
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\* Points of minor disagreement between the authors are marked by their initials.

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**B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS****a) DESCRIPTIONS <sup>1</sup>**

## 1) PRIOR TO 1630.

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IDEM, *De praecipuis... basilicis*, *loc. cit.*

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IDEM, *Stationi*, *loc. cit.*

ANONYMOUS, *Visitatio ecclesiae S. Laurentii extra muros die 28 Octobris 1624*, Rome, *Vallicelliana*, P 199, f. 155, 151-153<sup>v</sup> <sup>2</sup>.

PANCIROLI, *loc. cit.*

## 2) 1630-1855.

TOTTI, *loc. cit.*

BAGLIONE, *loc. cit.*

SEVERANO, *loc. cit.*

MARTINELLI, *loc. cit.*

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CIAMPINI, *De Sacris Aedificiis*, *loc. cit.*

ANONYMOUS, *Visitatio... 1<sup>o</sup> maggio 1702*, Rome, *Vallicelliana*, P 199, f. 154 f.

PANCIROLI, (ed. 1725), *loc. cit.*

CANCELLIERI, *Collectanea de Ecclesiis Urbis Romae, G-L*, *Vat. lat. 9164*, c. 40 ff.; *Memorie del culto di S. Lorenzo...*, *Vat. lat. 9172*, *passim* (refers primarily to S. Lorenzo in Damaso); *Miscellanea*, *Vat. lat. 9198*, c. 26<sup>v</sup>; *Miscellanea*, *Vat. lat. 9201*, c. 85 f.

NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, *loc. cit.*

## 3) AFTER 1855.

VESPIGNANI, *Sul parere contrario al Progetto d'isolamento della Basilica di S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, Roma li 24 Marzo 1857, *Vat. lat. Ferraiuoli 888*, c. 172 ff.

STEVENSON, *Schedario: S. Lorenzo*, *Vat. lat. 10558*, *passim*, esp. c. 44 ff; also *S. Lorenzo e Via Tiburtina*, *Pacco X(c)* <sup>3</sup>.

LANCIANI, *Schedario, Via Tiburtina*, *Vat. lat. 13047*, c. 6 ff.

PESARINI, *Schedario, S. Lorenzo f.l.m.*, *Vat. lat. 13129*, c. 1 ff., containing transcripts and extensive excerpts from the notes of Panvinio, Bruzio and other sources.

**b) ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>4</sup>**

Late IV century *Shrine of Saint Lawrence and baldacchino, medals of Successa and Gaudentianus-Urbicus*; Vatican, Museo Sacro Cristiano. P. VETTORI, *Dissertatio Philologica...*, Rome

(1) The church is mentioned with reference to relics and indulgencies in every pilgrim's guide since the XV century. General references to its architectural features with the XVI and particularly the XVII century become both numerous and repetitious. We limit ourselves to a short list of more specific statements giving particular emphasis to manuscript sources.

(2) The manuscript was first referred to in ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 13 with minor errors in date and pagination.

(3) The notes in this parcel were, in 1957, in the process of being catalogued. For permission to peruse the notes we are greatly indebted to the Rev. Father M.-H. Laurent, O. P., and to Dr. Augusto Campana, both of the Vatican Library.

(4) Representations of the structures and their details prior to the Renaissance can be accepted only with the reservations due in general to the descriptive accuracy of late antique and medieval depictions of architecture. From among the huge number of exterior views from the XIX cent. on, we list only illustrations of particular significance.

- 1751, pp. 55 ff.; see also MIGNE, *P.L.* 60, col. 331, note; DE ROSSI, “*Le medaglie di devozione nei primi sette secoli della chiesa*”, *BAC* VII (1869) pp. 33 ff.; LANCIANI, *New Tales*, p. 65<sup>1</sup>.
- 579-590 *Model of East basilica presented by Pelagius II, mosaic*; Rome, S. Lorenzo f.l.m., East basilica, triumphal arch (DE ROSSI, *Musaici, loc. cit.*; see also ECCLISSI, *Pitture della Basilica di San Lorenzo, Barb. lat. 4403*).
- XIIIth century *Views of the church, exterior and interior, mural paintings*; Rome, S. Lorenzo f.l.m., West basilica, narthex, Saint Lawrence cycle (WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, III, fig. 448; MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, XXX).
- Ca. 1510 GIULIANO DA SANGALLO (?)<sup>2</sup>, *Capital with victories from East basilica, pen and ink*; London, Soane Museum, Codex Coner, f. 152. (ASHBY, “*Drawings attributed to Andreas Coner*”, *Papers Brit. School*, II (1904), pp. 21 ff)<sup>3</sup>.
- 1532-1535 M. VAN HEEMSKERK, *View from south west, including campanile, convent buildings and, to the north, fortifications of Laurentiopolis, pen*; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, sketchbook, I, f. 21 (HUELSEN-EGGER, *Heemskerk*, pl. 22, p. 12; EGGER, *Veduten*, II, pl. 51, p. 23 f) (fig. 6).
- 1551 BUFALINI, *Plan of basilica and convent, woodcut*; *Map of Rome* (ed. F. EHRLE) (fig. 5).
- 1575 ANT. LAFRÉRI, *View from southwest, engraving*; *Sette Chiese* (HERMANIN, *Catalogo*, p. xx)<sup>4</sup> (fig. 7).
- 1589 H. VAN AELST, *View from southwest, engraving*; *Sette Chiese* (re-edited 1600).
- 1600 GIOVANNI MAGGI, *View from southwest including, to the south, convent buildings, vineyard and orchard, to the north, hill and gate; in margin, i.a., interior of East basilica*; from series *Sette Chiese* (ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, p. 1076)<sup>5</sup> (fig. 8).
- 1636 STEFANO DELLA BELLA, *View from west, pen*; Florence, Uffizi, Coll. Santarelli, no. 12559 (EGGER, *Veduten*, II, pl. 52; text, p. 24); see also *Dedalo* V (1925-26), p. 223.
- 1639 ANT. ECCLISSI, *Mosaic of Pelagius I and murals in west basilica, West portico and lateral porch of East basilica, watercolours*; *Pitture della Basilica di S. Lorenzo*, Vatican Library, *Barb. lat. 4403*, ff. 2-48.
- 1642-1648 ISRAEL SILVESTRE, *View from southwest, etching*; (HERMANIN, *Catalogo*, p. xx) (fig. 9).
- Ca. 1660 G. DUGHET, *View from west, black chalk*; Duesseldorf, Kunstakademie, No. 724. (I. BUDDE, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Kunstakademie...*, Duesseldorf, 1930, p. 104).
- Ca. 1660 G. DUGHET (?), *View from southwest, black chalk*; Duesseldorf, Kupferstichkabinett, no. 726, (*ibid.*, p. 104).
- Prior to 1693 ANONYMOUS, *Interior from west, engraving*; CIAMPINI, *De Sacris Aedificiis*, pl. XXVI.
- Ca. 1700 ANONYMOUS, *Paintings of portico and Pelagius mosaic, watercolours*; Windsor, Royal Library, Albani collection, I, 8952, 8974-9017.
- Ca. 1720 ANONYMOUS PACETTI, *View from west, including 1704 decoration of piazza, convent buildings and orchard wall, pen and wash*; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, no. 14255 (EGGER, *Veduten*, II, pl. 53, p. 24).
- First half of XVIII C. ANONYMOUS, *View from southwest, including convent buildings, pen and wash*; Rome, Gab. Naz. Stampe, Sc. R. 3, no. 125296 (EGGER, *Veduten* II, pl. 54).

(1) The Successa medal, found in 1636 in the catacomb of the Verano, has survived only in a lead impression. The VI century date suggested for these medals by Lanciani rests on no evidence archaeological or otherwise. Stylistically the medals point to the late IV or the V centuries; but the possibility cannot be excluded that the representation is symbolical rather than real. Prof. Josi informs me that the authenticity of the Successa medal has been doubted by the late Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri. The origin of the Gaudentianus medal is unknown.

(2) The sketchbook has been attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo by DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, “*L'autore del Codice londinese... Coner*”, *Palladio*, n.s. I (1950) 94 ff.

(3) We omit listing the numberless drawings, from the XVI through the XVIII centuries, of this and the other Roman spoils re-used in the East basilica, such as: BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, pl. CIII, fig. 186, pl. CCCXXXVII, fig. 568, pl. CCCXLVII, fig. 596, pl. CCCLIII, fig. 617; EGGER, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der architektonischen Handzeichnungen...*, Vienna, 1903, nos. 66-75.

(4) Copied with minor changes, but disregarding the alterations occurring in the buildings around 1580, by FRA SANTI, woodcut, *Cose maravigliose*, 1588, *loc. cit.*; DUCHET, engraving, *Sette Chiese*, 1590; VILLAMENA, engraving, *Sette Chiese*, 1625; ANONYMOUS, engraving, ca. 1600, (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vb 56); J. LAURUS, engraving, *Antiqua Urbis vestigia*, 1628, pl. 155; P. TOTTI, engraving, *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, Rome 1638, p. 459.

(5) Copied with minor changes by ANONYMOUS, *Deliciae Urbis Romae*, Augsburg, 1613, pl. 8.

- 1750 G. B. PIRANESI, *View from southwest showing early XVIII century decor of facade and piazza, etching; Vedute di Roma*, pl. 19 (HERMANIN, *Catalogo*, p. xx)<sup>1</sup> (fig. 10).
- 1753 G. VASI, *View from southwest, engraving; Delle Magnificenze di Roma*, Rome, 1753, I, p. xx<sup>2</sup>.
- Ca. 1780 P. H. VALENCIENNES, *View from southwest, including convent buildings, pen and wash; Paris, Louvre, Cab. des Dessins*, no. 13033.
- Prior to 1789 SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, *Plan, façade, sections, details, engravings; Histoire de l'Art...*, Paris 1823, IV, pl. XXVII, figs. 29-39.
- Late XVIII cent. ANONYMOUS A. D. C., *View from south, showing clerestory, lateral porch, convent wing, wall of orchard, pen and wash; Paris, Bib. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vb 132z (41), f. 25 (pagination unclear) (fig. 11).*
- 1809 LUIGI ROSSINI, *Interior of East basilica from the west, engraving; I monumenti più interessanti di Roma*, 1818, plate unnumbered (HERMANIN, *Supplemento*, p. xii)<sup>3</sup> (fig. 22).
- Ca. 1810 D. PRONTI, *View from west, after disappearance of XVIII cent. decoration of facade, engraving; Nuova Raccolta delle vedutine moderne di Roma*, no. 8.
- 1823 J. M. KNAPP, *Plan, ambones interior, engravings; G. M. KNAPP, Monumenti dell'antico culto cristiano*, Rome, 1840, pls. 15-17 and C. K. J. BUNSEN, *Die Basiliken des christlichen Rom, aufgenommen von J. G. Gutensohn und J. M. Knapp*, Munich (1843) pls. XII-XIV<sup>4</sup>.
- 1830 HENRI LABROUSTE, *View from southwest, detail of portico and cancelli, pencil and watercolour; Paris, Bib. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vb 132z (41) f. 48, 59 (pagination unclear) (fig. 12).*
- Ca. 1830 A. POYNTER, *East basilica, XV cent. decoration of arcades east gallery, watercolour; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Printroom, Antiquities, 93 E 5, p. 21.*
- 1833 GIOV. FONTANA, *Exterior, interior, details and plan, engravings; Raccolta delle migliori chiese*, Rome, 1833, pls. VII-XIV<sup>5</sup>.
- 1843 LUIGI ROSSINI, *Interior from the west, engraving; Scenografia degli Interni delle più belle chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1843, pl. IV (HERMANIN, *Supplemento*, p. xii).
- 1844 G. MARCHI, *Plan and longitudinal section of East basilica, engraving; Monumenti delle Arti cristiane primitive, Architettura*, Rome, 1844, pls. 53-56<sup>6</sup>.
- 1821-1845 LETAROUILLY, *Exterior, interior both from and plan, details, engravings; Edifices de Rome moderne*, pl. 268-272<sup>7</sup>.
- Prior to 1846 GIO. FONTANA, *Interior of East basilica from the east, engraving; CANINA, Tempi Cristiani*, pl. XI.
- 1846 L. CANINA, *Plan, sections and interior, engravings; Tempi Cristiani*, pls. XXXII-XXXVI.
- 1847 ANONYMOUS, *View of Camposanto and of basilica from south-southwest, wood engraving; L'Album*, XVII (1847), p. 293 (fig. 88).
- Ca. 1855 JULES AUDÉOUD, *Interior of East basilica, photograph; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vf 40-c petit-folio, II, f. 18.*
- 1857 V. VESPIGNANI, *Plans of basilica and catacombs, pen and wash; Vatican Library, Vat. lat. Ferraiuoli 888 (Sul parere contrario al Progetto di isolamento...)*, f. 183 (fig. 37).
- Prior to 1862 H. HUEBSCH, *Plan, transverse section, window of East basilica, engravings; Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, pls. XVII, 2, 3; XVIII, 1, 2.

(1) HERMANIN, *loc. cit.*, questions the authenticity of the etching.

(2) Little additional information can be gained from the numerous subsequent similar views up to 1800, such as those contained in: R. DOLFINO VENUTI, *Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica... di Roma moderna*, Rome, 1766, opp. p. 23, engraved by J. L. LE GEAY; A. UGGERI, *Journée pittoresque des environs de Rome*, Rome, pls. I, II; G. B. CIPRIANI, *Vedute di Roma*, Rome, 1799, pl. 56a.

(3) For the date 1809, see HERMANIN, *l. c.*

(4) Regarding the early date of the drawings (and apparently an early edition) see C. FEA, "Lezioni sopra quattro basiliche", *Diss. Pont. Accad.* III, (1829) p. 76, note 1.

(5) The second edition, started in 1855, must have continued until after 1876, since its plates XIV, VII and VIII show plan, exterior and interior after Vespignani's restoration and the text mentions the death of Pius IX.

(6) Frequently wanting, the plates are contained, e.g., in the copy of Marchi's volume in the library of the Istituto di Storia dell'arte e archeologia, Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

(7) The drawings for the *Edifices* were done between 1821 and 1845, see LETAROUILLY, *op. cit.*, second edition, 1868, text, p. XVI f; the text was first published in 1840.



- 1855-1865 V. VESPIGNANI, *Plans, elevations, sections, details, including both surveys and restoration projects, 98 drawings in pencil, ink, wash, watercolour*; Rome, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'arte, Palazzo Venezia, Racc. LANCIANI, XI, 45, I-III, nos. 31689-31787<sup>1</sup> (figs. 3, 4, 16, 23, 26, 27, 31, 46, 47, 48, 51, 90).
- Ca. 1870 J. W. H. PARKER, *Exterior, interior, details of church, parts of catacomb, photographs*; Rome, British School, nos. 322, 591, 592, 594, 1082, 1131-1133 (fig. 23). (See also IDEM, *Archaeology of Rome, Catacombs*, Oxford, 1876, pls. 1, 2).
- Prior to 1886 RAFFAELE CATTANEO, *Plan, woodcut*; CATTANEO, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

### C. — DATES

- 258 Saint Lawrence, martyred together with Sixtus II under Valerianus, is buried "*Via Tiburtina in crypta in agro Verano IIII id. aug.*" (Epitome Felicianae, *L. P.* I, 68). The final version of the Liber Pontificalis (*L. P.* I, 155) adds that this burial took place "*in cymiterio Cyriaces*"<sup>2</sup>.
- 314 — 35 During the pontificate of Sylvester, Constantine builds a basilica to Saint Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina, on the Verano above the *arenarium* of the catacomb: ("*fecit basilicam beato Laurentio martyri, via Tiburtina in agrum Veranum supra (or sub?) arenario cryptae*") and stairs "up and down" into the catacomb to the tomb of the Saint "*... usque ad corpus sancti Laurentii... fecit grados ascensionis et descensionis*"; near or at the tomb (*locus*) he builds an apse, decorates either the apse or the tomb with porphyry slabs, covers the tomb on top with a silver grate and surrounds it with heavy silver railings; "*In quo loco construxit apsidam et exornavit marmoribus porphyreticis et desuper loci conclusit de argento et cancellos de argento purissimo ornavit, qui pens. lib. I*" (*L. P.*, I, 181). For the tomb chamber he donates a small number of lighting fixtures — a golden lamp, a silver chandelier with fifty wicks, two huge bronze candelabra and two lamps with scenes of the Saint's martyrdom (?) at the tomb "*... ante ipsum locum in crypta posuit ... lucernam ex auro purissimo, ... coronam ex argento cum delphinis L ... candelabra aerea duo in pedibus denos... ante corpus... argentoclasas sigillis passionem ipsius cum lucernas binixes argenteas...*". This first is followed by a second list of gifts, starting with a new paragraph and containing, aside from patens, chalices, *scyphi* and *amae*, thirty huge lighting fixtures "*fara argentea XXX pens. sing. lib. XX...*". Thus the second list, its first line "*Donum quod obtulit...*" possibly fragmentary, can obviously not refer to the tomb in the catacomb. A third list of landed properties bestowed on the sanctuary begins with the "*Possessio cuiusdam Cyriacae... quod fiscus occupaverat tempore persecutionis, Veranum fundum...*".
- 323 — 507 Numerous epitaphs ranging between these dates and originating from *loculi* and *formae* in the catacomb, found re-used in pavement of East basilica (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, I, 1863, pp. 22 ff., pp. 68 ff.).
- 336 — 354 Reference to the festival of Saint Lawrence in the *Depositio Martyrum*, "*IIII idus Aug. Laurenti in Tiburtina*" (H. LIETZMANN, *Die drei aeltesten Martyrologien, (Kleine Texte...*, 2), second edition, Bonn 1911, p. 4).
- 352 — 366 Epitaph dated into pontificate of Liberius found on hill east of church (DE ROSSI, "*Scoperte...*", *B.A.C.*, 3rd ser. I (1876) pp. 16 ff.).
- 366 — 384 Epigram of Pope Damasus preserved in the *Syllogai Centulensis-Corbeiensis* and *Laureshamensis I* (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, pp. 82, 117; FERRUA, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 33) with reference to gifts presented to an altar of Saint Lawrence. Since the *Sylloge Centulensis* deals only with suburban churches, De Rossi has convincingly located the inscription at S. Lorenzo f.l.m.

(1) They will be quoted as *Racc. Lanciani*, followed by the number.

(2) DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952, pp. 17 ff., with insufficient reasons attempts to place the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence in 304.

“ *Verbera carnifices, flammis, tormenta, catenas  
vincere Laurenti sola fides potuit.  
haec Damasus cumulat supplex altaria donis  
martyris egregii suspiciens meritum* ”.

The fragment of an epigram in Philocalian lettering, but not known to the syllogae, was found on the Verano, to the left of the entrance to the cemetery, near the tomb chapel of the Dominicans (GATTI, *Not. Scavi*, 1889, p. 274; DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, (1890), p. 8; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, no. 34, with erroneous indication of site). It is now in the cloister of S. Lorenzo.

“ MARMORIBVS VESTITA...  
QVAE INTEMERATA FIDES...  
HIC ETIAM PARIES IVSTO...  
OMNIA PENA VIDES... ”.

A second Philocalian or pseudo-Philocalian fragment “ (s)VPPL(x)... (e)T MEA ”. now at the Lateran, was apparently found near the same place in digging the foundations of the wall of the new cemetery (*B.A.C.*, II, 1864, pp. 44, 47; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, no. 69; STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, 1895, p. 82), while another piece of the same inscription “ ...(c)RVRA... (E)NDA... N(E) ” came to light in the excavation in S. Lorenzo f.l.m. in 1947-49, in the catacomb gallery A 4-15. (FERRUA, “ *Spigolature archeologiche* ”, *R.A.C.* 26, 1950, pp. 224 ff., esp. 240 ff.).

**366 — 384** Apse of a small chapel or mausoleum containing numerous epitaphs, among them the Philocalian fragment (s)VPPL(x)... TMEA..., found “ right of the narthex of the West basilica... ” in digging foundations of wall of Verano cemetery ...in line with the portico leading to S. Lorenzo, a few steps west of the basilica, that is, apparently left of the main gate (STEVENSON, *NBAC* I, 1895, p. 82; DE ROSSI, “ *Sepolcri Antichi nell'Agro Verano* ”, *B.A.C.*, I, 1863, p. 16; II 1864, p. 44). Frescoes in apse assigned by De Rossi to the V or VI century.

After **384** Fragments of an epigram in pseudo-Philocalian lettering, belonging to the epitaph of the deacon Florentius, known from the sylloge Centulensis (DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, 92) had survived in the cloister of S. Lorenzo; others were found ca. 1880 on the Verano (*B.A.C.*, 1881, pp. 19, 34 ff; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, no. 68, as before him Ihm, doubts the Damasian origin and suggests a date after 384). The epigram, re-composed, is now in the Lateran.

After **384?** Trefoil chapel, excavated 1857 “ near the stairs ” to the Pincetto, near one of the north corners of the quadriporticus, either the northeast or the northwest corner (fig. 90).<sup>1</sup> In the chapel was found, inscribed in ordinary lettering on a fragment of *cancelli*, the pseudo-Damasian epigram of a bishop Leo, formerly a pagan, apparently the owner of an estate perhaps in the neighborhood (DE ROSSI, *BAC* II, 1864, pp. 54 ff; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, no. 67). The chapel was later dedicated to Saint Stephen (see below, dig. 468-483 and 772-795). Other fragments of the inscription were found near the chapel of the Dominicans on the Verano (*B.A.C.* 3rd ser., VI, 1881, p. 37; both Ihm and Ferrua doubt a Damasian date).

Late **IV** or  
early **V** century Epitaph of Lucillus Pelio who had purchased a double tomb “ ... LOCVM VESCAN-  
DENTE IN BASILICA MAIORE AD DOMNV LAVRENTIVM (IN MESV  
ET SITV PRES)BITERIV ”<sup>2</sup>: found, perhaps re-used, in the remnants of what was believed to be a V or VI century structure at the foot of the staircase from the quadriporticus of the Verano to the Pincetto (DE ROSSI, *BAC*, 3rd ser., I, pp. 16 ff, esp. p. 23; DE BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 100, no. 159), now walled up in the south wall of the East basilica. The epigraphic features suggest a late IV or early V century date (fig. 91)<sup>3</sup>.

(1) See below, p. 120.

(2) The part in parenthesis, still read by De Rossi, is now missing.

(3) De Rossi in dating this fragment like the one in *basilica maxiore* (dig. VI century?) into the V century based his statement on the supposed

- 397 — 400 The *Vita S. Melaniae Junioris* in its Latin version distinguishes the celebrations of the vigil of Saint Lawrence “*in sancti martyris basilica*” and of his feast in the “*martyrium beati Laurentii*”. A reference to her husband praying “*ad martyrem*”, below his altar “*sub altare*”, suggests the existence of an altar surmounting the tomb (*Analecta Bollandiana* VIII (1889), pp. 23 f). The Greek text less precisely does not mention the basilica and refers to Pinianus as praying “*πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον*” (*ibid.*, XXII (1903), p. 11). The events discussed fall between 397 and 400.<sup>1</sup>
- Ca. 400 Inscription of the presbyter Leopardus, preserved in the Sylloge Wirciburgensis, originally in the apse of the basilica of Saint Lawrence. “*... in basilica Laurenti circa chorum...*” to the effect that Leopardus redecorated or restored the building “*nova quaeque revisa...*”, decorated its walls and apparently donated, presumably in the apse a mosaic or fresco showing the hand of God distributing martyr crowns “*... manus ecce Dei praemia reddit...*”.

*Succedunt meliora tibi miranda tuenti  
quae Leopardi labor, cura et vigilantia fecit  
Sumptibus haec propriis ornavit moenia Christi  
Respice et ingressu placido nova quaeque revisa:  
caelestis manus ecce Dei praemia reddit  
quae cumulata vides digna in aeclesia Christi.*

(DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, p. 155).

Since the Sylloge Wirciburgensis refers only to suburban churches, the “*basilica Laurenti*” can only be S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Leopardus is mentioned as presbyter of Sta. Pudenziana and as active in the building and restoring of churches under the Popes Siricius (384-390) and Innocent (401-417).

- 403 — 404 Prudentius in his hymn on the Passion of Saint Lawrence refers once to a shrine (*aedes*), another time to a hall (*aula*) of the Saint and contrasts this latter to his *aula* in Heaven. (*Peristephanon*, II, vv. 527 f., 551 f.; MIGNE, *P. L.* 60, cols. 330 f., 334. See also PRUDENTIUS, ed. H. J. THOMSON, Cambridge, Mass. and London, (1949), II, pp. 138, 140). The large basilica described by Prudentius in his hymn on Saint Hippolyt (*Peristephanon*, XI, vv. 215 ff.; MIGNE, *op. cit.*, col. 553 ff., THOMSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff.) as located near the catacomb of that Saint, has been occasionally identified with one of the buildings at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (DUCHESNE, *Mél. Ec. Franç.* (1921) 1 ff.; see also PESARINI, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 46, and MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 9); but from the context it can have been in our opinion only a church of S. Ippolito.
- 405 Epitaph of Fl. Eurialus who had bought a tomb “AD MESA BEATI MARTVRIS LAVRENTI DESCIDENTIB(us) IN CRIPTA PARTE DEXTRA...”, found re-used in a wall near the present tomb chapel of the Dominicans, left of the main entrance to the Campo Verano (MARUCCHI, “*Di una iscrizione...*”, *N.B.A.C.*, VI 1900, pp. 127 ff., pl. III), now East basilica (DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 18) (fig. 89).
- 406 Sarcophagus of Licentius, found on Verano cemetery, “left of main entrance, near the basilica of S. Lorenzo” (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, I 1863, pp. 6 ff.) apparently not far from the cemetery wall “left of the main gate” (*ibid.*, p. 73); now Capitoline Museum.
- 418 Pope Zosimus buried near the tomb of Saint Lawrence “*... via Tiburtina iuxta corpus beati Laurentii...*” apparently in the catacomb (*L. P.*, I, p. 225; regarding the location, see *ibid.*, p. 226, n. 4).

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building activity of Sixtus III at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. His reasoning was faulty, but the epitaph could nevertheless date from the V century. On the other hand, the epigraphic features make a later IV century date equally possible. Professor Enrico Josi has been good enough to confirm such a possibility. I suggest comparison with such dated inscriptions as those of Muscula (371), Cinnamius (371), Leo (391) and of an unknown (394-402), in: A. SILVAGNI, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, n.s. II pl. 2, 4, 5, nos. 6031, 4815, 4169.

(1) We would never have found this very important passage without the help of Enrico Josi, who referred to it in *Roma Nobilis*, ed. I. CECCHETTI, Roma [1952], pp. 360 ff. Regarding the date see A. D'ALÈS, “Les deux vies de Ste. Mélanie la Jeune”, *Analecta Bollandiana* XXV (1906), 401 ff.

- Prior to 422 The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* mentions two masses on the vigil of Saint Lawrence, August 9, and his festival, August 10, “*Romae Laurenti diaconi et martyris*”, some manuscripts adding “*via Tiburtina in cimiterio eiusdem*” (*Mart. Hieron.*, ed. DE ROSSI and DELEHAYE, *AA. SS.*, Nov. II, 2, p. 431)<sup>1</sup>.
- After 425 or 438 Sarcophagus of Flavius Magnus, found together with that of Licentius, (above, dig. 406), now at Capitoline Museum (DE ROSSI, “*Epitaffio di Flavio Magno*”, *B.A.C.*, I, 1863, pp. 14 ff.), now Capitoline Museum.
- 432 — 440 Sixtus III, possibly in replacing the Constantinian decorations of and around the tomb of Saint Lawrence, remodels and decorates his confessio and altar “*fecit... confessionem... cum columnis porphyreticis et ornavit platomis transendam et altarem et confessionem... de argento purissimo pens. lib. L...; cancellos argenteos supra platomas porphyreticas... (et) absidam supra cancellos cum statuam beati Laurentii... argenteam...*” (*L. P.*, I, pp. 233 ff).
- Gift of altar vessels to S. Lorenzo f.l.m. of equal size with gifts to St. Peter's and S. Paolo f.l.m. (*L. P.*, I, p. 234).
- The foundation, with Imperial permission, of an apparently large basilica of Saint Lawrence “*...fecit basilicam sancto Laurentio quod Valentinianus Augustus concessit*” refers, in all likelihood, to S. Lorenzo in Lucina (PESARINI, *op. cit.*, 1913, pp. 43).
- 440 Sixtus III is buried in the catacomb near the tomb of the Saint “*in crypta iuxta corpus beati Laurenti*” (*L. P.*, I, p. 235).
- 434, 464, 483 Epitaphs of *virgines*, possibly members of a monastic congregation, found on Verano cemetery left of main entrance near Licentius sarcophagus (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, I, 1863, pp. 73 ff; and *ibid.*, pp. 23, 68 ff; see also FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 185).
- 461 — 468 Pope Hilarus donates lighting fixtures and altar vessels at the tomb of Saint Lawrence “*ad sanctum Laurentium*”. To the “*basilica beati Laurenti martyris*” he gives numerous lighting fixtures and vessels for baptism and penitents (*L. P.*, I, p. 344). He also establishes a monastery, presumably that of St. Stephen, a bath, a swimming pool, a country house and two libraries “*...monasterium... et balneum et aliud sub aere et pretorium. Fecit... e bibliothecas II in eodem loco*” (*L. P.*, I, 245; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 182, 184 and note).
- 468 Hilarus is buried near the tomb of Sixtus III (see above) “*ad sanctum Laurentium in crypta iuxta corpus beati episcopi Xysti*” (*L. P.*, I, p. 245).
- 468 — 483 Pope Simplicius consecrates a church of St. Stephen near the basilica of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., “*...dedicavit... basilicam sancti Stephani iuxta basilicam sancti Laurenti...*” and establishes weekly turns of duty of the clergy for penitents and baptismal services at the three great martyria of Rome, St. Peter, S. Paolo f.l.m. and S. Lorenzo f.l.m. “*...constituit ad Sanctum Petrum apostolum et ad sanctum Paulum apostolum et ad sanctum Laurentium martyrem ebdomadas ut presbyteri manerent propter penitentes et baptismum: regio III ad sanctum Laurentium...*” (*L. P.*, I, p. 249).
- 483 — 492 Pope Felix III builds a church of St. Agapitus near S. Lorenzo “*fecit basilicam sancti Agapiti iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii martyris...*” (*L. P.*, I, p. 252).
- 496 — 498 Pope Anastasius redecorates (?) the confessio of the Saint with silver “*...fecit confessionem beati Laurenti martyris ex argento pens lib. LXXX...*”.
- 498 — 514 Symmachus builds alms houses “*...pauperibus habitacula...*” at S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo f.l.m. and S. Pietro (*L. P.*, I, p. 263).
- V or VI century (?) Remnants of chapel, with architrave inscribed IOHANNES, like the chapel of bishop Leo found at foot of stairs from quadriporticus of Verano to Pincetto (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, Ser. III, I, 1876, p. 25; see above, late IV or early V century, epitaph of Lucillus Pelio).
- V or VI century (?) Fragment of epitaph of an unknown who (su)B EPISCOPATV — the name of the pope is missing — had bought a tomb “*(in b)ASSILICA MAXIO(re)*”; found, not

(1) The reference in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, on November 10, to the consecration of a church to Saint Lawrence, has been erroneously referred to S. Lorenzo f.l.m., i. a. by KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 290; see DELEHAYE, “*La dédicace de la basilique de Fossombrone*”, *Rendiconti*, VI (1930), 109 ff.

in situ, on the hill east of the church, it was walled up in the south wall of the East basilica (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, ser. III, I, 1876, pp. 16 ff, esp. p. 24; DA BRA, *Iscrizioni Latine...*, p. 97, no. 150). The epigraphic character recalls inscriptions dating from the late IV through the VI centuries<sup>1</sup> (fig. 92).

- Early VI century Masses on the vigil of Saint Lawrence, August 9, and on his feast, August 10, listed in the *Sacramentarium Veronense* and, with the addition of the octave, August 17, in the original version of the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, without giving location (L. C. MOHLBERG, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, Rome 1956, pp. 94 ff; H. A. WILSON, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 189 f, 353).
- 523 — 526 Pope John I distributes among S. Lorenzo, S. Pietro, S. Paolo and S. Maria Maggiore a gift of altar vessels and gold woven curtains received from the Emperor Justinus I (*L. P.*, I, p. 276); at the same time the praepositus Stephen repairs a water main (Inscription on lead pipe found in 1707 “*in reparandis aedibus monasteri*”: SALVO PAPA IOHANNE STEFANVS PP REPARAVIT”; FRANCESCO(?) BIANCHINI, *De tubis plumbeis effossis prope Ecclesiam S. Laurentii extra muros*, (1707), *Vat. lat.* 9023, f. 41 and idem, *Notae ad Anastasium Bibliothecarium*, MIGNÉ, *P. L.*, 128, col. 628; also DE ROSSI, *R. S.*, III, p. 621)<sup>2</sup>.
- 579 — 590 Pope Pelagius II builds above the tomb of Saint Lawrence an entirely new church and decorates his tomb with silver plaques “... *fecit supra corpus... basilicam a fundamento constructam et tabulis argenteis exornavit sepulchrum...*” (*L. P.*, I, p. 309). The inscription along the rim of the triumphal arch of the East basilica preserved in the original and completed after the sylloge of Tours (DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, 63), stresses the light in the new building “... *tuis templis lux ben(eranda) redit*”. A second inscription, preserved only in the syllogai of Tours, Lorsch IV and Wuerzburg (DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, pp. 63 f, 106, 157) was inscribed in 1860 on the wall above the triumphal arch surmounting the mosaic. Its original place is unknown, but may well have been in the apse (DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, text to pl. XVI). Its text underscores the contrast between the former darkness of the site and the new light (lines 1, 2); the replacement, by a spacious hall, of narrow ways of access to the venerated tomb (lines 3, 4); the removal of danger to the site by a heavy mass (lines 5, 6) and the fact that Pelagius erected the building during hostilities upon the insistence of Saint Lawrence (lines 7-10). It closes by imploring the Saint for peace (lines 11, 12).

DEMOVIT DOMINVS TENEBRAS VT LVCE CREATA  
HIS QVONDAM LATEBRIS SIC MODO FVLGOR INEST  
ANGVSTOS ADITVS VENERABILE CORPVS HABEBAT  
HVC VBI NVNC POPVLVM LARGIOR AVLA CAPIT  
ERVTA PLANITIES PATVIT SVB MONTE RECISO  
ESTQVE REMOTA GRAVI MOLE RVINA MINAX  
PRAESVLE PELAGIO MARTYR LAVRENTIVS OLIM  
TEMPLA SIBI STATVIT PRETIOSA DARI  
MIRA FIDES GLADIOS HOSTILES INTER ET IRAS  
PONTIFICEM MERITIS HAEC CELEBRASSE SVIS  
TV MODO SANCTORVM CVI CRESCERE CONSTAT HONORES  
FAC SVB PACE COLI TECTA DICATA TIBI.

- 594 Gregory the Great, in refusing to the Empress Constantina relics from Rome refers to the inadvertent opening, during building operations, of the tomb of Saint Lawrence under Pelagius II: “*Sanctae memoriae decessor meus, ad corpus s. Laurentii martyris quaedam meliorare desiderans, dum nescitur ubi venerabile corpus esset collocatum,*

(1) Cp. the epitaphs of an unknown (384), of Perseberatia (388), of Vitalis pistor (401), in: A. SILVAGNI, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, n. s. II, pl. 3, 4, 6. On the other hand, the writing *maxior* points to a late, possibly VI century date.

(2) BIANCHINI, in the notes to his edition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (III, p. 299) referred the inscription to John III; in *Vat. lat.* 9023 he linked it to John I. DE ROSSI, *R.S.* III, p. 521 confirmed the date 523-526, based on a reference in an epitaph of 526 to a “*Stefanus praepositus sancti Laurentii martyris*” (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, no. 1005). The exact location of the find “*in reparandis aedibus monasterii basilicae adhaerentibus*” is given only in the notes to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, not in *Vat. lat.* 9023.

*effoditur exquirendo et subito sepulcrum ipsius ignoranter apertum est...*" (*Epist.*, IV, 30; MIGNE, *P. L.*, 77, col. 701) <sup>1</sup>.

- Late VI century The *Sacramentarium Veronense* (*Leonianum*) lists, without location, for the feast of Saint Lawrence, August 10, and the vigil, August 9, thirteew masses and, in October, two masses *super defunctos* asking the Saint to intercede for a bishop and pope respectively (C. H. MOHLBERG, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, Rome 1956, pp. 94 ff., 145 f; *The Sacramentarium Leonianum*, ed. C. L. Feltoe, Cambridge, 1896, pp. 94 f, 146 f; see also DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, II 1864, p. 37).
- Ca. 600 The *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* lists masses "... *ad sanctum Laurentium foris murum...*" during Lent and on the vigil and the feast of the Saint, two on this latter day, without giving the location (H. LIETZMANN, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, Münster, 1921, pp. 24, 33, 39, 58, 85f.).
- 625 — 638 <sup>2</sup> In the *Itinerarium Salisburgense* (*Notitia ecclesiarum*), the pilgrim coming from S. Ippolito to the North reaches the church of S. Lorenzo where there are two large basilicas, the martyr resting in the more ornate one; a tomb chamber outside the church...(?); the tombs of Abundius and Herennius; a miracle-working stone; many martyr tombs in the other church; and the loculus of St. Romanus far down in the catacomb. Higher up is the church of St. Agapitus. "*Postea pervenies ad ecclesiam sci. Laurentii, ibi sunt magnae basilicae duae in quarum quis specioriore et pausat et est parvum cubiculum extra eccl. in occidente*" <sup>3</sup>. *Ibi pausat scs habundius et Herenius mart. Via Tiburtina, et ibi est ille lapis quem tollent digito multi homines nescientes quid faciunt. Et in altera ecclesia sursum multi martyres pausant. Prima est Cyriaca sancta vidua et martyr, et in altero loco S. Justinus et iuxta eum S. Crescentius martyr et multitudo Sanctorum. Longe in spelunca deorsum, S. Romanus martyr, postea ascendes ed (ad) ecclesiam S. Agapiti martyris et diaconi s. Xyxti papae*" (DE ROSSI, *R. S.*, I, p. 139; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico*, II, p. 80).
- Ca. 635 — 642 The *Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum* has the pilgrim come from Porta S. Lorenzo to the south reaching first S. Agapito, then near the road the *ecclesia maior* of S. Lorenzo, where, according to the writer, Saint Lawrence had formerly been buried, finally the beautiful new church where his tomb is at present. Under the same altar he sees the relics of Saint Abundius, outside in a porticus the miraculous stone which the Saint supposedly wore around his neck when drowned in a well. Finally he visits the relics of Herenius and of many other Saints before proceeding northward to S. Ippolito; "... *Juxta viam tiburtinam ecclesia est sci Agapiti multum honorabilis martyrum corporibus. Et prope eandem viam ecclesia est sci Laurenti maior, in qua corpus eius primum fuerat humatum et ibi basilica nova mirae pulcritudinis ubi ipse modo requiescit. Ibi quoque sub eodem altare Abundus est depositus et foris in portico lapis est qui aliquando in collo eiusdem abundi pendebat in puteum missi. Ibi Herenius, Julianus, Primitivus, Tactus, Nemesius, Eugenius, Justinus, Crescentianus Romanus sunt sepulti; et sca Cyriaca, sca Simperosa et Justina cum multis martyribus sunt sepulti. Inde in boream sursum in monte basilica s. Ippoliti...*" (DE ROSSI, *R. S.*, I, p. 142; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico*, II, p. 114).
- 648 — 682 The VII century source of the XII century itinerary of William of Malmesbury distinguishes two churches at S. Lorenzo f.l.m., one sheltering the relics of Saints Lawrence and Abundius, the other of Saint Ciriaca, Romanus, Justinus and Crescentianus. It also mentions S. Ippolito, S. Trifone and, on the opposite side of the road, S. Agapito. "... *iuxta hanc viam iacet S. Laurentius in sua ecclesia et Habundius martyr. Et ibi prope in altera ecclesia pausant hic martyres, Ciriaca, Romanus, Justinus, Crescentianus et ibi non lunge Ipolitus vel basilica s. Ippolyti. Et ibi... Triphonis et... in altera parte viae illius est aecclesia Agapiti martyris...*" (DE ROSSI, *R. S.*, I, p. 179; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico*, II, p. 145).

(1) The date of the letter is given by PH. JAFFÉ, *Regesta Pontificum*<sup>2</sup>, I, Leipzig, 1885, p. 109.

(2) Regarding the date of this and the two following itineraries, see DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, pp. 144 f.; HUELSEN, *Chiese*, p. III, misquotes De Rossi and erroneously places the *Epitome* after the *Malmesburiense*.

(3) The sentence in the manuscript is mutilated. We accept the emended reading "in occidente", proposed by DE ROSSI and VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *ll. cc.*

- 708 — 715 First reference to the convent of S. Cassiano (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 182).
- 715 — 731 Gregory II repairs the city wall, starting from the “... porticus sancti laurentii...”, the roof of the church which threatened to collapse and the water-main leading to the church “... a portico sancti Laurenti inquoans, ... civitatis muros restaurare decreverat...; sancti Laurenti... ecclesiam foris muros sitam quae travibus confractis ruine iam erat vicina, reparavit; atque aquam fistulis compagetis... in eandem ecclesiam reduxit...” (L. P., I, pp. 396 f).

## VIII century

Dedication of a church, in our opinion the *basilica maior*, to the Virgin mentioned under the date of August 5 by one of the additions of the Reichenau Codex (Zürich, Kantonsbibl., *Hist.* 28) to the early VII century Echternach version of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum “*pridie nonas augusti dedicatio basilicae sanctae Mariae, Justini et Crescentiae*” (DE ROSSI, L. DUCHESNE, H. DELEHAYE, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, AA. SS., nov. II, 1, pp. 101, 417). The joining in the dedication of the names of Justinus and Crescentia, both venerated in the *basilica maior* (dig. 625-638) to that of the virgin under whose patronage the *maior* appears at the end of the VIII century (dig. 772-795) suggests that the church referred to in the Reichenau codex is the *basilica maior* at s. Lorenzo f.l.m.<sup>1</sup>.

- 772 — 795 Hadrian I donates one textile to each the *basilica ad corpus* and the *ecclesia maior*, and repairs the roof of the latter. He later presents two sets of twenty curtains each to the *basilica ad corpus* and two sets of sixty-five curtains each to the *basilica maior*, now dedicated to the Virgin, which is joined next to the *basilica ad corpus*. He rebuilds the portico from the city gate to the basilica and restores “hither and yonder” the *basilica ad corpus* which is joined to the *basilica maior*. “... Fecit in ecclesia beati Laurenti martyris... scilicet ubi sanctum eius corpus requiescit, vestem de stauracim; et in aecclesia maiore aliam similiter fecit vestem. Nam et tectum eiusdem beati Laurenti basilicae maiore, qui iam distectus erat et trabes eius confracte, noviter fecit...” (L. P., I, 500); “In ecclesia vero beati Laurentii martyris... fecit vela ex pallicis siricis numero XX et linea XX...” (L. P., I, 504); “Item ipse... praesul in basilica maiore quae appellatur sancte Dei genetricis, qui aderat iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii martyris atque levite, ubi eius sanctum corpus requiescit, foris muros a porta usque in eadem basilicam noviter construxit. Hic idem almificus vates eandem basilicam sancti Laurentii... ubi sanctum eius corpus quiescit, adnexam basilicae maioris quae dudum isdem praesul construxerat, ultro citroque noviter restauravit...” (L. P., I, p. 508). In the confessio he donates a golden relief in book form “... Fecit autem... in confessione beati Laurentii martyris foris muros imaginem ex auro purissimo in modum evangeliorum, eiusdem beati Laurentii effigie continentem quae pens. lib. XV...” (L. P., I, 511), and a golden chalice and paten, “... et in ecclesia beati Laurentii martyris foris murum fecit auro purissimo patenam cum calice sancto, pens. imibi lib. XVI” (L. P., I, 512). He also restores the church of S. Agapito near S. Lorenzo, including its aisles “... basilica Agapiti... iuxta sanctum Laurentium posita... in omnibus una cum porticibus... renovavit...” (L. P., I, 508), the church of Saint Stephen next to the churches of S. Lorenzo, where bishop Leo was buried “... ecclesiam sancti Stephani iuxta eas sita ubi corpus sancti Leonis episcopi... quiescit... undique renovavit...” (L. P., I, 508), and the entrance to the catacomb of S. Ciriaca “... una cum cymiterio beatae Cyriacae seu ascensum eius...” (*ibid.*).

End of VIII cent. Reference to the Itinerarium Einsidlense: “In via Tiburtina foris murum. In sinistra sci ypoliti. In dextera sci laurentii” (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidl.*, loc. cit., col. 441 f).

- 795 — 816 Leo III donates to the church of S. Lorenzo silver images of Christ, Saint Peter and Saint Lawrence, and an altar cloth (L. P., II, 2); at a later time two more textiles, the more precious one “... super sanctum corpus...” (L. P., II, 10), then a purple curtain “... cortinam tyram periclissin cum stauracin...” (L. P., II, 10), finally, included in the so-called Leo list, a relatively small silver crown, “coronam de argento pens. lib. XIII...” (L. P., II, 20). He also restores the roof of S. Agapito “... sarta tecta... quae iam praenimia vetustate emarcuerat...”. To the monasteries of St. Cassian adjoining-

(1) Professor Josi kindly pointed out this passage.

- ing S. Lorenzo “... *in monasterio sancti Cassiani qui ponitur iuxta sanctum Laurentium...*” and St. Stephen “... *ubi supra...*” he donates small silver vessels (*L. P.*, II, 23).
- 827 — 844 Donation by Gregory IV of an altar cloth to the church of S. Lorenzo. (*L. P.*, II, 76).
- 847 — 855 Leo IV celebrates for the first time the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of St. Mary next to the church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. “... *octavam Assumptionis beatae Dei genitricis diem... in basilica eiusdem semper virginis... quae foris muros iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii... celebrare praecepit...*” and donates to the church a precious textile “... *vestem de fundato...*” and forty-five curtains (*L. P.*, II, 112). He makes further gifts of one textile each to the oratory of Saint Barbara below that church “... *infra ipsius ecclesiae...*”, to that of Saint Nicholas in(?) that church “... *supradictae ecclesiae...*” and to that of Saint Eugenia (*L. P.*, II, 112). At later occasions, he gives to the church of the Virgin two altar cloths, a large (?) curtain and twenty-seven *vela* (*L. P.*, II, 119 f, 121, 125) and repairs the portico in front of the church “... *porticum quae ante basilicam sanctae Dei genitricis consistit quae iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii sita est foris muros, clarius et firmiter reparavit...*” (*L. P.*, II, 128). At S. Lorenzo he donates a textile, a censer (*L. P.*, II, 113) and, at a later point, twenty-four “... *vela de fundato quae pendent in arcis infra columnas maiores...*” (*L. P.*, II, 130). He also restored and endowed the impoverished monasteries of St. Cassian and St. Stephen, apparently uniting them into one and introducing Greek monks. (*L. P.*, II, 113; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 182 f, 187).
- 855 — 858 Benedict III donates golden keys and a textile in the church of S. Lorenzo “... *foris muros civitatis...*” (*L. P.*, II, 145, 146).
- 858 — 867 Nicolaus IV donates to S. Lorenzo “... *foris muros urbis...*” two silver crosses and four curtains for the ciborium “... *pannos optimos IIII in ciborio dedit...*” (*L. P.*, II, 153, 166).
- 2nd Half IX century (?) Chancel of church restored by the higoumenos Arsenios. Inscription re-used on ambo: “*Ε(πι τοῦ Ἀρ)σένιος ἡγούμενος ἔχ νέας ἐποίησα τὸ πρεσβυτέριον ...*” (*L. P.*, II, 136, note 20; BACCI, *N.B.A.C.* 9 (1903), p. 130; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 183, 187).
- 913, 929, 955, 962, 967 References to landed properties “... *monasterii sancti Laurentii (foris muro)...*” (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 183, 187 f).
- Ca. 950 Monastery of S. Lorenzo reorganized and entrusted to the Cluniac congregation: “... (Odo of Cluny)... *monasterium... ordinavit in... sancto Laurentio foris murum...*” (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 183, 188).
- 956 — 964 Epitaphs, formerly in lateral porch of East basilica (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, *BAC* II, 1864, pp. 65 ff).
- 983 — 985 (?) Inscription, mutilated, on transenna fragment, now in cloister, dating from the pontificate of John XIV (?) “... *PONTIFICATVS DOM JOHĪ XVIII (sic!)*” (DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni*, p. 65) <sup>1</sup>.
- 1003 — 1009 Mutilated inscription, now in the cloister, referring to an abbot Bonizo of the monastery and to Pope John XVII (DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni*, p. 65).
- 1048 Pope Damasus II is buried at S. Lorenzo (*L. P.*, II, 274), allegedly in an antique sarcophagus, now in the narthex of the West basilica, formerly inside left of the main portal opposite the Fieschi tomb (PANVINIO, *op. cit.*, p. 230).
- 1148 Ciborium of high altar, now in chancel, that is on upper level of East basilica, executed by the stone masons Johannes, Petrus, Angelus and Sasso. Inscription inside architrave: *ANN · D · M · C · XL · VIII · EGO HVGO HVMILIS ABBS HOC OPVS FIERI FECI// + IOHS · PETRVS · ANGS · ET · SASSO · FILLI · PAVLI · MARMOR HVI · OPIS · MAGISTRI · FVER ·*” (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XII, p. 510).
- 1187 — 1191 Clement III builds the cloister “... *claustrum apud sanctum Laurentium extra muros ordinavit...*” (*L. P.*, II, 451; cf. also CANCELLIERI, *Vat. lat.*, 9188, f. 26).

(1) The XVIII would seem to be a mistake of the stonemason.



- Ca. 1200 Building of fortifications of Laurentiopolis. Inscription on slab, re-used in eighth window grating in South clerestory of West basilica: "IN NOMINE DOMINI TEMPORIBVS CELESTINI III ET INNOCENT(ii) ROMANORVM PONTIFIC(um) DNS PA(ulus) ABBA(s s)CI LAVRENTII FORIS MVROS FECIT HOC CASTRVM PER (m)ATI(u)M MO(na)CHVM (venerabilem) PRELATIVM SCI BENEDICTI..." (BACCI, *op. cit.*, *NBAC*, (1903), p. 130; DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 45, with minor discrepancies).
- 1191 — 1192 (?), prior to 1216 Tomb of Saint Lawrence remodelled, apparently by Cencius Camerarius (Honorius III), after his appointment as papal chancellor 1191 and possibly before his elevation to cardinal 1192. Inscription above *fenestella* facing East on dado of tomb inside confessio „... ENCIVS HOC FIERI CVM CANCELLARIVS ESSET DE... (sumptibus suis (?)) fecit Laur)ENTI STEPHANI VOBIS" (DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 24<sup>1</sup>).
- 1217 Honorius III crowns Pierre de Courtenay as Emperor of Constantinople in the basilica of S. Lorenzo (*L. P.*, II, 453).
- 1216 — 1227 Honorius III enlarges the church of S. Lorenzo by joining new walls to the old ones " ... *aedificavit basilicam sancti Laurentii extra muros... novis muris veteribus coniunctis*" (*Cronaca di Porta Romana*, from STEVENSON, *Schedario, Vat. lat. 10558*, p. 11). Representation in mosaic of pope HONOR PP III between Saint Lawrence and a layman, perhaps Pierre de Courtenay, on the architrave of the narthex of the West basilica (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, pls. IX and XI; cf. A. ECCLISSI, *Barb. lat. 4403*, f. 3).
- 1254 Inscription "+XPI NASCENTIS IN SECVLV VERO MANENTIS ANNVS MILLENVS QVINQVAGENVS QVARTVS > DVCENTENS" in choir on back of clergy bench (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 508; DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 28, with divergencies), perhaps originally screen of *schola cantorum* (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 50).
- 1373 Gregory XI commands the abbot to restore the campanile, damaged perhaps in the earthquake of 1348 (DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 106, note 2).
- 1447 — 1455 Work of unknown extent on monastery buildings (coat of arms of Nicolaus V; DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 142) and possibly on church: "*Johannis... Lateranensis, Mariae Maioris, Stephani Coelimontani, Sanctorum Apostolorum, Pauli exterioris et Laurentii extra muros, basilicas partim munivit, partim ornavit, partim mirum in modum revocavit...*" (GIANOZZO-MANETTI, *Vita Nicolai V*, in: *RIS* III, 2, col. 931)<sup>2</sup>.
- 1486 Campanile restored (GRIGIONI, *op. cit.*, p. 102).
- 1492 — after 1503 Repairs financed by Card. Oliviero Caraffa including, in 1492, gilded and painted ceiling in the nave of the West basilica (see CIAMPINI, *De sacris aedificiis*, pl. XXVI and Audéoud, Photograph), demolished 1855-1864. Inscription, read in the XVI century in one of its coffers "OLIVERIVS CARAPHA... FACIVNDVM CVRAVIT ANNO SALVTIS MCCCCLXXXII" (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 514 after *Cod. Chig. I. V. 167*, f. 379; see also ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, f. 82 " ... *quam nuper Reverendissimus Olivierus Carapha card. Neapolitanus exornavit e laquearia aurea variis picturis adornata restauravit*" and similarly A. FULVIUS, *Antiquitates Romae*, Rome, 1527, f. VI v.; repeated *idem*, *Le antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1543, f. 17, and Venice 1588, f. 11; L. FAUNO, *Delle antichità di Roma*, Venice 1550, f. 17; PANVINIO, *op. cit.*, p. 228; MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 136)<sup>3</sup>. Decorative paintings on gallery and clerestory levels

(1) The parts of the inscriptions as given above, are perfectly legible, and Muñoz' abbreviated version, *op. cit.*, p. 40, is unjustified. The missing part one would like to emend as "*de sumptibus suis*" "*de propriis suis*", "*de pecunia sua*" or the like.

The reference to Cencio Savelli as *cancellarius*, rather than *camerarius* the office which he held since 1188 and by which he is known as a rule, has caused some doubt regarding his identification with the donor of the decoration. Enrico Josi many years ago [*NBAC* 20 (1919), p. 39] had even suggested to see in the Cencius of the inscription not the later pope, but a *Cencius Cancellarius Urbis Romae*. But according to G. MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, VII, Venice, 1841, p. 171, Cencio in 1191 succeeded Egidio Pierleoni as *Cancellarius Ecclesiae*. The omission of the cardinal's title in the inscription, while not decisive, allows for the tentative suggestion that the donation occurred, possibly, prior to 1192 when he was elevated to the cardinalate.

(2) No document seems to support Manetti's statement; see F. MUENTZ, *Les Arts à la cour des papes*, I, (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises..., 4) Paris, 1878.

(3) PANCIROLI, *Tesori...*, 1625, p. 160, gives the date 1464 for the ceiling and attributes to the same period the pavement " ... *nel 1464 fece il soffitto indorato e il suolo della chiesa*" Later editions, e.g., the one of 1725 (ed. B. G. Celloni), p. 71, eliminate both errors.

in nave of East basilica and figures of Virgin, Lawrence and Stephen, accompanied by Caraffa coat of arms on walled-up east arcades: “*Nel muro sopra nel mezzo è dipinta la Madonna a destra S. Lorenzo a sinistra S. Stefano. In cima in mezzo vi è l’arma del Card. Caraffa...*” (PESARINI, *op. cit.*, f. 151 after “*ms. Monsacratì nella biblioteca di S. Pietro in Vincoli...*”; see also ancient illustrations, particularly ROSSINI, *Monumenti*, (fig. 22), and Poynter). Demolished 1855-64. Possibly repairs on facade; coats of arms of Caraffa, Aragon and Julius II, formerly on facade, now inside narthex (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

- Ca. 1505 Possibly repairs undertaken by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, commendatore of the monastery (PANCIOLOLI, *Tesori*, 1725, p. 72)<sup>1</sup>.
- 1515 A breve by Leo X, March 5, 1515 entitles Card. Alessandro Farnese to remove, presumably for the building of Palazzo Farnese marbles, capitals, columns and the like, excavated in the vineyard around S. Lorenzo (LANCIANI, *Scavi*, II, pp. 151, 154; J. HERGENROETHER, *Leonis X ... Regesta*, Freiburg/B. 1891, No. 14392)<sup>2</sup>.
- Ca. 1580 Roman sculptures found in medieval building “... *fabbrica antica moderna*”, possibly part of the Laurentopolis opposite the church, demolished when square laid out in front of narthex (FLAMINIO VACCA, *Memorie*, no. 13, see F. NARDINI, *Roma Antica*, IV, Rome 1771, p. X and LANCIANI, *Scavi*, II, p. 169).
- 1619 Restoration of aisles of West basilica; new altars “... *ha tre navi, e le due piccole laterali furono nell’anno 1619 ristorate alla moderna con suoi altari abbelliti...*” (F. TITI, *Studio...*, Rome, 1674, p. 251; see also *Visitatio... 1624, Vallicell.*, P 199, f. 151, 151’), removed 1857-65.
- 1624 — 1629 (?) Ceiling of East basilica and decoration of crypt, financed by Card. Francesco Buoncompagni “... *rinovato il detto soffitto che era caduto; e ornata la confessione...*” (G. SEVERANO, *Memorie*, Rome, 1630, p. 652; G. BAGLIONE, *Le nove Chiese*, Rome, 1639, p. 152; see also ancient illustrations, such as ROSSINI, *Monumenti*; LETAROUILLY, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 269 and others)<sup>3</sup>.
- 1604, 1623, 1629, 1649 Funeral monuments (Bonelli, Guglielmi, Landri, Rondinini) set up in left aisle and against two end piers of West basilica (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, pp. 515 f).
- Prior to 1647 Paintings placed into the seven pre-existing altar frames and over-all decoration of the West basilica; inscription perhaps above door of former sacristy<sup>4</sup>, “... QUADRATUM E MINORIBUS COLUMNIS ORDINEM // ET INFERIORIBUS (?) EX MIRACULOSO MARMORE // PARIETES SEGMENTATOS GRADUM SUBTERRANEI // SACELLI UBI TRIUMPHALIA IACENT CORPORA // DIVORUM LAURENTII ET STEPHANI // SEPTEMQUE // ALTARIA... SUIS INSIGNITA PICTURIS // CAETERAQUE... BASILICAE ORNAMENTA PERFECTA... CANONICI REGULARES... POSUERUNT // EXALTIS PROXIME ANNIS // UT AUTEM... MONUMENTUM EXTARET HUNC LAPIDEM PONENDUM CURAVIT FRANCISCUS SORICIUS... ABBAS... MDCXLVII...” (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 517, after Galletti; see also BAGLIONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff).
- 1676 Chapel of Saint Ciriaca redecorated; inscription (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 518; DA BRÀ, *Iscrizioni latine*, p. 30).

(1) The reference appears only in the Panciroli edition of 1725; proof, documentary or otherwise is lacking.

(2) Professor Wolfgang Lotz has made the appealing suggestion that the columns in the vestibule of Palazzo Farnese came from these excavations.

(3) The *visitatores* in 1624 ordered the repair of the ceiling: “... *Laqueare collapsum supra Altare.. ex integro reficiatur auro coloribusque distinctum ad instar laquearis anterioris navis...*” (*Vallicell.* P 199, f. 152 v.); GORI, *op. cit.*, p. 35, erroneously attributes the ceiling to Card. Francesco Barberini.

(4) See BRUZIO, *Vat. lat.* 11875, f. 267 v., transcribed by PESARINI, *Vat. lat.* 13129, f. 53: “*Canonici S. Salvatoris eam instaurarunt ut inscriptione ianuam sacrarii*”.

- 1688 Repairs on roof financed by Card. Giacomo Rospigliosi; inscription, formerly in narthex of West basilica (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 518).
- 1697 New sacristy; inscription, location unknown (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 519).
- 1704 Following a design of Alessandro Gaulli, the canons and Card. Pietro Ottoboni have a square cleared by razing walls in front of the church and a column erected, flanked by dadoes, carrying the *monti* and star of Clement XI. Inscription, formerly on base of column "... PROSPECTUM BASILICAE... COLUMNA ERECTA STRATISQUE PARIETINIS... APERUERE..." (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 519, after Galetti<sup>1</sup>. See also PANCIOLOI (ed. G. B. Ceccoli), *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 72: "... è stata con vago disegno d'Alessandro Gaulli l'ornamento d'una bella Piazza, attornata con vaghe colonne et una ben'intesa cordonata, nel mezzo della quale... una colonna..." (fig. 10).
- 1700 — 1721 First (?) column to the left in East basilica excavated (NIBBY, *Analisi...*, Rome, 1848, II, p. 256, after FRANCESCO DE' FIGORONI, *Vestigia di Roma antica*, Rome 1744, I, p. 118: "Avendo... Clemente XI fatto scavare intorno di una di esse colonne, a sinistra, si trovò che il piano era giusto a quello del cimitero come al presente si vede...").
- 1729 — 1730 Consecration of altars of Saint Lawrence and Stephen, Saint Romanus and Saint Cyriaca (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 520).
- 1811 — 1838 Cemetery on Campo Verano laid out in its first (1811-1814) and second (1834-1838) stage, the latter including a project of porticoes and chapels (MONTENOVESI, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f).
- 1821 — 1822 Columns in North aisle (?) of East basilica cleared to original level (FONTANA, *Raccolta...*, 1855, I, p. 7; NIBBY, *Analisi*, p. 256).
- After 1848 First abortive attempt at isolating church undertaken under Card. Tosti (VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, f. 172').
- 1857 Capuchin Fathers replace regular Canons of the Lateran as guardians of the church and the monastery (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 521).
- 1855 — 1864 Isolation, restoration and remodelling of East and West basilicas under Pius IX, directed by Virginio Vespignani. Following sounding in south aisle in 1852 (STEVENSON, *Schedario, Vat. Lat. 10558*, f. 46) original level in nave and aisles of East basilica is uncovered in 1855 (GORI, *op. cit.*, p. 26) and cleared in 1862-64 (STEVENSON, *ibid.*, and De Rossi, B.A.C., 1863 and 1864, *passim*). Upper level of east nave with chancel placed on piers, old walls of confessio replaced by present ones (STEVENSON, *loc. cit.*) and walls of entire East basilica lined and reinforced, 1862-64 (STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, f. 46 and Gori, *op. cit.*, p. 26, "... l'antica basilica... della quale or si fortifica il muro laterale..."). Hill cut east and west of both basilicas (1857-1863) (VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, *passim*; DE ROSSI, *BAC*, 1863 p. 16). Windows pierced into north aisles of East basilica (STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, f. 46); those formerly closed in clerestory of latter reopened (*Memoria*, 1865, pp. 9). Ceilings of East and West naves (see digs. 1492 and ca. 1629) replaced by open timber roofs. Roof of portico restored (*Memoria* 1865, pp. 7 f). New parapets inserted in galleries of East church, uppermost narthex gallery rebuilt, floors of galleries restored (*ibid.*, p. 9). Top of ciborium (see dig. 1148) restored into Romanesque pyramid (Stevenson, *loc. cit.*). Baroque altars (see dig. prior to 1647) removed from aisles of West basilica, rectangular windows high up in its aisles replaced by round arched windows (*Memoria*, 1865, p. 8 "... in queste navi minori vi erano finestre di forma quadra... immediatamente sotto la travatura; ... chiuse quelle se ne sono aperte in basso nuove... di forma rispondente... a quelle della nave maggiore..."). See particularly older engravings as listed above, drawings of Vespignani, *Memoria* 1865, GORI, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and inscription of Pius IX, until 1943 on supporting wall of cemetery, northwest of church, "... BASILICAM... ULIGINE ET OBSCURITATE SQUALLENTEM EXCISA RUPE SUBSTRUCTIS MURIS ADMISSO INFERIUS LUMINE EGESTIS AEDIS CONSTANTINIANAE SOLO RUDERIBUS... RESTITUIT... MDCCCLIX..." (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 522).

- 1864 — 1865 Restoration completed; inscriptions on triumphal arch of West basilica “... AEDEM HANC GEMINAM... RESTITUIT BASILICAM CONSTANTINIANAM IN LUCEM REVOCAVIT... ANNO MDCCCLXIV...” and in sacristy “... BASILICAM HANC... INSTAURAVIT AMPLIAVIT DECORAVITQUE ... MDCCCLXV...” (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 522 f). Paintings of west facade executed by Silverio Capparoni and Alessandro Mantovani, of interior by Cesare Fracasini and others (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, pls. XCIII-CV; *Triplice Omaggio*, p. 38 f); demolished in bombing 1943. Sacristy replaces lateral portico along south flank of East basilica 1865; inscription (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 523; also *Memoria*, 1865, p. 9). New larger column, carrying statue of Saint Lawrence set up in piazza in 1865, replacing column of 1704 (see dig. 1704); inscription on base ... PIUS IX... PONTIFICATUS A. XIX...” (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 522; see also, *Memoria*, 1865, p. 6).
- 1852 — 1894 Cemetery on Verano (see dig. 1811-1838) systematized 1852-55, and enlarged, including chapel (1860, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 543), quadriporticus (1857-1874; DE ROSSI, *BAC*, 1864, pp. 54 ff, see also Vespignani drawing, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31731; MONTENOVESI, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 33 f) and main gate (1870; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 527). Areas north of main gate and eastward to and along south slope of Pincetto hill developed 1863-1870 (DE ROSSI, (*BAC*, 1863 ff), on top of hill east of church 1870 ff, and after purchase of Vigna Carraciolo farther east 1873-1880 (*Bull. Comm. and Not. Scavi*, passim; MONTENOVESI, *op. cit.*, p. 34), later along east foot of hill. Wall at northwest corner opposite south flank of West basilica erected 1894 (STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, 1895).
- 1870 Convent building restored; inscription outside facing stair to *Pincetto*, (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 524).
- 1882 — 1895 East narthex remodelled by Raffaele Cattaneo and Ludwig Seitz as funeral chapel of Pius IX (ANONYMOUS, *Das Grabmal Pius IX*, Milan, 1891; MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff).
- 1911 Sounding in West basilica between the ambos; discovery of upper portions of apse *K* (pl. VII; PESARINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f).
- 1943 Bomb damage; center part of narthex and upper part of facade smashed, roof and parts of clerestory of West basilica destroyed.
- 1947 — 1949 Excavations at east end of West basilica, discovery of Pelagian apse *H* adjoining triumphal arch, of preceding catacomb galleries and tomb chamber *L* farther west, and of later changes, (pls. VII, VIII; FRANKL-JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1950; KRAUTHEIMER-JOSI-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, 1952).
- 1946 — 1950 Restoration and remodelling of church under the direction of Alberto Terenzio. Rebuilding of parts destroyed or damaged in 1943; re-setting of columns and reconstruction of frieze of narthex; rebuilding of upper portion of facade and of western ends of clerestory walls; restoration of large parts of pavement in nave, new roofs both west and east nave. Remodelling, such as closing of windows in south aisle of West basilica, opening of all windows in nave of East basilica and fitting with marble grates after removal of Gothic tracery, opening of medieval windows and marking of arches along south flank of West basilica. Covering of all walls inside and of south aisle outside with heavy plaster coat painted in false masonry<sup>1</sup>.
- 1950 Discovery of large apse in northwest corner of Verano cemetery. (FRANKL-JOSI, *op. cit.*, 1950).
- 1957 Excavation on Verano, south of present basilica, uncovering foundation walls of huge basilica (GATTI, *op. cit.*, 1957; FRANKL-KRAUTHEIMER-GATTI, *op. cit.*, 1958).

(1) Based in part on excerpt from the files of the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti medioevali del Lazio* kindly supplied by Professor Guglielmo Matthiae.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The basilica of S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura*, *una ex septem*, rises on the Via Tiburtina, roughly 1 km. from Porta S. Lorenzo, the *Porta Tiburtina* of Aurelian's city wall. Totalling 80 m in length, the church is enclosed on the north and east by a high hill on which extends part of the municipal



Fig. 1 — S. Lorenzo f. l. m. Air view of churches, convent, and Verano cemetery, August 1954 (Photo: Fotocielo Roma).

cemetery of Rome; a trench, roughly 10 meters wide, separates the church from the cliff of the hill (pl. II; fig. 1). To the south extends the plain, entirely occupied by the largest and oldest part of the municipal cemetery; the north wall of this, the valley part of the *Campo Santo Verano*, runs at a distance of 27 meters from, and exactly parallel to, the south flank of the church. Between the church and the cemetery wall, a road leads to the arcaded entrance facade of the monastery of the Capuchin Fathers. Attached to the southeast corner of the church, the convent buildings extend east into the hillside, south on to the grounds of the cemetery plain; from these south portions of the building, a wing shoots forth westward within the cemetery enclosure. Adjoining the eastern third of the church, a XIX century sacristy accompanies its south flank. Slightly farther west rises the medieval *campanile* and adjoining it, the XIX century *Cappella del Sacramento*, or *Cappella di S. Tarsicio* (fig. 2).

The Via Tiburtina, to the west of the church, broadens into the somewhat shapeless *piazzale S. Lorenzo* as laid out in, and shortly after 1929; immediately in front of the structure, this *piazzale*

joins the XIX century *piazza*, marked in its center by the column of Pius IX. From there a few steps descend into the narthex. Its entablature is supported by six columns; their shafts, four spirally, two vertically fluted rise from bases and plinths on high dadoes and are surmounted by Ionic capitals (figs. 2, 12). A panel in the mosaic on its frieze refers to pope Honorius III (1216-1227)



Fig. 2 — S. Lorenzo f. l. m. Churches, exterior from southwest (Photo: E. Nash).

and to the coronation of Pierre de Courtenay as Emperor of Byzantium (1217). The walls of the narthex are covered with frescoes from the passion of Saint Lawrence. Dating from the XIII century, they were poorly restored in the XVII and XIX centuries. The facade of the narthex with its columns, destroyed in the bombing of 1943, was rebuilt in 1946-1950, as was the upper part of the facade of the nave. But as early as 1857 these upper parts had been largely restored. Three steps descend from the narthex into the interior of the church.

As it stands today, the church consists of two distinct parts: the nave and aisles to the west including the narthex facing the Via Tiburtina, which we shall call the West basilica (or the Honorian basilica), and, separated from the nave by the triumphal arch, the present chancel, better identified as the East basilica. The nave of the West basilica is carried by twenty-two columns, widely varying in material and diameter, and lit by twelve windows on either side (fig. 14). The aisles, both lit by large XIX century windows until the restoration of 1950, are now nearly dark<sup>1</sup>. The floor of nave and aisles is covered with a cosmatesque mosaic pavement and both are surmounted by open timber roofs. Two ambos rise near the end of the nave. Near the end of the north aisle,

(1) The windows of the north aisle, while preserved, were fitted with dark-yellow glass panes.

a flight of steps descends into the Chapel of St. Cyriaca adjoining the left flank of the church. Opposite it, near the end of the south aisle, an arch opens into the *Cappella del Sacramento*; a door to its left leads into a small ante-room from which are reached the *campanile*, the sacristy and a staircase ascending to the galleries of the East basilica (pls. II, IV).

The chancel behind the triumphal arch is raised seven steps above a semicircular landing which projects into the easterly bays of the West basilica. Covered with a mosaic floor, the chancel carries the main altar on top of the steps, and in the rear the pontifical throne, flanked by a presbyter bench. The altar is surmounted by the canopy dating from 1148. But this entire chancel is an insert into the older East basilica; resting originally on an earth fill, it is supported by rows of marble piers planted in 1857-1865 on the original floor of the building, 2.15 m below the level of the west nave. Flights of stairs at the end of either aisle descend from the West into the East basilica. Another flight of steps in the center of the stairs ascending to the chancel, descends into the crypt: it shelters the tomb monument of Saint Lawrence, raised only slightly above the floor of the East basilica, with an altar attached to its western face.

Far smaller than its counterpart to the west, the East basilica, is yet a far more elegant and beautiful structure. Its nave, enveloped by aisles and galleries on three sides, is carried by twelve precious *pavonazzetto* columns on the ground level, by twelve equally splendid smaller columns in the gallery zone, five north and south, and two east. Fifteen windows open into the nave; two more, though walled up, are visible on the east face of the triumphal arch. The windows in the aisles and galleries are of XIX century date. The triumphal arch on its east face carries the huge mosaic, Christ flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, Stephen, Hippolyt and Lawrence, the latter followed by Pope Pelagius II (figs. 24, 25).

Below the steps ascending to the chancel, a door leads from the nave of the East basilica into a shelter extending west. Built by the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti* in 1950, it houses the constructions excavated in 1947-1949: in the area below the three easterly bays of the West nave: the remnants of the apse *H* of the East basilica, of the catacomb system both below and farther west, including the cataract grave, finally, the apse *K* at the western end. The springing of the apse of the East basilica was preserved in the restoration of 1946-1950 also above the floor level of the West nave adjoining the piers carrying the triumphal arch and its curve was marked by a black band in the pavement of the semicircular landing (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 25, 52).

The two churches are at present the only parts visible of the Early Christian and medieval sanctuary of S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura*. Another huge structure once rose, however, on the area of the Verano cemetery, south of and parallel to the present basilica. Only a remnant of it is accessible in the northwest corner of the cemetery, the fragment of a huge, absidal wall (pl. II; fig. 121).

Both the West and the East basilicas, outside as well as in their interiors, have undergone two restorations of remarkable and perhaps somewhat excessive thoroughness in the course of the last hundred years. Between 1855 and 1865, Vespignani, advised by De Rossi, attempted to restore to the building what their period believed to be its Early Christian-Byzantine character. Furnishings, decorations, and ceilings of the XV-XVII centuries were removed, windows were opened in the aisles of both basilicas and in the galleries of the East church, and both the west and the east naves were restored with open timber roofs with painted and gilded beams. The walls in the north and south aisles of the East basilica were covered with hollow plaster walls with a pilaster order, the east aisle filled with a profuse decor of mosaic and marble between 1883 and 1885, to serve as the mausoleum of Pius IX. Last but not least, the walls of the West nave, including the west face of the triumphal arch, were covered with murals in the mode of academic Christian history painting. A painting imitating mosaic in the same late XIX century mode covered the upper part of the facade on the outside.

As it happened, S. Lorenzo was the only monument in Rome to be damaged in the Second World War. During a raid on July 19, 1943, the west nave was hit by a stray bomb, while several near misses exploded west and south of the church. (fig. 15). Damage was considerable, but largely limited to the decoration *stile Pio IX*: large parts of the open timber roof were gone, the murals and the imitation mosaic were blasted off the walls and the facade. Of the medieval decoration, two pieces were lost, a famous panel of the cosmatesque floor showing two knights, and the *baldacchino* over the tomb of Cardinal Fieschi south of the main portal. The structure had suffered little, aside from the collapse of the columns in the narthex, of the facade and of the roof, and damage to the column shafts in the west nave caused by bomb splinters.

From 1945 through 1950 a complete restoration was undertaken under the expert direction of Professor Alberto Terenzio, chief of the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti per il Lazio*. Its aim was apparently fourfold: to secure the stability of the structure and to repair serious damage; to remove from the West basilica the marks of Vespignani's re-styling; to evoke in the West basilica the original character of a medieval, in the East basilica of an Early Christian building; and, incidentally, to lay open some traces of building phases hidden by earlier restorations. Thus, in the West basilica the narthex columns and their entablature were set up again; the facade, in its upper portions at any rate, was rebuilt; parts of the clerestorey were rebuilt, and nave and aisles were provided with new open timber roofs; the XIX century windows in the aisles were walled up. In the East basilica, three windows of the clerestorey on either side, walled up in the XVII century, were reopened and their Gothic tracery removed, and all the windows were filled with marble panes pierced by holes. New timber roofs were placed over nave and galleries. In both the West and East basilicas the interior walls were covered with plaster, as was the south flank of the West church, and while this covering was left white in the West basilica, in the East basilica it was painted in imitation of *opus listatum*. Thus the plaster coat covers not only the original masonry and its tell-tale breaks and additions, but in the East basilica also gives an impression as misleading, though in a different way, as Vespignani's interpretation of "Early Christian-Byzantine" architecture. On the other hand, care was taken to mark the traces of arches and windows, formerly walled up, in the south wall of the West basilica; to trace on the floor the curve of the apse of the East basilica; to build a shelter housing the lower portions of that apse and the structures farther west; finally, to rearrange the access to the raised chancel and the *confessio* (figs. 2, 14, 24, 25).

Since the XVI century, the dichotomy of the structure into an older and a younger part has been obvious to observant eyes, and to an unprejudiced onlooker these halves would seem to be dated: the East basilica 579-590, by the mosaic of Pelagius II, including the inscription transmitted by several *syllogai*; the West basilica, less securely, 1216-1227, by the mosaic panel of Honorius III in the frieze of the narthex. This simple scheme was obscured for learned observers, however, by evidence contained in the *Liber Pontificalis* and in other early documents: the founding of a basilica on the spot by Constantine and the construction of *gradus ascensionis et descensionis* leading to the tomb of the martyr in the catacomb *usque ad corpus*, even though it remains unclear whether the compiler of the Sylvester biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* meant to place the Constantinian basilica above or below ground<sup>1</sup>; burials of V century popes near the tomb of the martyr<sup>2</sup>; an inscription referring to a decoration or redecoration at the expense of one presbyter Leopardus about 400, read in the ninth century in the apse of a basilica of Saint Lawrence in Rome, presumably the church on the Verano<sup>3</sup>; a seemingly contradictory passage to the effect that Sixtus III « ... *fecit basilicam Sancto*

(1) See above, p. 6, dig. 314-335.

(2) See above, p. 8,9, dig. 418, 440, 468.

(3) See above, p. 8, dig. circa 400.



*Laurentio quod Valentinianus Augustus concessit* », in all likelihood erroneously referred to S. Lorenzo f.l.m.<sup>1</sup>; references in pilgrim guides of the VII century to “two large basilicas” on the site, a “new, more beautiful” one, sheltering the tomb of the Saint and the *major*<sup>2</sup>; in the VIII century, the distinction between the *aeclesia beati Laurentii martyris, scilicet ubi sanctum corpus requiescit* and the *basilica maior*<sup>3</sup>; finally, the finds in the XIX century, of two epitaphs referring to the “*basilica maior*”<sup>4</sup>.

With only the West and the East basilicas known, these documents were bound to be interpreted as referring to these two structures. To Panvinio and Ugonio the West basilica was the Constantinian building, its narthex an addition of Honorius III; the East basilica was an appendix erected by Pelagius II<sup>5</sup>. Ciampini saw in the East basilica a Constantinian plan with a wider nave and with a transept occupying the last bays of the west nave; he gave to Pelagius only the mosaic and considered the structure rebuilt by Hadrian I with its entrance through the Constantinian transept. He correctly believed the West basilica to have been built by Honorius III<sup>6</sup>. De Rossi, the first to know the references to a *basilica maior*, offered still another solution. The East church was held to be an enlargement towards the west of a first Constantinian basilica carried out by Pelagius II. The *basilica maior* was supposed to have been built by Sixtus III (432-440) and to survive in part in the Honorian nave. The apses of the two buildings, the Pelagian pointing west, the Sixtine east, supposedly touched each other. Finally, the hypothesis continued, the two buildings were linked under Honorius III by inserting the six large columns between the ambos and the triumphal arch and the corresponding intermediary portions of the walls of the nave and aisles<sup>7</sup>. Cattaneo elaborated on the thesis, by pointing out that all capitals in the West basilica were Honorian, while only the shafts and perhaps some pieces of the walls dated from the time of Sixtus III; in the East basilica he considered the corner bays of the east aisle as part of the Pelagian enlargement<sup>8</sup>. Duchesne thought basically along the same line: Constantine's building, the *minor*, was replaced by Pelagius' building, the East basilica, which, however, possibly incorporated the Constantinian apse; the West basilica, while built by Honorius III, occupies the site of the *maior*, Sixtus III's building of which, however, no trace was left<sup>9</sup>.

Neat as they were, De Rossi's and Cattaneo's hypotheses had several flaws. These were pointed out by Pesarini: the church founded by Sixtus III, he stated, was S. Lorenzo in Lucina, not S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura*; the West basilica, while re-using older column shafts, is a uniform construction of the time of Honorius III; finally, a sounding made by Pesarini and Josi in 1911 in the Honorian nave between the two ambos brought to light the remnants of apse *K* pointing west rather than east, and the walls of what appeared to be a transept<sup>10</sup>. These elements seemed to connect with the “intermediary portions” of the aisle walls and with the East church. Consequently, Pesarini

(1) See above, p. 9, dig. 432-440.

(2) See above, p. 11, dig. 625-638, 635-642, 648-682.

(3) See above, p. 12, dig. 772-795.

(4) See above, p. 7, 8 f, dig. late IV or V century, and V or VI century (?).

(5) PANVINIO, *op. cit.*, 1568, pp. 226, 228: “*S. Silvester... (Constantino) hanc... basilicam excitare suasit miro opere, marmoreisque... columnis ornata... habet... in medio arcum musivo ornatu a Pelagio II factum, qui antiquam ecclesiam a nova dividit. Nova vero, idest a Pelagio II, structa....*” UGONIO, *op. cit.*, p. 153: “*Questa chiesa fu da Pelagio II ingrandita e fatta più lunga*”.

(6) CIAMPINI, *De sacris aedificiis*, p. 114 ff. His dating was based on the supposedly Constantinian cross plan, including the “transept”; on the supposed narrowing of the triumphal arch; finally, on the *opus listatum* of the East basilica which he considered to be post-Pelagian. Regarding the transept, see his p. 114: “*Autumo igitur Basilicam hanc... Crucis formam habuisse, scilicet ut... navis maior Orientem, ... navis transversa... eo sita fuisse loco ubi nunc ex una Secretarii porta ex altera vero partibus descensus ad Catacumbas cernuntur*”.

(7) DE ROSSI, *BAC*, 1864, pp. 41 ff.

(8) CATTANEO, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.

(9) DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 1921; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico*, II, p. 80 note 3; C. VOGEL, in: DUCHESNE, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, III, Paris 1957, p. 80.

(10) PESARINI, *op. cit.*, 1913.

attributed them to Pelagius II and it seemed only logical to interpret them as the transept and apse of the East basilica which he assigned in its entirety to Pelagius II. No trace of the *basilica maior* had been found, and Pesarini suggested it might have been situated at the foot of the stairs leading to the hill east of the convent. Based on Pesarini's findings and on other observations, Krautheimer, in 1934<sup>1</sup>, concluded (as it now turns out, erroneously) that the transept and, indeed, large parts of the church to the east went back to a building period prior to Pelagius and, more precisely, to the beginning of the V century. Muñoz<sup>2</sup> shared the mistaken opinion that the East basilica incorporated parts of a IV or V century construction, while its galleries were VI century work. He observed correctly that the West basilica rose on a site not previously occupied by any construction<sup>3</sup>.

The excavations undertaken in 1947-1949 in the area west of the East basilica<sup>4</sup>, the observations made in 1950 along the north wall of the Verano<sup>5</sup> and the excavation undertaken inside the cemetery in 1957<sup>6</sup> have finally furnished the basis for a history of the building in which the monumental and documentary evidence can be made to coincide.

## E. — ANALYSIS

### I. TOPOGRAPHY

#### a) TERRAIN

The lay-out of the building complex at S. Lorenzo, the West basilica, the East basilica, the convent buildings and the huge structure on the Verano cemetery, and their history can be explained only if the topographical situation and its changes over the last fifteen hundred years are taken into account (pls. II, V, VI; figs. 1, 3, 4).

At present a tufa hill rising, on the average, 9.70 m above the level of the Honorian nave,  $\pm 0$ , surrounds the two basilicas on the east and north, separated from them by a deep cut, approximately nine meters deep and thirteen meters wide (pl. II; figs. 1-4). The convent buildings, along their north and east sides, are in direct contact with the hill, their groundfloor being sunk into it. The hill extends far to the east into what is called the *rupe Caracciolo*, and to the northwest where it accompanies the *Via Tiburtina*. In its interior it shelters on at least five gallery levels the huge catacomb of St. Cyriaca. The cut which today separates the east and north walls of the basilicas from the hill dates only from 1856-1864<sup>7</sup>; a narrower trench begun some years earlier (fig. 3) had remained abortive<sup>8</sup>. Prior to that, the hill was immediately adjacent to the north and east flanks of the East and West basilicas and rose to levels slightly lower than today, +9.36 m to the North<sup>9</sup>,

(1) KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1934.

(2) MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*

(3) *Pro beneficio inventarii* we summarize the suggestions of DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952: the Constantinian church rose on the hill above the present site of the East basilica, the tomb of the Saint in the catacomb lay further west; it was later incorporated into a basilica erected by Sixtus III; Pelagius built the East basilica and transferred the tomb; in the X or XI century a post-Pelagian transept and apse (Pesarini's apse) were added to the west, Pelagius' church was completely remodelled, and the tomb was again transferred into the new transept; the West basilica dated 1118, as does the present confessio into which the saint was then transferred; finally the two churches were joined together by Honorius III.

(4) FRANKL-JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1950; KRAUTHEIMER-JOSI-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, 1952.

(5) FRANKL-JOSI, *op. cit.*, 1950.

(6) KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL-GATTI, *op. cit.*, 1958.

(7) See above, p. 16, dig. 1855-1864.

(8) VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, f. 172 v: "(Il) ... Card. Tosti, (allora Tesoriere della R.C.A.)... fece a minor distanza iniziare lo stesso isolamento..."

(9) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31689, 31735, the latter erroneously giving the level of the hill as +26.50 instead of +16.50 m above the assumed zero point, -7.10 m below the Honorian nave.

+9.10 m to the East<sup>1</sup>. Thus, it corresponded to the level of the springings of the present-day gallery windows in the East basilica and to nearly half the height of the north aisle of the West basilica. Traces of the masonry's having been built against the rock remain visible all long the wall of that aisle at a level of roughly +5.00 m. In Roman times the level of the hill to the east was apparently as much as three to four meters lower, as witness a Roman road pavement found at that level<sup>2</sup>. Thus, it would have been roughly level with the galleries of the East basilica, +5.80 m. Also, it is worth noting that the cutting of the trench north and east of the East basilica caused the demolition in that area of the two top levels of the catacomb galleries<sup>3</sup> (fig. 32).

Before churches and convent were built, the hill must have extended considerably further west and somewhat further south. The foundation walls of the colonnades of the West basilica, in its western two-thirds, were built in trenches deeply cut into the live rock while the floor of its nave and aisles in that part was placed directly on a bed of smoothed live tufa. Further west the pavement of the Honorian portico (and presumably the live rock on which it rests) lies two steps higher, +0.26 m, its Ionic columns another three steps higher, at +0.75 m. From there, after a short downslope of the sidewalk, the piazza maintains a level averaging +0.75 m across the Via Tiburtina, broadened as it was in 1929-30 to the corner of the Viale Regina Margherita, roughly 110 meters from the columns of the Honorian portico. The level was apparently created when the column of Pius IX was set up in 1865 on the piazza, 38 meters from the portico (figs. 1, 13). Previously the level rose sharply towards that same spot, marked then by the column of Cardinal Ottoboni, reached by five steps, and maintained a level of from +2.90 to +3.37 meters across the old Via Tiburtina to a point roughly 85 meters distant from the Honorian portico (figs. 3, 4, 10, 12)<sup>4</sup>. Beyond the modern road the ground rises abruptly to the Botanical Garden, at roughly a level of +10.00 meters and the same situation obtained prior to 1865, when that higher ground was occupied by the Villa Venturi<sup>5</sup>. Apparently, then, the hill north and east of the basilicas once extended west over the site of the churches, the piazza, and the road, and continued directly, and on nearly the same level, into the hill across the road. At an unspecified time, the cutting of the Via Tiburtina, though presumably at a level some meters above the mid-XIX century level, bisected the hill and created more or less the present situation. Yet this bisection need not go back to Roman or Early Christian times: the Roman Via Tiburtina possibly ran further north-west, skirting S. Ippolito to the left<sup>6</sup>.

The configuration of the terrain south of the convent buildings and the two churches is harder to determine (fig. 3). The *rupe Caracciolo*, beginning at the south-east corner of the convent and running west-north-west to east-south-east, today falls in a steep cliff down towards the adjoining plain to the south. The face of the cliff was cut back in 1876 while the cemetery was extended to this site and a number of cubicles were halved in the operation;<sup>7</sup> hence, the hill originally seems to have projected somewhat further. Yet the general direction of the bounding cliff remained apparently unchanged. Originally, it seems, it continued westward until it reached a line somewhere between the south flank of the two churches and the modern north wall of the front part of the Verano cemetery. Near the Campanile, between the Chapel of the Sacrament and the cemetery wall, the live rock rises to the surface at a level of ca. +0.75 m, and this higher level, residual of the original

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735, see previous note, thus correcting KRAUTHEIMER, *RAC* 1934, p. 299 f, note 5.

(2) See below, p. 28 and note 2.

(3) VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, section, p. 186.

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31733, 31735; see also the views drawn by Valenciennes and Letarouilly, above p. 5.

(5) MINISTERO DI AGRICOLTURA, INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO, *Monografia Statistica di Roma e Campagna Romana*, Rome, 1878, pl. II.

(6) ASHBY, *op. cit.*, 1906, p. 93.

(7) PARKER, *Archaeology of Rome, Catacombs*, Oxford 1876, pls. 1, 2.

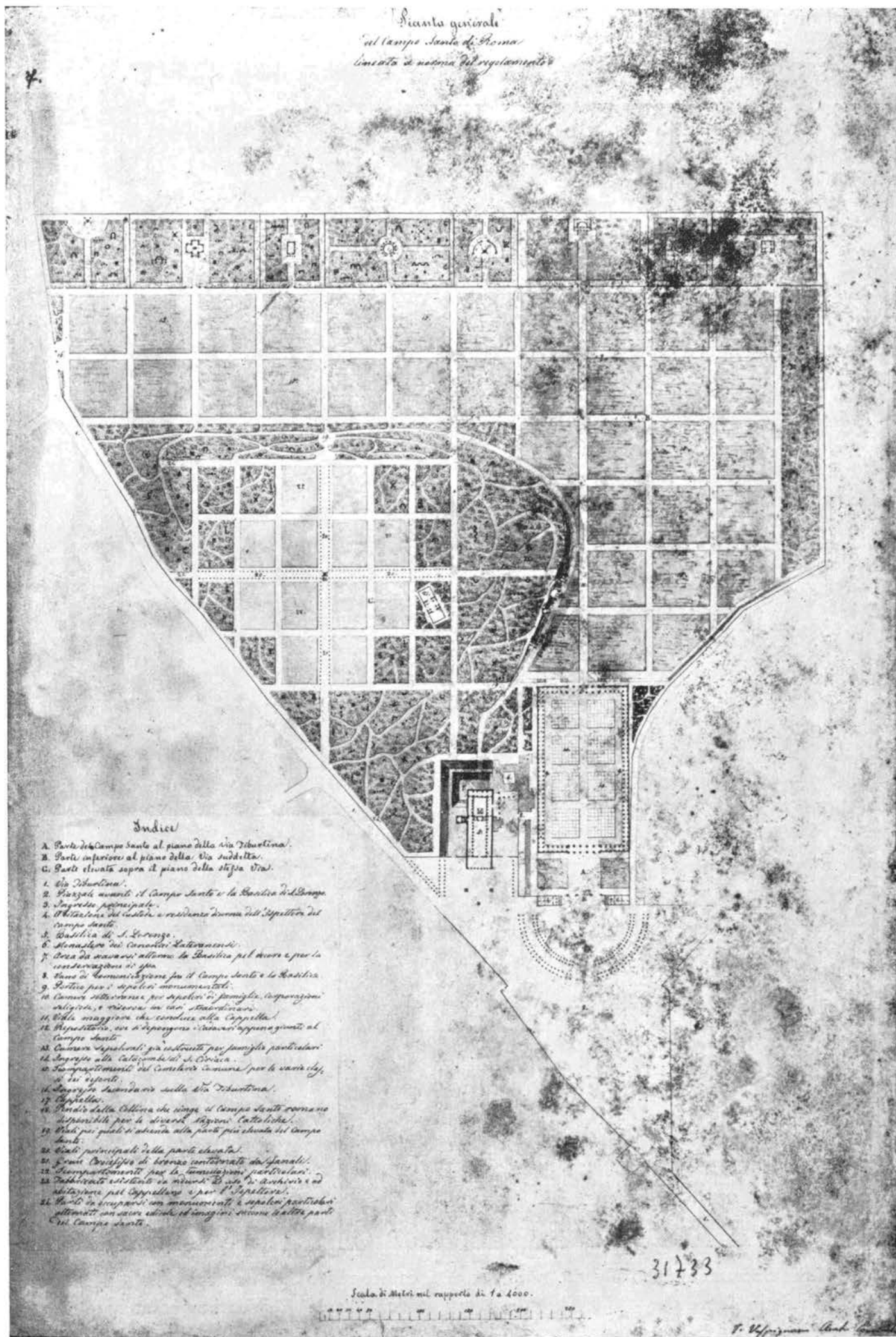


Fig. 3 — S. Lorenzo f. l. m. Vespignani, Plan of churches and landscaping project for Verano cemetery  
 Racc. Lanciani, 31733.

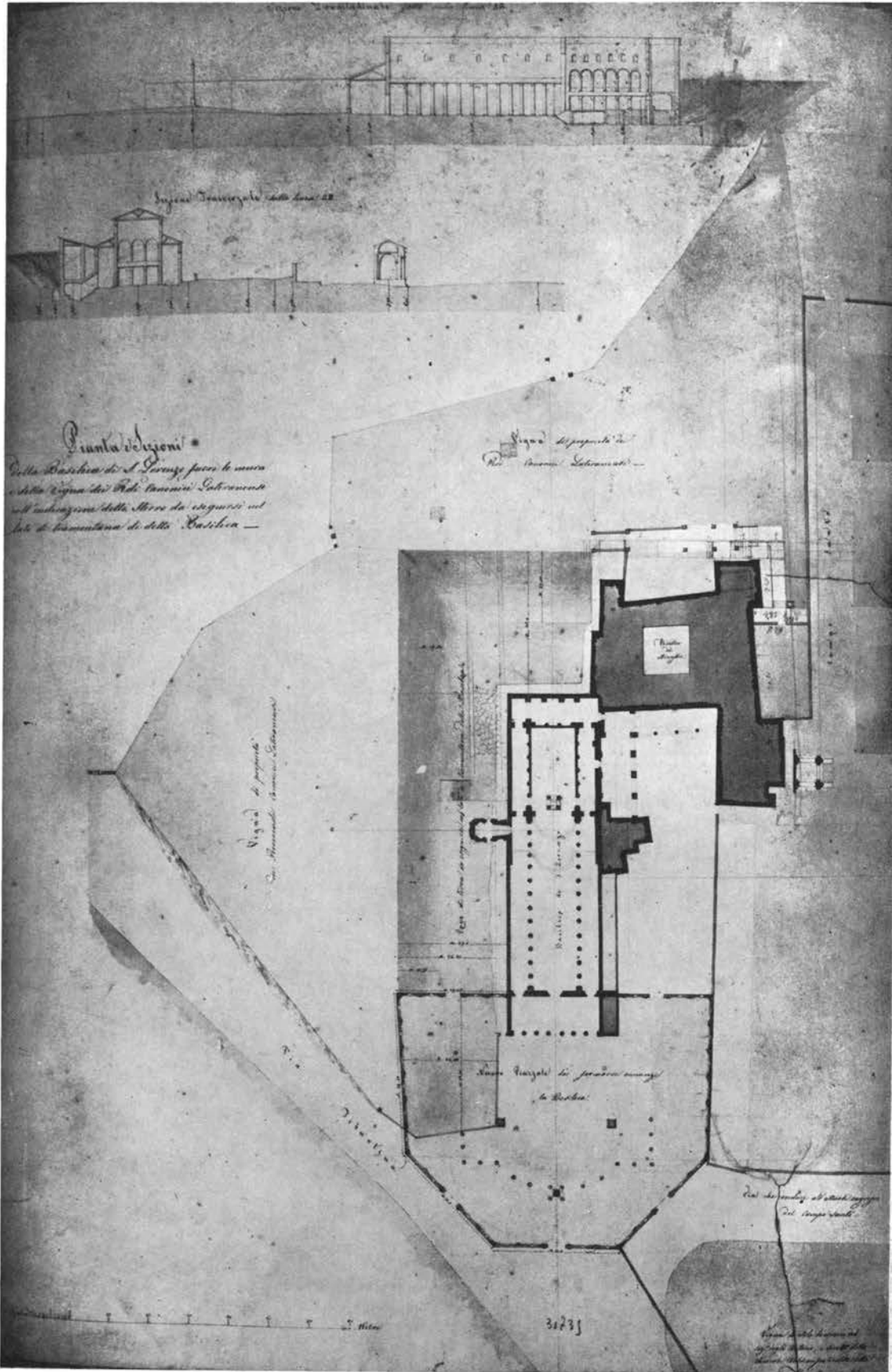


Fig. 4 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan and sections of churches, convent and surroundings, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735.

south face of the hill was confirmed by the finds in 1862, of a mass of live tufa, on the site of the Chapel of the Sacrament, possibly the remnant of a catacomb gallery or a cubiculum, which rose more than 1.00 m above the  $\pm 0$  level of the West basilica (fig. 26) <sup>1</sup>. Yet, immediately south, the

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31712.

live tufa slopes sharply down to  $-4.01$  m below the modern cemetery wall. The ground is loose earth and extends as a plain across the low parts of the Verano cemetery and west of its entrance.

The over-all impression, then, is that the East and the West basilicas were both, though at different times, pushed sideways into the tufa hill, as were also the convent buildings. The huge basilica excavated on the Verano, on the other hand, was built a short distance from the south cliff of that hill, its foundations resting on, but not cut into, the tufa.

#### b) ROADS, GROUNDS AND ACCESSORY BUILDINGS

The modern Via Tiburtina, starting northeast from Porta Tiburtina, later Porta S. Lorenzo, bends sharply to north-north-east some 400 meters before reaching the church. Upon reaching the height of the Verano cemetery and the basilica, the road broadens considerably and sends forth two plazas toward the east, the first opposite the cemetery gate with a little park, laid out after World War II, the second, the Piazzale S. Lorenzo, laid out in its general outline toward 1865 (fig. 1). The Roman road, while following approximately the present course, may have run at this point slightly further north-west, passing S. Lorenzo perhaps on the far side of the modern highway<sup>1</sup>. It was presumably flanked by estates, one south of the church, perhaps in the II century owned by Lucius Verus, from whose property the Ager Veranus supposedly drew its name<sup>2</sup>. Like all highways just outside town, the Via Tiburtina was accompanied by dense rows of mausolea, some sizeable, set up along the borderline of the bounding estates; as late as the XVI century their remnants were seen by Bufalini (fig. 5), Flaminio Vacca and others<sup>3</sup>. Other mausolea, dating from the II to the V centuries, flanked by-ways which crossed the present cemetery. One such supplementary road coming from the south-west, from Porta Maggiore, supposedly fed into the Tiburtina on what is now Piazzale S. Lorenzo, but proof is lacking for Roman times.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, in the area of the Verano cemetery, traces of several Roman by-roads have turned up. One such *diverticulum* ran on the tufa hill that enclosed the churches: its pavement, 6 meters wide and bordered by a curbstone, turned up in 1856 for a length of 8 meters, hugging the north flank of the East basilica; it was demolished in cutting the trench around the church, but is recorded both

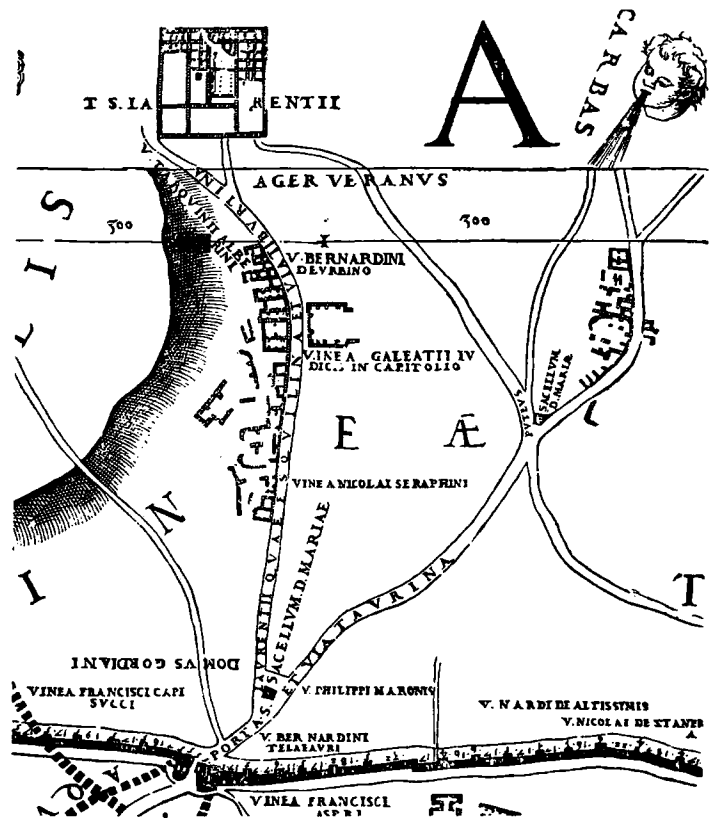


Fig. 5 — S. Lorenzo f. l. m. Bufalini, Plan of surroundings, map of Rome, 1551.

(1) ASHBY, *op. cit.*, 1906, p. 91.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 89 and PLATNER-ASHBY, *A Topographical Dictionary*, p. 3.

(3) LANCIANI, *Scavi, passim*.

(4) ASHBY, *op. cit.*, 1902, map I; IDEM, *ibid.* 1906, p. 90.

in a drawing of Vespignani and a note of Lanciani<sup>1</sup>. Possibly the same road came to light further east on the hill, marked first, ca. 40 meters east of the basilica by a pavement at a depth of 3 to 4 meters below the modern level<sup>2</sup>, and again, over 100 meters distant, by both a pavement and a row of pagan mausolea, extending “... from the mausoleum Antonelli east to the Vigna Caracciolo...”<sup>3</sup>. At the foot of the hill other *diverticula* came to light, always accompanied by mausolea, pagan and Christian: below the east cliff of the *rupe Caracciolo*, in plot 93 of the cemetery, a pavement at a depth of — 2.10 m, apparently of the II century<sup>4</sup>; in the former Vigna Torlonia the epitaph of one *Statilia Euhodia* referring to the location of her mausoleum “... via Tiburtina clivo Basilii parte laeva...” and thus giving the name of one of the *diverticula*<sup>5</sup>; finally, under the “...corner of the quadriporticus closest to the catacombs of S. Ciriaca...”,



Fig. 6 — S. Lorenzo f. l. m. M. van Heemskerck, View of convent, churches, and Laurentiopolis from southwest, 1535 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).

i.e., the northeast corner, and meeting “... the short side of the quadriporticus at an angle of 30 degrees... with a steep slope from north to south...” the pavement of a road flanked by constructions dating from the II to the IV centuries<sup>6</sup>, and, in that same or in the northwest corner, the cella trichora of a IV or V century presbyter or bishop Leo (fig. 90)<sup>7</sup>. The entire area, in short, certainly south and east, but possibly on either side of the Via Tiburtina, was criss-crossed by by-roads and like the highway, these *diverticula* were bounded by dense rows of mausolea, mostly of freedmen *de domu Caesaris*. Hence, the territory in that neighborhood in the II and III centuries was apparently imperial property. Either part of it or else an adjoining estate at one time had come into the hands of one Cyriaca, whose name was linked by later legends to the creation of the catacomb and the burial of Saint Lawrence; her property was confiscated during one of the persecutions, either the one under Decius or that under Diocletian, but donated by Constantine to the newly erected sanctuary of S. Lorenzo<sup>8</sup>.

Which, if any, of these side roads survived beyond late antiquity and what happened to the

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735; *Vat. lat.* 13074, f. 7 v.

(2) The piece of road came to light in 1926, “near the torre dei Cappuccini”, see DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 3. Our indications regarding its exact position and its level are based on information kindly supplied by Father DA BRÀ, as quoted by KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 300; Vespignani’s drawing, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735, notes, roughly at this point, right and left of the road line, two squares which may or may not represent mausolea.

(3) *Not. Sc.*, 1877, p. 271; *Bull. Comm.* 1878, p. 20; ASHBY, *op. cit.*, 1906, p. 91.

(4) *Not. Sc.*, 1893, p. 519, and ASHBY, *l. c.*, p. 91.

(5) *Not. Sc.*, 1890, p. 355; *Bull. Com.*, 1890, p. 335; ASHBY, *l. c.*, p. 90.

(6) *Bull. Ist. Corr. Arch.*, 1869, p. 227. ASHBY, *l. c.*, confuses the quadriporticus, the north wing of which was completed between 1868 and 1870 with the entrance gate of the Campo Santo of 1870 and thus places the road in question erroneously under the gate. See also LANCIANI, *Vat. lat.* 13017, f. 13 v.

(7) DE ROSSI, *BAC* II (1864), p. 54 ff. and drawing Vespignani, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31731.

(8) See above, p. 6; dig. 314-335.

estates bordering on the Via Tiburtina is impossible to say. The main road did survive, its direction in the VII century being marked on the right, in coming from the city, by a sanctuary of St. Agapitus, the building complex of S. Lorenzo and the catacomb of St. Cyriaca, on the left by the catacomb of St. Ippolito. An estate near the sanctuary of S. Lorenzo since the IV and still in the V century was papal property<sup>1</sup>; another estate, possibly adjoining, may have been the property of a bishop Leo<sup>2</sup>. But far into the Middle Ages no details are known of the roadnet, the estates or the buildings erected on them, aside from the churches. Only that much is certain that the monastery set up near the church since the V and reorganized in the VIII century to service it, since at least the X century owned property in the neighborhood<sup>3</sup>. It is equally certain that by the end of the XII century the hill adjoining the southeast corner of the East basilica had been scooped out to make room for the core of the present monastery buildings (figs. 1, 4, 12). Surrounding the four-sided cloister and with their upper floors surmounting it, four wings, two-storied and ca. 15 meters deep, originally formed the quadrangle: those south and west free-standing, the latter opening in four arcades to the west, thus forming the entrance porch; the one to the east buried with its east wall in the hill, as was the north wing prior to 1865. A short projection links this north wing to the *torre dei cappuccini* which rises on top of the hill at the northeast corner of the convent. Another tower may have risen near the southwest corner of the west wing (figs. 6, 7). Nothing proves that these XII century monastic buildings were preceded by similar constructions on the same site. But it may be worth pointing out that the *torre dei cappuccini* and the wing linking it to the core of the monastery buildings both contain, in their north walls, portions of what seem to be VI or VII century masonry. By the same token it is significant that the XII century monastery faced the main road whence a side road must have branched off to the arcaded entrance.

The fortifications set up in the early XIII century turned the complex of churches and monastic buildings into a *Laurentiopolis*. Both their lay-out and that of the roads leading to church and convent are illustrated graphically and verbally by XVI century eye witnesses. Heemskerck's drawing shows a sturdy tower rising at the foot of the cliff, west-northwest of the northwest corner of the Honorian portico (fig. 6). From there, a crenellated wall runs east along the brink of the hill north of the churches, another south across the plaza in front; a well head has been set up south of the campanile on the approach to the monastic buildings. Bufalini's map shows in addition a number of monastic buildings adjoining the north flank of the present churches at the top of the hill (fig. 5). The Via Tiburtina remains, as today, at some distance from the Honorian portico; beyond the church it continues northeast, hugging the southwest slope of the steep tufa hill. Beginning with Lafréri's *Sette chiese* (fig. 7), a series of late XVI century engravings<sup>4</sup> complement the picture. The western fortification wall across the plaza also shows crenellations; at its south end it is anchored by a second tower; this forms the starting point for the south wall, again crenellated, which terminates in a third tower, south and perhaps slightly east of the southwest corner of the arcaded entrance to the convent. Two gates lead to the enclosure, both close to the southwest corner tower; one, in the west wall protected by a medieval (?) porch, gives access over a side road branching off from the Via Tiburtina; the other, in the south wall, is approached from a road coming from *Porta Maggiore*. Lafréri's engraving would seem to suggest that this road skirted the south wall of the fortification, crossing the *Campus Veranus* from southeast to northwest; but Buf-

(1) See above, p. 9; dig. 461-468.

(2) See above, p. 7; dig. after 384.

(3) FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 185.

(4) They continue in engravings long after the actual topography had changed around 1580, see above, p. 4, note 4.



alini's map shows the road clearly as following in its last stretch a route running south to north, along what is now the west wall of the cemetery. Between the dates of Heemskerck's drawing and Lafréri's engraving, a wall with a quoined gate had been raised between the southwest corner of

the Honorian portico and the south fortification wall, thus separating an atrium from the monastic courtyard.

Though in ruins the remnants of Laurentiopolis survived until before 1588; Panvinio († 1568) still saw them, and described them as built of tufa<sup>1</sup>; Ugonio in 1588 did not mention them any more. In Maggi's *Sette chiese* (1600) only the western fortification wall had survived, its medieval entrance replaced by a huge early baroque gate (fig. 8). The corner towers had gone as had the southern fortification wall. The mona-

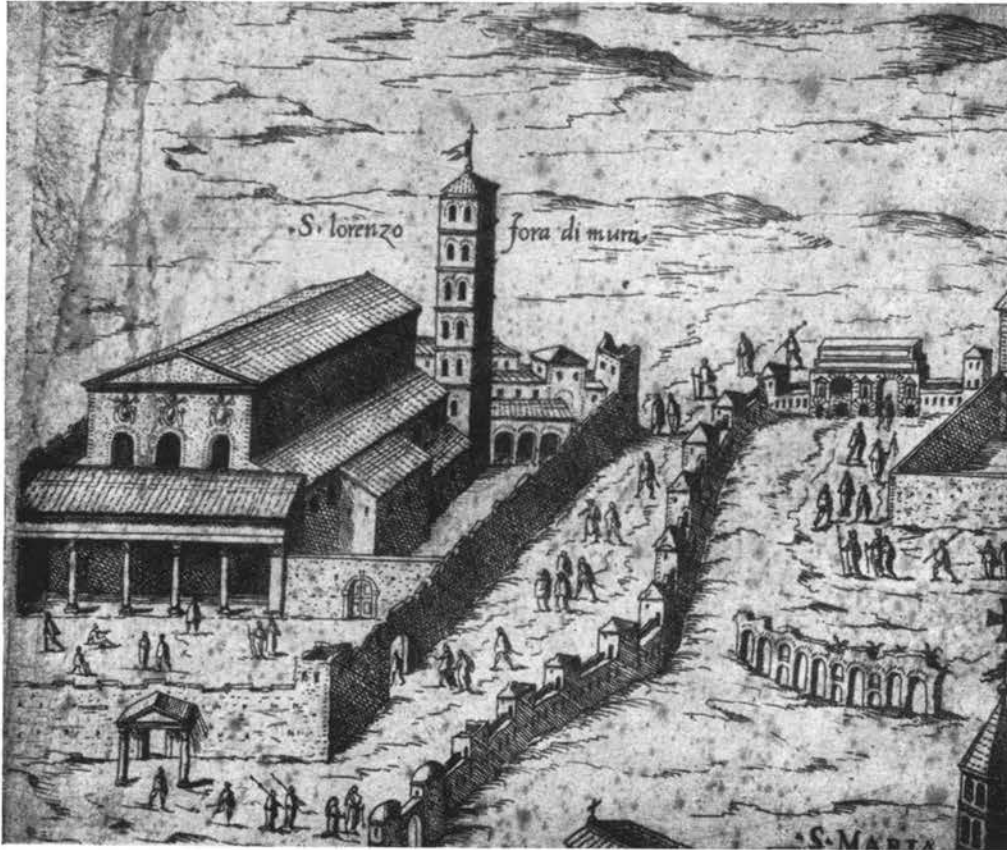


Fig. 7 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Lafréri, View of church, convent, Laurentiopolis from southwest, *Sette Chiese*, 1575.

stic buildings had been enlarged: a short three-storied wing, preserved to this day, projects westward from the southwest corner of the convent; its third story stretches east above the old south wing of the monastery. A short bay projects south at the southwest corner of the three-storied wing while a set of low two-storied buildings projects considerably in front of the south flank of the wing, arranged in U-shape and terminating west with a long low two-storied structure. In our context the most important feature is the grounds which stretch from these two, the high and the low wing westward to the road coming from Porta Maggiore. An orchard to the left and a vineyard to the right are separated from the monastic forecourt to the north and from each other by two walls projecting westward from the new wing of the monastery and running parallel to the south flank of the churches. The first of these walls, rather low, separates the orchard from the monastic forecourt to the north. Starting near the right-hand southwest corner of the three-storied wing, it runs due west, until it reaches the refurbished western fortification wall; there it turns southwest at an angle, to continue finally due south along the road leading to Porta Maggiore. The other wall which appears in Maggi's engraving is far higher, as high as the two-storied low convent wing and far too high for an ordinary garden wall; starting from a little loggetta at the south end of this wing, it runs, as does the first wall, due west, separating the orchard from the vineyard. But some distance from the western wall of the orchard and vineyard

(1) PANVINIO, *op. cit.*, 1568, p. 228; IDEM, *Vat. lat.* 6780, f. 42 f. and transcript, PESARINI, *Vat. lat.* 13129, f. 166.

enclosure along the road to Porta Maggiore and in the midst of the vineyard, this wall suddenly breaks off. It gives the impression of being the remnant of some huge structure left standing among vineyards and orchards.

By 1642-48 when Israel Silvestre depicted the churches and the monastic building (fig. 9),



Fig. 8 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Maggi, View of Verano, convent and churches from southwest, *Sette Chiese*, 1600.

these remnants of medieval and perhaps earlier constructions on the grounds of the monastery had disappeared almost entirely<sup>1</sup>; aside from a small fragment of the huge wall between orchard and vineyard incorporated into the south face of the low two-storied structure<sup>1</sup>. Instead, starting from the northwest corner of the three-storied convent wing, a garden wall ran west to turn south at a right angle along the road to Porta Maggiore. As a result, the orchard it encloses has been somewhat widened, while the monastic forecourt is turned into the relatively narrow lane it has remained to this day. On the other hand, by the time of Israel Silvestre the complex of church and monastery was linked by an open area to the Via Tiburtina. The west wall, a last remnant of Laurentiopolis, is gone; so is the wall that since the second half of the XVI century divided atrium and monastic forecourt; only two lanes lead to the church and the arcaded monastery entrance, starting some distance southwest of the Honorian portico, at the juncture of the Via Tiburtina with the road coming from Porta Maggiore. Thus a situation had been created that continued fundamentally unchanged until about 1930<sup>2</sup>. As late as after the middle of the XIX century (fig. 13) when the orchard and vineyards west, south and east of the monastery and the low two-storied convent wing south of the three-storied wing gave way to the new cemetery, the

(1) It appears still in the drawing of the late XVIII century ANONYMOUS A.D.C., see above, p. 5.

(2) See the views from those of Dughet to the photograph of Parker, above, pp. 4 ff.



Fig. 9 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Silvestre, View of convent and church from west, 1642.



Fig. 10 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Piranesi, Piazza and churches from southwest, 1750.

enclosing walls were rebuilt along the lines set prior to 1642-48. To be sure, the approach to the church was more and more systematized and monumentalized. The lanes leading from Via Tiburtina to the church and the monastery entrance survived until 1870; but the approach to the monastery between church and garden wall was bordered by two rows of trees during the XVIII century and the space in front of the Honorian portico became a *piazzale*, first, in 1704, small and, with its column, dadoes carrying the Albani *monti* and bollards, a mere *parvis* in front of the church (figs. 10, 12). Only under Pius IX was the piazza enlarged so as to merge with the Via Tiburtina (fig. 13).

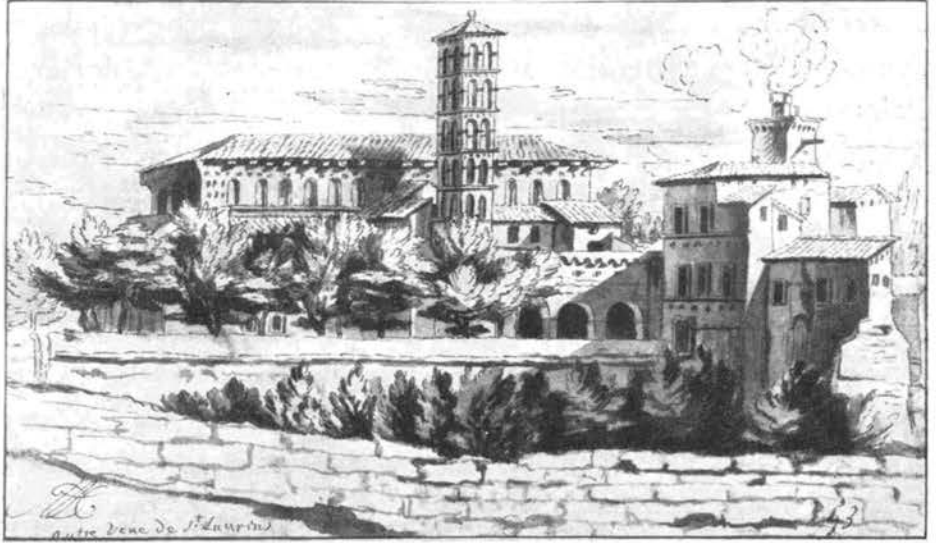


Fig. 11 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Anonymous ADC, Verano convent, and churches from south (Paris, Bib. Nat.).

The development of the approaches to the church and the monastery, then, suggests that from the XII through the XIX century they extended by degrees in the direction of the Via Tiburtina rather than vice-versa. Concomitantly, the road from the Porta Maggiore diminished in importance. In the XII and XIII centuries the approaches would still seem to have been focused on the eastern parts of the building complex, where the East basilica and the convent building met with the walls still visible on the convent grounds in 1600.

The creation since 1929-30 of the somewhat amorphous highway plus piazzale plus park, and the cutting of the Viale Regina Margherita opposite the church, has obliterated the last remnants of this situation.

### c) CATACOMBS.

Catacombs, both large and small, extend on either side of the Via Tiburtina in the neighborhood of the building complex of S. Lorenzo. Some were undoubtedly independent, primarily those beyond the Roman and modern highways, such as the catacomb of S. Ippolito some 500 meters northeast of the basilica<sup>1</sup> and that of the Novatian schismatics which was discovered 100 meters west of the Honorian portico in cutting the Viale Regina Margherita<sup>2</sup>. When these catacombs were first laid out in the III century, the road apparently marked the boundaries of the estates on which the cemeteries had sprung up.

On the other hand, the catacomb which extends around and below the basilica and the monastery, the *cymiterium Ciriaces* of the final version of the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>3</sup>, apparently forms a unit, though increasingly enlarged from the III and IV through the early VII centuries. Its galleries have been entered from the hill north of the basilica along the Via Tiburtina at some distance

(1) See above, p. 29.

(2) FORNARI, "Relazione circa una nuova regione cimiteriale a S. Lorenzo", *R.A.C.* 6 (1929), pp. 79 ff; Josi, "Cimiterio ... al Viale Regina Margherita", *ibid.* 10 (1933), pp. 187 ff; 11 (1934), pp. 7 ff. 203 ff.

(3) See above, p. 6, dig. 258.

from the church<sup>1</sup>; from the hill to the east along the south cliff, the *rupe Carraciolo* where, in 1873, a cutting of the rock and, in 1876, a landslide uncovered a number of galleries and cubacula<sup>2</sup>; from the top of that hill far east<sup>3</sup>; from the same hill apparently close to the east wing of the monastery<sup>4</sup>; from the plain to the south, in “the vineyard of the monks, not far from the little gate of the vineyard which adjoins the tower and the door of that church above the Via Tiburtina”, that is, given the situation in 1597 when Bosio entered, apparently west of the three-storied projecting wing of the monastery in the direction of the highway<sup>5</sup> (figs. 8, 9). Galleries have come to light even as far as 200 meters southwest of the portico of the basilica, below the modern widening of the Tiburtina, but their connection with the catacomb of St. Ciriaca is questionable<sup>6</sup>. Modern entrances lead into the catacomb from the chapel of S. Ciriaca adjoining the north aisle of the West basilica<sup>7</sup>; from the north aisle of the East basilica<sup>8</sup>; from the north wing of the cloister and finally from the south cliff of the *rupe Carraciolo*<sup>9</sup>.

To this day the catacomb of S. Lorenzo remains poorly explored. Not even the number of gallery levels inside the hill has been definitely established: Marucchi speaks of “several levels”<sup>10</sup>; Styger, without expressing himself clearly, denies that there were three and points out that the levels of many galleries have been lowered<sup>11</sup>; Vespignani, however, states specifically that there are five stories<sup>12</sup>, the third from the top running at a level somewhat lower than the pavement of the East basilica (fig. 32). On the other hand, south of the basilica, on the Verano cemetery, Bosio visited a huge network of catacomb galleries, arranged on three levels<sup>13</sup>. Also, he apparently penetrated into galleries running below the pavement of the East basilica<sup>14</sup>, as did XVIII century explorers<sup>15</sup>. Styger, from the evidence then available, drew the conclusion that the levels of the catacomb in the region now occupied by the basilica were destroyed when this latter was built; since crowded galleries were found as far as 200 meters southwest of the portico, he assumed that, “the main part of the catacomb extended south of the basilica”<sup>16</sup>. Since the connection between these galleries and the catacomb inside the hill remains in doubt, this latter thesis can so far not be verified. But evidence unknown to Styger supports his statement to the effect that part of the catacomb originally occupied the site later given to the building of the East basilica. For one thing, the excavations undertaken in the east bays of the West basilica, and the soundings made in the East basilica established, at levels ranging from —2.85 to —3.48 m, floors with *formae* and walls with *loculi* of catacomb galleries demolished in later building activities<sup>17</sup> and corresponding approximately to the third catacomb level in the north and east hill. Also, four of Vespignani’s drawings<sup>18</sup> show the two top levels of the catacomb adjoining the church which were demolished when the cut-

(1) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 ff.

(2) PARKER, *Archaeology of Rome, Catacombs*, opp. pl. I; LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, New York, 1893, pp. 350 ff.

(3) MARCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

(4) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 407.

(6) See on the contrary, STYGER, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pp. 174 f.

(7) The entrance was first discovered ca. 1580, see BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 400, and above, p. 15, dig. ca. 1580.

(8) Likewise known to Bosio, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

(9) See above, p. 24, note 7.

(10) *NBAC* I (1895), p. 76.

(11) STYGER, *Katakomben*, p. 186.

(12) VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, p. 178: “...de’ tre primi fra cinque piani di esse (scil. le catacombe)...”.

(13) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

(14) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

(15) MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche...*, Rome 1744, p. 143.

(16) STYGER, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 174.

(17) See below, pp. 70 ff.

(18) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31734, 31735; VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, f. 184, 186.

ting was made between the hill and the north and east flanks of the churches (figs. 4, 32). These drawings, together with the pertinent portions of his *Parere* show for one that these galleries adjoined the east and north flanks of the East basilica and reached as far west but not beyond the Chapel of Saint Cyriaca. They also show that the galleries of these two levels, both in the direction east to west and north to south, ran against the walls of the East basilica in such a way as to leave no doubt as to their having been cut when this latter was built. Finally they show that on the three bottom levels, but not on the upper ones, catacomb galleries ran along and parallel to the east wall of the East basilica; they are obviously additions of late date to the catacomb system, either contemporary or later than the building. In this respect it is to be noted that on the third level where this gallery is still accessible its walls contain no *loculi*, and that on the fourth, lower level "below the north corner of the basilica" and thus presumably accessible from that parallel gallery, an altar painting of apparently late VI or even VII century date was seen in the XVIII century<sup>1</sup>.

Styger has pointed out that the parts of the catacomb accessible at present, date "from the times of Peace"<sup>2</sup>, that is, at the earliest the time of Constantine. In large part they are apparently later: the dated epitaphs from the catacomb, those later employed in the pavement of the East basilica<sup>3</sup> as well as those seen *in situ* by Bosio<sup>4</sup> record consulates in the second half of the IV and the V centuries. Exceptionally they go back as early as 323 or are as late as 501; the epitaph dating from 607 which Bosio saw in the northernmost part of the catacomb is, if correctly read, very exceptional indeed. By the same token it is significant that the dated epitaphs copied by Bosio in the galleries below the Verano are the earliest from 369, the latest from 428<sup>5</sup>. Hence Styger was probably right in suggesting that the oldest part of the catacomb, dating presumably from or before the middle of the III century was small, limited to the site of the East basilica, and was demolished when this latter was built; and that from this nucleus the catacomb expanded by degrees at the time of Constantine and during the following century<sup>6</sup>.

## 2. THE CHURCHES

### a) THE WEST BASILICA

To the cursory glance the West basilica might well appear to be a homogeneous structure, erected according to a pre-established plan over a short period of time (pls. II, V, VI; figs. 2, 14). Indeed, the six columns of the portico (fig. 12), four of them spirally fluted, and their Ionic capitals, the mosaic frieze of its entablature, the frames of the three doors, the one in the center carried by lion *protomai*, the murals on the walls of the portico, the Ionic capitals of the twenty-two columns of the nave and the surmounting entablature, the proportions of nave and aisles, the brickwork of the nave walls and the windows of the clerestorey, all seem to coincide with the date 1217 suggested by the images of Pierre de Courtenay and of Honorius III and by the latter's inscription on the frieze of the portico. A more thorough analysis, even prior to the war, would have shown the history of

(1) MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, p. 143: "... Un'altra cappella... che giace perpendicolarmente sotto l'angolo settentrionale della Basilica... (con) un antico altare nel prospetto di cui dipinte sono nel mezzo la B. V. colle parole MP ΘΥ".

(2) *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 174; IDEM, *Katakomben*, p. 185.

(3) DE ROSSI, *BAC*, 1863, *passim*; 1864, pp. 33 ff. 1866, p. 14.

(4) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 ff.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 408 f.

(6) STYGER, *Katakomben*, p. 188.

the West basilica to have been rather more complex. The restoration undertaken by the Soprintendenza between 1946 and 1950, and the excavations carried through in 1947-1949 in the east part of the nave have confirmed this impression. At the same time the thoroughness of the restoration makes it advisable to rely also on observations made before some not unimportant features were obliterated.

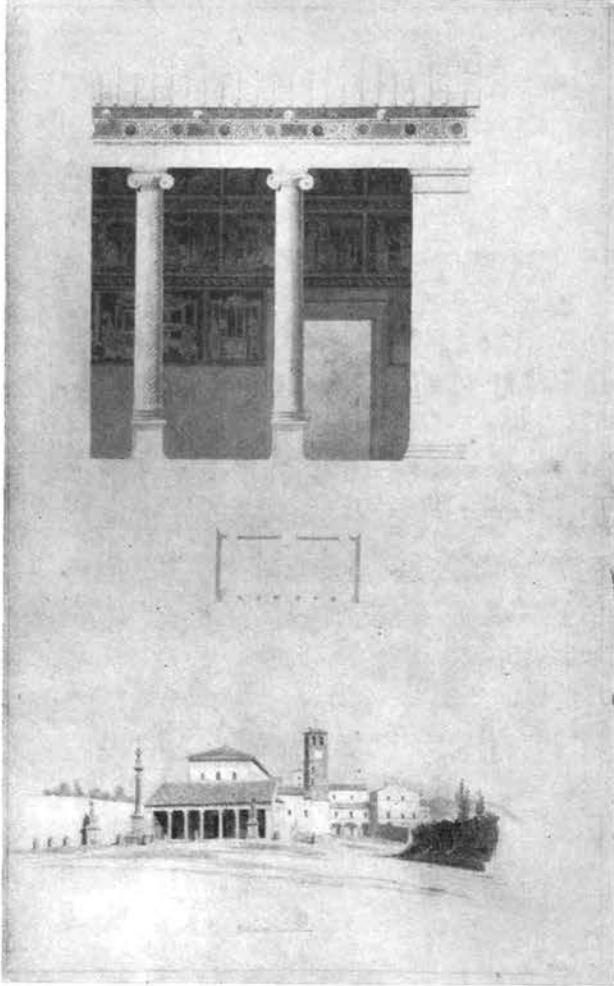


Fig. 12 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Labrouste, View of church and convent from west; plan and elevation of narthex, 1837 (Paris, Bib. Nat.).

### I. The portico.

The portico, for one, cannot be quite contemporaneous with the nave and aisles. To be sure, its three walls on the inside are brickwork, painted over with false red and white sham bricks before the murals were done and the same decoration appears on the interior facade of the nave. On the outside, the flanking walls of the portico consist of small tufa blocks, 13-20 cm. long and 8 cm. high, and again the same tufa masonry is found on the exterior walls of the aisles. But a sharp vertical break separates the portico from the facade, running from the ridge line of its roof to a level of +5.30 m. At that point the vertical break stops both on the north and the south flank of the portico and its walls bond with those of the aisles (pl. V; fig. 2). Two small windows, starting ca. 8.00 m above the level of the nave, open from the aisles into the narthex. Hence the portico in its present form would seem to have been an afterthought, substituted while the building was going up, for a lower structural feature, possibly the walls of an atrium.

### II. Aisles and nave.

Even more clearly than the Honorian portico, the aisles and the nave of the West basilica give evidence of changes in plan during the construction. They also show portions of earlier date incorporated into the walls of the present building.

a) *The eastern sections of the aisles (The intermediate bays).* The walls of both aisles fall into two parts: to the east, roughly corresponding to the three last intercolumniations of the nave, the south wall for a distance from the triumphal arch of 11.80 m, the north wall for a distance of 10.00 m project strongly into the space of the aisles (pl. II; fig. 16). Their position, between the East basilica and the western portion of the Honorian nave, justifies the use of the term "intermediate bays". Their thickness, 1.18 m at present, includes XIX century reinforcements on the outside, both north above the descent into the Chapel of St. Cyriaca and south inside Vespignani's *Cappella del Sacramento*. Their original thickness (it is visible in the jambs of the door which leads to the ante-room of the sacristy) was 0.95 m; thus they are 0.15 m stronger than the aisle walls further west<sup>1</sup>. Neither in the north nor in the south aisle are there any traces of windows in the eastern sections of the aisle walls.

(1) See also Vespignani's plan, *Racc. Lanciani* 31702 (fig. 16).

The masonry of the eastern portions of the south wall was visible in 1947-1949<sup>1</sup> (pl. VI c). As far as it has not been disturbed by XIX century inserts<sup>2</sup> or, at its west corner, by high medieval brickwork it is formed up to a level of +7.54 m by an *opus listatum*<sup>3</sup> which resembles but does not bond with that of the East basilica (figs. 17, 18); a course of large stones separates this lower from the top section of the wall where a different *opus listatum* prevails, with higher tufelli (7-9 as against 5-6.5 cm) and occasionally with two brick courses. A third type of masonry, brickwork interlarded at wide distances with courses of comparatively high tufa blocks ("brick tufa masonry") has survived in the lower wall section east of the entrance arch of the Chapel of the Sacrament; apparently it represents a later repair. At the eastern end of the lower *opus listatum* section of the wall and no doubt part of it, an arch sprang from a level of +1.70 m (fig. 17). Another arch, its curve a depressed ellipsoid, sprang near the western end from a level of roughly +5.00 m; it had apparently been cut into the lower *opus listatum* section, but it antedates the high medieval brickwork at the west corner of the south intermediary bay (fig. 18). The corresponding section in the north aisle

(1) The aisle walls throughout were covered in 1950 with a thick plaster coat, painted in sham brick.

(2) Door to anteroom, jambs and lintel; window above; entrance arch to Chapel of Sacrament.

(3) Following LUGLI's suggestion (*La tecnica muraria presso i Romani*, Rome 1957) we shall employ henceforth this term instead of *opus mixtum*.



Fig. 13 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. J. H. Parker, View of piazzale, church, and convent from west, 1876.



Fig. 14 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, interior looking east (Photo: John Vincent).



shows at its easternmost corner in the lower part a similar *opus listatum*, surmounted by an arch which opens into a chapel, *Hg*<sup>1</sup>. The arch and the east wall of the chapel bond with the masonry of the East basilica. West of the arch, however, the wall continues as a brickwork, interlarded at intervals of ca. 1.30 m by courses of travertine blocks 0.11-0.37 m high. The travertine-brick masonry however stops at the level of +9.00 m to be followed by a strip of *opus listatum*. The strip is but 0.80 m high, but the masonry is of high quality and resembles that of the adjoining East basilica though it does not bond with it. At the level of +8.84 m this upper *opus listatum* strip shows a row of original beam holes for a roof (pl. VA).



Fig. 15 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, interior looking east, after 1943 bombing (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

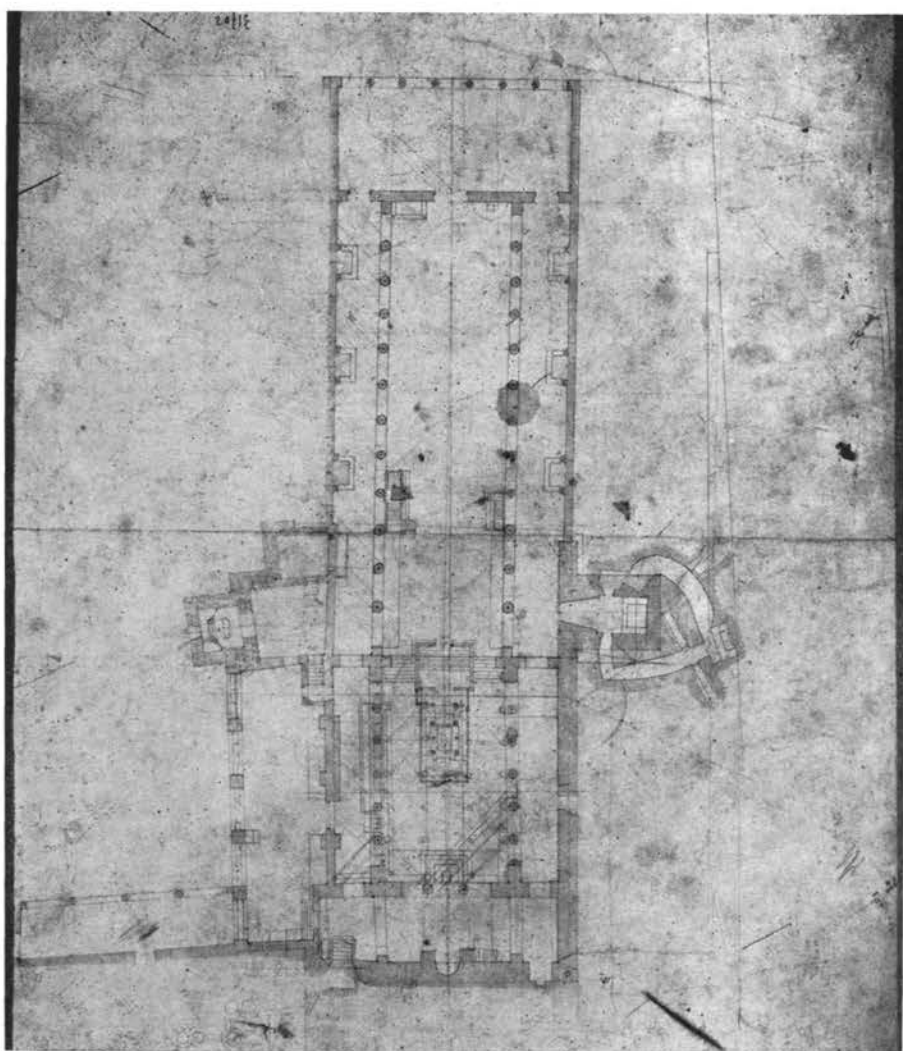


Fig. 16 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan of churches before restoration, *Racc. Lanciani* 31702.

While the break between the eastern and the western, far longer section of the aisle wall to the north has been obliterated by Vespignani's restoration, to the south it was clearly visible before and during the recent restoration. A vertical joint in the interior, 2.75 m west of the entrance arch of the Chapel of the Sacrament, on the exterior 0.44 m west of its exterior west wall and thus running at a slight diagonal, separated the eastern from the western section of the aisle wall. In the interior, this break was hidden by the high medieval brick corner at the western end of the intermediate bay. Seen from the outside, it turned out to be caused by the fragment of a wall of *opus listatum* which crosses the aisle wall at a right

(5) See below, pp. 84 ff.

angle (pls. II, V B). Its good face turned east, its rear apparently built originally against live tufa, the wall was 0.72 m strong and attained the full height of the aisle, +10.00 m. Both the western section of the south aisle and its eastern section (the "intermediate bay") had been built against this pre-existing wall. Also it lined up both with the walls *D1-D6*, found in 1947-1949 below the area of the Honorian nave and aisles (figs. 54, 71)<sup>1</sup> and with the west wall of the annex of a structure which prior to 1857-1865 stood in place and slightly west of the present Chapel of the Sacrament<sup>2</sup>.

The Chapel of the Sacrament, indeed, prior to 1857, was preceded by a smaller structure with an annex to the west (pl. II; figs. 8, 12, 16, 51). The annex, since the early XVII century, seems to have served as sacristy, the main structure as monk's choir<sup>3</sup>. However, both structures are far older. Indeed they stand on the axis of the campanile rather than at right angle to either the West or East basilica. The discussion of both must be postponed to a later section.

Opposite the modern Chapel of the Sacrament, in the north aisle, opens the entrance descending into the Chapel of St. Cyriaca. Dating, in its present state, from 1677, this chapel has its level 2.60 m below the West basilica and was surmounted prior to 1857-65 by another room (figs. 4, 16)<sup>4</sup>. But apparently the chapel was preceded by an older one<sup>5</sup>, which was contemporary with the building of the West basilica: two wall fragments built of the same tufelli masonry and bonding with the outer lining of the north aisle, project outside right and left of the Chapel entrance. This high medieval chapel in turn may have replaced the still older chapel *H9* with its VIII century murals<sup>6</sup>.

Very considerable remnants of an earlier construction thus have been incorporated into the eastern sections of the walls of both aisles of the West basilica. They will be discussed in greater detail below<sup>7</sup>.



Fig. 17 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, east end of south aisle (intermediate bays), detail, 1947-49 (Photo: Sansaini).

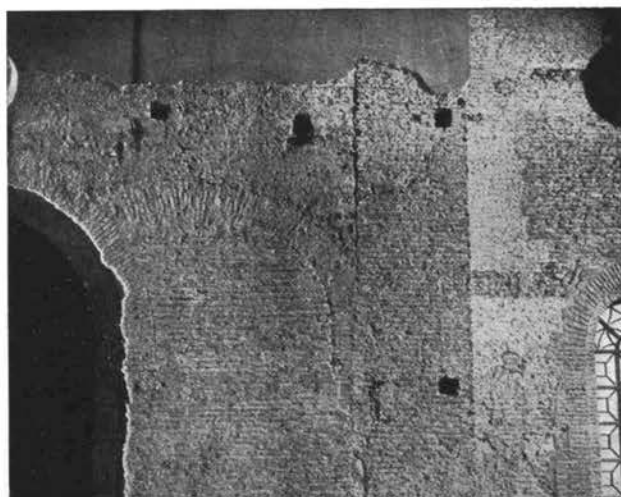


Fig. 18 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, south aisle, intermediate bays, west end, detail, 1947-49 (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) See below, pp. 80 f.

(2) See below, pp. 68 ff.

(3) *Visitatio...* 1624 (*Vallcelliana P 199*), f. 151 v.: "*Prope hanc Portam* (sc. the side door) *in parte superiori adest Sacristia... Prope Sacristiam extat Porta per quam itur ad Chorum in quo Divina recitantur officia*". See also *Racc. Lanciani*, 31696 (fig. 51).

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31689, 31702.

(5) It sheltered what was believed to be the tomb of saint Hippolyt and communicated with the catacomb. See NIKOLAUS MUFFEL, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, l. c. W. VOGT, Stuttgart 1876, p. 35: "...neben in der kirchen ein kleine gruft und geht auch in die grosse gruft ... und sand Yppolitus liegt unter demselbigen Altar ...".

(6) See below, pp. 86 ff.

(7) See below, pp. 84 ff.

*β) The western sections of the aisles.* The western sections of the aisle walls, corresponding to the first nine intercolumniations of the nave, at first glance seem to be uniform in construction. The masonry, as visible during the restoration of 1946-50, is brickwork on the inside<sup>1</sup>; on the outside, the

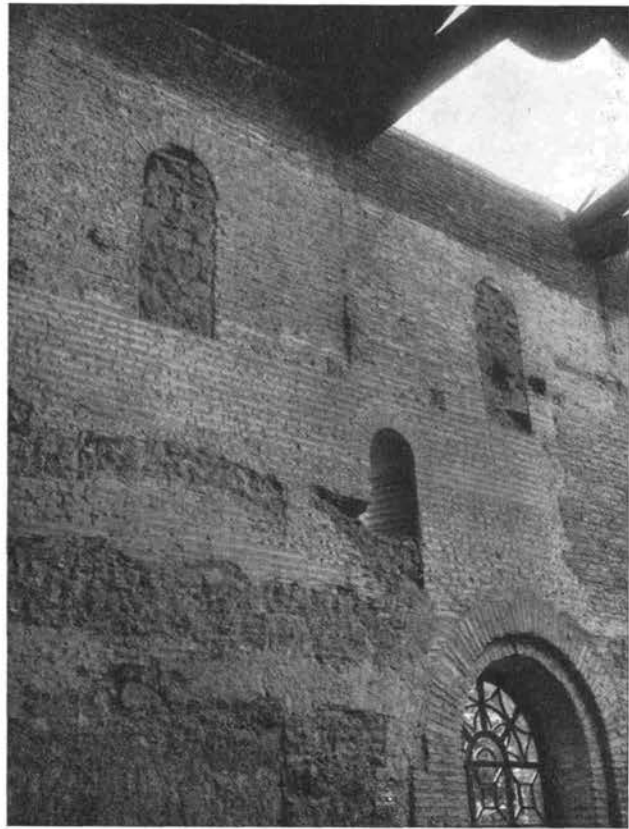


Fig. 19 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, south aisle, detail of wall, c. 1945 (Photo: Soprintendenza a monumenti).



Fig. 20 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, south aisle, wall showing arch opening, c. 1945 (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

wall is built of small tufa blocks (*tufelli*) (pl. V; figs. 2, 19, 20). Both the north and the south wall were repaired by Vespignani, at the top in a band ca. 0.80 m wide; at the bottom they were relined to a height of ca. 4.00 meters, and each had five huge windows pierced into them. While in the south aisle these windows were closed in 1946-1950, they were preserved in the north aisle. On the other hand, two rows of small windows, traceable prior to the recent restoration above Vespignani's windows were re-opened in the south wall (figs. 2, 19). One row of eight, their sills + 7.85 m above the pavement, evenly distributed, at distances of 3.15-3.25 m from axis to axis, runs from the second through the eighth intercolumniation without tallying with the axes of these intercolumniations; a second row of five windows, their sills at +6.50 m, their distances varying from 2.90 to 4.40 m, corresponds to the third through the eighth intercolumniations, though again off their axes. Both series of windows, prior to 1946-50 had been blocked by rough rubble masonry, the upper ones certainly in 1865,



Fig. 21 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. West basilica, south colonnade foundation wall, and East basilica, apse H, 1949 (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

(1) The western sections of the aisle walls like those to the east were hidden during the restoration under a plaster coat painted with a brick pattern.

the lower possibly in the XVII century. Moreover, during the restorations of 1946-1950 the traces of three huge arches resting on piers, were uncovered and marked in the plaster of the wall following each other from the third through the seventh intercolumniations; these arches too were found blocked with rubblework (fig. 20). However, they are not contemporaneous with the masonry of the aisles: the jambs of the piers are hacked from the voussoirs of the arch inserted into the pre-existing brickwork. In the north aisle, neither an upper nor a lower row of small windows seems ever to have existed. But a setback on the outside, at the level ca. +2.50 m shows where the structure was attached to the hill.

Despite the differences in material, *tuffelli* outside and brick inside, the construction of the aisle walls, in their western two-thirds, is homogeneous. Yet the two rows of small windows in the south aisle give evidence of a change in plan. Such a change is corroborated by the handling of the brickwork where it has not been disturbed either by Vespignani's windows or by the three huge arches, XV century inserts to judge from their masonry. The original brickwork, particularly high up on the wall where it was visible in 1947-50, showed signs of two successive treatments: trowel lines scratched into the mortar beds to mark the horizontal courses and, painted over this scratched-in decor, a sham brickwork with deep red "bricks" and very white "mortar beds" (fig. 19). This sham decor continues into the jambs of the lower, but not into those of the upper windows. Also, these upper windows differ slightly one from another: the jambs of the seventh from the west are slightly jagged, its arch irregular as if broken into the existing wall; in the sixth window, these features are regular. Hence, the lower windows are original, the upper ones apparently an afterthought, introduced presumably when the wall of the south aisle, progressing from east to west, had reached the point between the seventh and sixth windows.

γ) *The nave.* The foundation walls of the two colonnades (figs. 21, 54), as visible during the excavation 1947-48, consist of a solid masonry of tufa stones, hewn, though somewhat irregularly, with an occasional fragment of marble or travertine interspersed. Only at the top, after a slight setback, the wall rises in five to six neat courses of regular small tufa blocks. Roughly 1.25 m strong near the top, these walls are sunk into trenches cut into the live rock throughout the larger western section of the nave. In the eastern section, corresponding to the last three intercolumniations, they are built across the hollowed-out area created by earlier building operations<sup>1</sup>. Placed atop the walls are square travertine slabs, their upper surfaces flush with the pavement; the plinths of the columns rest on these slabs, occasionally with a slight overhang.

The pavement, in cosmatesque design, covers the floor of nave and aisles. The eastern section, corresponding to the last four intercolumniations, was slightly raised until 1857 as a projecting *chorus minor* (its foundations were found in 1947-1949)<sup>2</sup> and terminated at its western corners by the ambones which are still in place though placed on the lower level (fig. 14).

The intercolumniations in the two colonnades vary, from axis to axis of the column shafts, between 2.97 and 3.62 m, with the wider intercolumniations in the east bays<sup>3</sup> (pls. II, VA). The columns themselves, eleven on either side, are far from homogeneous. The majority, to be sure, rest on square plinths but these are of different height, ranging from 9 to 17 cm. In fact, the first column to the north has no plinth whatever while the eighth on either side rise from a high dado, possibly a Roman cippus worked over. Among the bases ten are medieval, of simple Attic design and of

(1) See below, pp. 70 ff.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani* 21735 indicates a difference in level between *chorus minor* and nave of 0.50 m; the engravings of Rossini and Letarouilly, on the other hand indicate only one step, ca. 0.15 m.

(3) See also, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31706, 31077.

mediocre workmanship; twelve are Roman spoils, one with three tori, two richly ornamented with laurel leaves and strigils (fig. 14). Their height again varies, from as little as 23.5 to as much as 37 cm.<sup>1</sup> The shafts vary in material, in diameter, in height, in the presence or absence of apo-



Fig. 22 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Rossini, Interior of East basilica, looking east, 1809.

phyge and necking. Seven are of grey (*bigio*), five of red, four of black and white granite (*granito del foro*), six of *cipollino*<sup>2</sup>, these latter occupying fifth, sixth and seventh place on either side near the middle of the colonnade. The diameters of the shafts range from 0.69 m, (the eighth column, on dadoes, north and south) to as much as 1.12 m, the great majority measuring between 0.72 m and 0.92 m averaging 0.83 m. Yet on either side the first columns and the last three are somewhat stronger; they measure 1.03 and 1.07 m, 0.91, twice 1.06, 1.08, 1.10 and 1.12 m respectively. The height of the shafts, roughly 5.60 m, differs only slightly and has been equalized by the varying heights of the plinths and bases. But obviously the shafts have been cut down in the process, some shafts have lost their apophyges (e.g., the third through sixth, south, the third and fourth north), some their neckings. The Ionic capitals, on the other hand, are all of the same type (figs. 14, 15), well known in Roman churches of the XII and XIII centuries, and each corresponds to the upper diameter of the shafts on which they are placed<sup>3</sup>.

Shafts and bases, then, are apparently spoils; plinths and capitals, on the other hand, were made for the building and adapted to the varying heights and diameters of the former. The beams of the architrave also appear to be spoils, though possibly gone over at the time the west nave was built and again in 1865. They vary in length; but, while a few are as long as 3.44, 3.60 and even 4.70 m, the majority range from 2.93 to 3.20 m. Since, thus, they are slightly too short for the wider intercolumniations in the eastern bays, link pieces were inserted over the centers of the capitals above the eighth to the eleventh columns. Flat relieving arches in brick, above the beams of the architrave, were uncovered in 1946-1950 when the XIX century frieze design was removed; prior to 1865 (fig. 22) they rose within an unadorned frieze freestanding above the trabeation<sup>4</sup>, and surmounted by a strongly projecting cornice resting on simple brackets. Towards the aisles, these

(1) PESARINI, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 41 f., gives a careful description of the bases.

(2) F. CORSI, *Delle pietre antiche*, Rome 1845, p. 298, whence we take all references regarding the material of the columns at S. Lorenzo. GORI, *op. cit.*, p. 23, who found it difficult to see the material because of the humidity, describes three columns as consisting of “*caristio*” (*cipollino*), the others as of red and grey granite; MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, p. 338 speaks only of “red and grey oriental granite”.

(3) CATTANEO, *op. cit.*, p. 43, was the first to notice their medieval design.

(4) See also the interior views of ROSSINI, 1843, and of JULES AUDÉOUD, II. 18, mentioned above, p. 5.

flat arches are surmounted by semicircular relieving arches, slightly set back from the wall surface. Both inside and outside, the brickwork of the rising walls under the exaggerated repointing of the restoration of 1946-1950 shows a modulus of five bricks and five mortar beds per 28 cm (8 : 8 per 49 cm), the bricks averaging 3.0-4.0, the mortar beds 2.0-2.5 cm. The masonry, as visible during the years 1946-1950, thus resembles that on the inside walls of the aisles in the western portions of the West basilica (fig. 19). Moreover, the upper walls like those of the aisles and the narthex showed traces of a sham brick pattern. A slight set back, at +17.35 m, prior to 1865 carried the roof beams, but was eliminated as was the masonry strip above, when the top of the clerestorey walls, 0.80 m high above that level, was rebuilt by Vespignani. The set-back

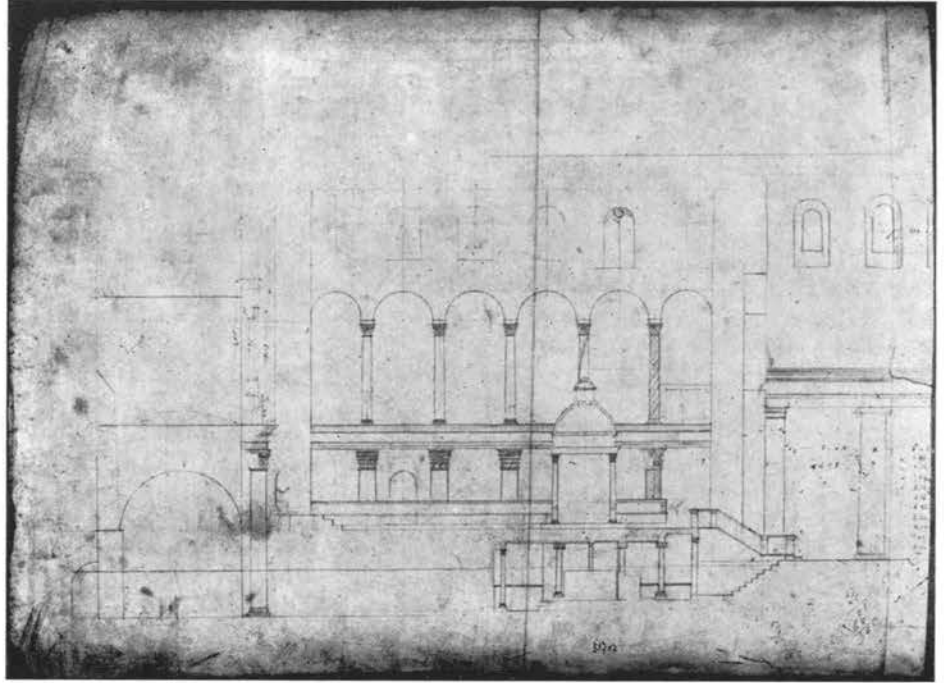


Fig. 23 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, East basilica, longitudinal section, looking south, *Racc. Lanciani* 31707.

may well have marked the top of the original brickwork and, in that case, the upper strip would have been contemporary with Caraffa's coffered ceiling of 1492. This ceiling (fig. 22) was removed by Vespignani and the timber roof above, of XV century date or earlier, was repaired and left open. In 1946-1950 this timber roof was again repaired.

Like the brickwork of the upper walls, the twelve windows of either clerestorey, on the interior recessed into flat blind arches (figs. 14, 15), hint at a XII or XIII century date<sup>1</sup>. But it should be noted that these windows, while more closely alike in height, averaging 2.35 m outside, 2.52 m considerably in width (pl. V). The five easternmost windows, both north and south, are 1.20 m wide, the sixth window, counting from the east, 1.22 m in the south clerestorey, 1.28 m in the north clerestorey; the three westernmost windows on either side measure 1.28 m each, while the fourth through sixth increase to a width of 1.35 m. The distances between the windows, measured in the south clerestorey, increase only slightly from east to west, from 2.20 to 2.25 m. On the other hand, both north and south, the windows, beginning with the second from the west, move gradually from the axes of the intercolumniations eastward, until, from the fifth through the eleventh they coincide with the axes of the columns.

This shift was obviously based on the desire to place the easternmost window as close as possible to the triumphal arch and, thus, to the first westernmost window of the East basilica, while at the same time achieving an even spacing along the outside of the clerestorey. On the other hand, the varying widths of the windows suggest either poor workmanship or changes in plan during construction: building on both clerestories may well have begun from the east with comparatively

(1) Every second window, closed prior to 1865, was re-opened by Vespignani.

narrow windows; when the sixth window was reached, it was decided to increase the width slightly. At the same time, building on the clerestorey walls was apparently started from the facade eastward with the same slightly wider windows; finally, as the eastern and western portions were joined, the fourth to sixth windows were made even wider.

## b) THE EAST BASILICA

### I. Transformations and additions.

*a) Prior to 1857-1865.* The East basilica, its short nave surrounded by aisles and galleries to the south, east and north, and originally terminated by an apse to the west, was to start with,

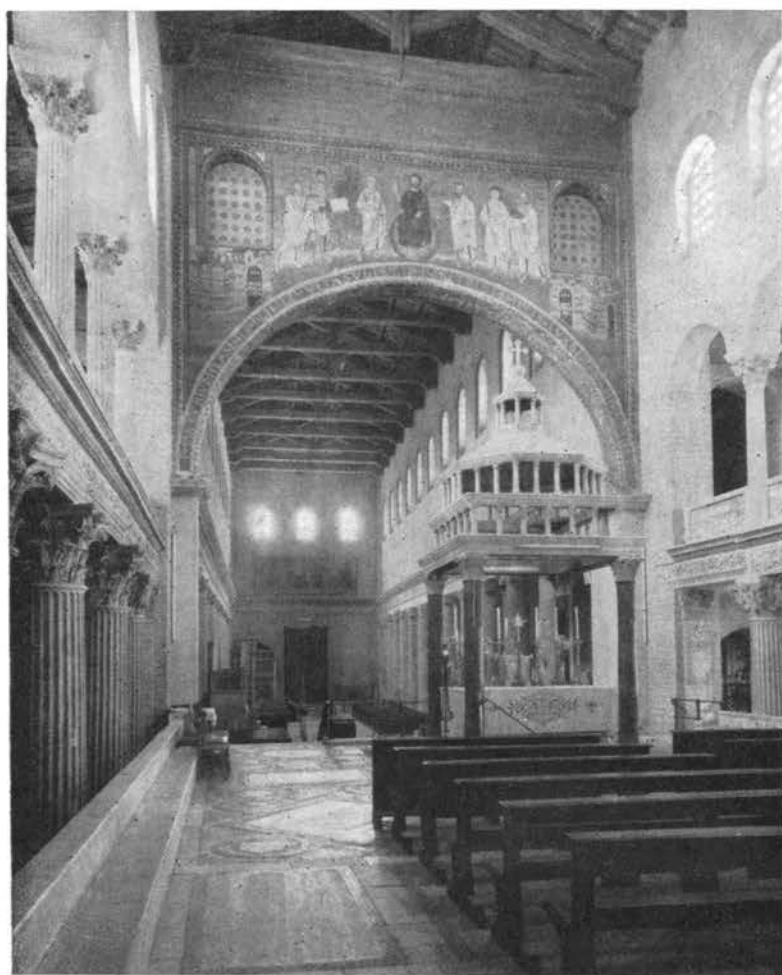


Fig. 24 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, interior, looking west towards triumphal arch (Photo: Sansaini).

a self-contained unit (pls. II, V, VI<sub>A</sub>; figs. 24, 25). It was forced into a different role only when, with the disappearance of its apse and the building of the West basilica, the nave and aisles of the East basilica in the XIII century were made to serve as the former's choir part.

At that time, their original level, —2.10 m below that of the west nave, was buried, and on a new level, far above that of the West church, a tripartite chancel was laid out, extending through the entire width of the old basilica (figs. 14, 22, 23). Its cosmatesque pavement still preserved in the center section, within the old East nave, rises 1.60 m<sup>1</sup> above that of the West nave; in the aisles, the difference prior to 1857 was only 1.10 m. From the West basilica, seven steps, placed on either side<sup>2</sup>, ascended to the center section; the lateral sections of the choir, filling the aisles of the East church, were reached from the west aisles over six steps with three more ascending from the lateral to the higher center section of

the chancel<sup>3</sup>. This picture of the East basilica as an element appended to the West church is strengthened by the furnishing of the new chancel and their placing: a *baldacchino* in the northeast corner which can be traced through the imprint of two half arches inserted into the south and west faces of the northeast pier; the canopy surmounting the high altar, vertically

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735, gives the difference in level as 1.53 m.

(2) *Ibid.*, 31692, 31702, 31707.

(3) See the plans of Letarouilly and Fontana.

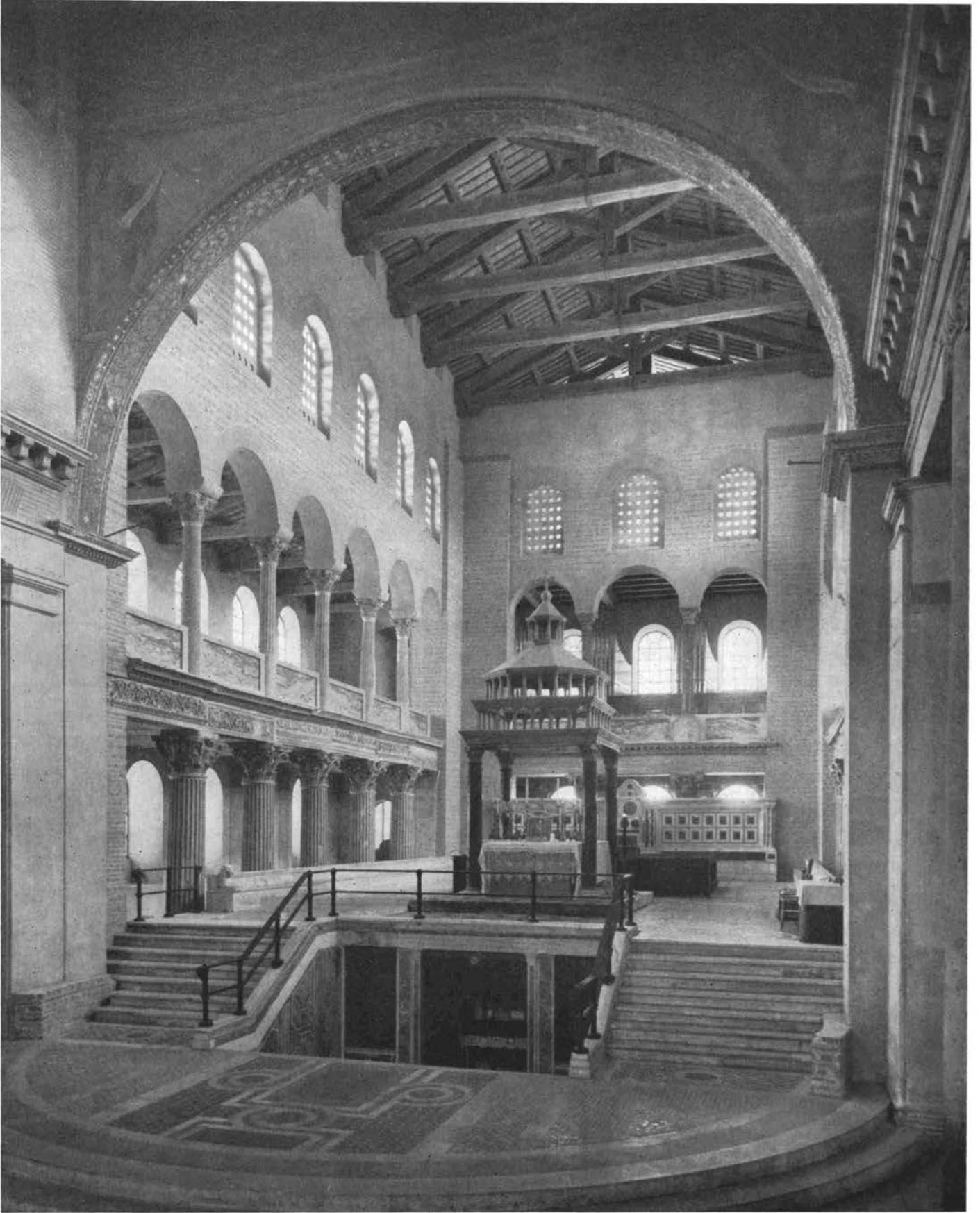


Fig. 25 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Triumphal arch of West basilica, and East basilica looking east  
(Photo: G. Kidder Smith).



above the tomb of Saint Lawrence near its front; the marble benches surrounding its center section; the pontifical chair with its rich mosaic back at the eastern end of the chancel; finally, the flanking long and high marble panels, inlaid with porphyry and *serpentino* plaques and with mosaic strips, originally perhaps the front screen of a *schola cantorum* (fig. 25) <sup>1</sup>.

A lateral porch extended along the south flank of the East basilica on the site occupied since 1865 by the sacristy, opening south in four arches resting on square piers (figs. 4, 11, 16) <sup>2</sup>. Only its easternmost bay has survived, together with its groin vault, in the room east of the XIX century sacristy (pl. II). The roof was apparently terraced (fig. 11) and accessible from the third floor of the campanile where the door of access survives. The porch, since it was level with the XIII century chancel inside the East basilica, at first glance would seem to date from this same period. But it may well be older. For one, it would seem to have antedated the western loggia of the convent building which was apparently built against its easternmost full pier. Second, its pavement was crowded with tombstones dating back as early as the X century <sup>3</sup>; also its murals, representing among others the martyrdom of Abundius and Herrenius <sup>4</sup>, may well have dated from the XI or XII centuries <sup>5</sup>. Finally, the porch either contained remnants of, or was preceded on the same site by an older building, a wall of which has survived, enclosed into the east face of the campanile <sup>6</sup>.

The impression of dependence of the East basilica, now the chancel part, on the younger West basilica was further strengthened by the building, below the new chancel, of the crypt that shelters the tomb of Saint Lawrence (fig. 23, 26, 27). A descending flight of seven steps broken through the middle of the ascending chancel steps led into it. Its aspect prior to 1857 can be reconstructed best from Vespignani's drawings <sup>7</sup>. Measuring 4.40 by 8.40 m, and thus 1.10 m longer than at present, it was enclosed by solid walls, 0.65 m strong. A small ante-room to the west gave access through a door, flanked by two windows. The floor of the crypt divided into two levels a larger section to the west, —1.50 m below the West nave, and a shorter one to the east; reached over two descending steps, it is only 1.00 m wide and only 0.10 m above the level of the East basilica. On the upper level still rises the tomb monument, a rectangular block placed on a low socle. The east face of the socle runs flush with the first of two steps which ascend from the eastern rear section to the western main part of the confessio. The west face of the monument block is hidden behind a modern altar, raised one step from the floor of the crypt <sup>8</sup>.

Eight columns carry the ceiling of the crypt, four to the west and two east of the tomb, with two more, thinner, columns flanking it on either side. All columns differ widely from one another: the six stronger ones all carry Ionic capitals of medieval workmanship; among them, the four columns west of the sarcophagus block have shafts of *verde antico*, 26 cm in diameter, and rise from dadoes, placed on the upper level of the floor of the crypt; they are, in all likelihood, XVIII century replacements of older supports <sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, the four other columns seem to be original: the two farthest east have shafts of grey marble, 28 cm in diameter, and emerge without dadoes or even plinths from the socle of the tomb structure; the two minor columns on either side of the

(1) MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani* 31702, 31735; VESPIGNANI, *Parere*, f. 185.

(3) DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, B.A.C. II (1864) pp. 65 ff.

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31724, MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVIII.

(5) MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f., and WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, II, p. 966.

(6) See below, p. 68.

(7) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31707, 31709, 31711, 31712, 31780.

(8) See below, p. 67 f.

(9) CANCELLIERI, *Vat. lat.* 9164, c. 41: "4 (colonne) di verde antico di circa pal. 3 onc. 1 (apparently circumference)... furono ricavate da un pezzo di colonna trovato nell'orto da. meda. Chiesa, lungo pal. 12 incirca che fu segato per il lungo". Twelve palmi (2.76 m) is considerably more than the height of the *verde antico* shafts, 2.15 m; hence the column found was apparently cut down.

sarcophagus rise from plinths and bases placed on that socle. They have shafts of Thasian marble, only 0.16 m strong, and carry crude impost-like blocks.

The flat ceiling of the crypt is inlaid with rosettes in blue, red and gold glass mosaic and, above the entrance, with a cross in the same technique.

The floor, in its main part, as well as in the eastern rear section preserves remnants of a Cosmatesque mosaic pavement. West of the block, fragments of an interlace pattern and of a "star carpet", apparently not *in situ*, are framed by what seem to be original plaques of *giallo antico*. East, in the rear section, the western half of an interlace panel is preserved, cut in half by Vespignani's confessio wall. Prior to 1857, the walls on the inside bore a marble revetment, articulated by pilaster strips which rose from a high socle and carried an entablature, inlaid like the pilaster strips with cosmatesque mosaic (fig. 26). Inserted into the south wall of the first bay was a rectangular window-like niche, believed to be the tomb of St. Justinus<sup>1</sup>. Corresponding to the articulation of the side walls by pilaster strips, the east wall of the crypt, on its own lower level, was articulated by four slender columns of Hymettos marble<sup>2</sup>, placed on a narrow step, a few centimeters from the rear wall, and carrying the entablature around the room. Finally, an altar rose on the western projection of the tomb socle, its rear leaning against the west face of the sarcophagus.

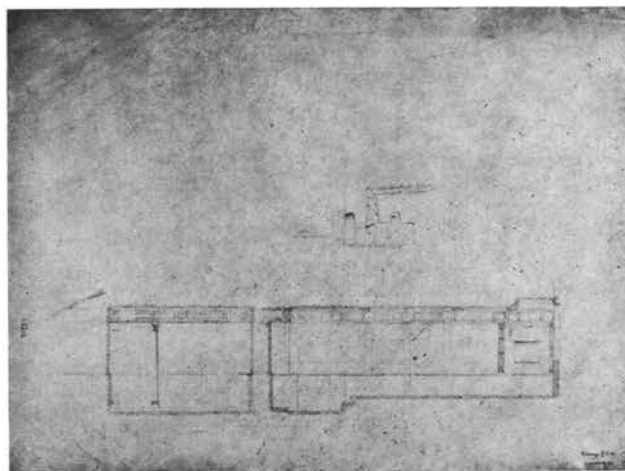


Fig. 26 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, East basilica, crypt, longitudinal and transverse sections; tufa block on site of Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, *Racc. Lanciani* 31712.

The style of this entire architecture coincides with that of the upper chancel. Thus the crypt would seem to date from the XIII century. The tomb monument, on the other hand, and the cosmatesque floor from which it rises, while obviously medieval in design, need not be contemporary with the building of the crypt. On the contrary, their position within the crypt suggests an earlier date.

Through the insertion of chancel and crypt the East basilica had lost its original character as a self-sufficient entity (fig. 22). Its apse had fallen as had other structural elements extending farther west, appendages to the East basilica, partly of older, partly of younger date; only some remnants of these latter were incorporated into the walls of the "intermediate bays", the easternmost sections in either aisle of the West basilica. Whatever connections the East basilica had had with elements to its west lost their meaning, however: the arches, at the western end of either of its aisles became comparatively low entrances leading from the aisles of the West basilica into the side portions of the chancel; as a result, the corresponding arches above, on the gallery level, appeared to be much higher, but opened into the upper zone of the west aisles starting on the level of their capitals and architraves as they do to this day.

The floors between aisles and galleries also were apparently removed at that time, thus depriving the East basilica of one more element of independence<sup>3</sup>.

The later changes in the East basilica prior to 1857-1865 were minor. Gothic tracery was

(1) FRA MARIANO, *loc. cit.*, "in dextera ingressus cuius speluncae et in angulo ubi quaedam finestra visitur, corpus sancti martiris Justinus conditum est".

(2) CORSI, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

(3) See below, p. 63.

inserted into the windows, presumably around 1450 (figs. 23, 28, 29)<sup>1</sup>. Under Cardinal Caraffa the arcades of the east gallery were closed and covered with paintings, and a floral decoration was spread all over the piers of the East basilica (fig. 22)<sup>2</sup>. Finally in the XVII century, three windows in either clerestory were walled up; a coffered ceiling was placed over the nave; the steps leading to chancel and *confessio* were remodelled; and possibly, changes were effected in the *confessio* (fig. 22)<sup>3</sup>.

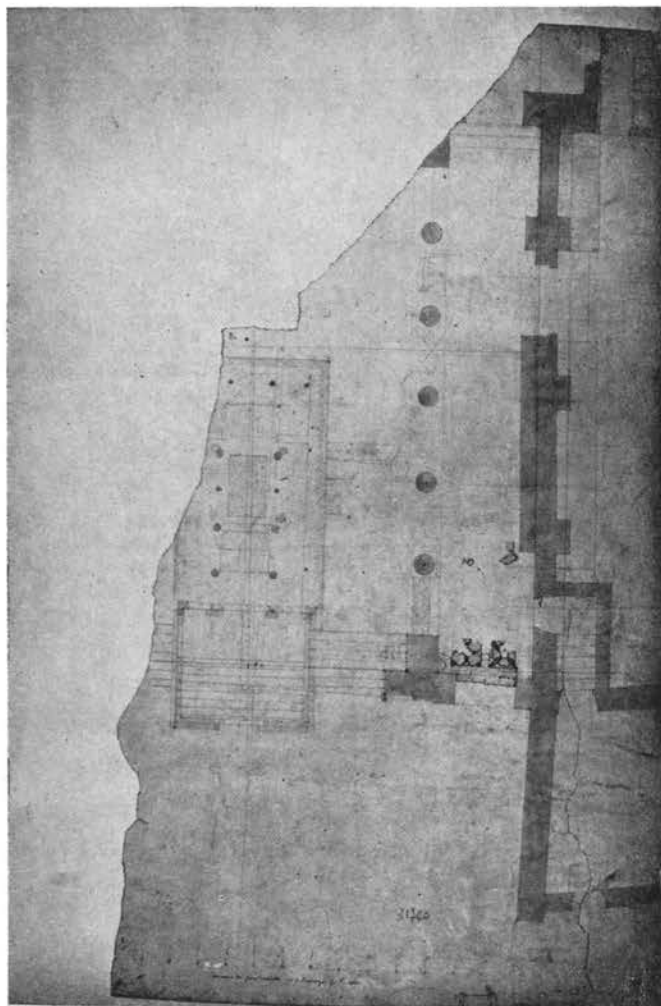


Fig. 27 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan of East basilica (fragment), *Racc. Lanciani* 31780.

β) *After 1857-1865*. The East basilica survived until 1857 as a chancel appended to the West church. Vespignani removed most of the alterations dating from after the XIII century and half-heartedly restored the independence of the East basilica: the original level was excavated, first in 1821, in its north and east aisle, then in 1857-1865 in its south aisle and nave (fig. 30)<sup>4</sup>. At the same time the very elements were retained which tended to turn the East basilica into a mere appendage of the West church: the center chancel, its pavement placed on a grid of beams supported by four rows of piers, a kind of “lower church”; the steps ascending and descending from the West nave; finally, the *confessio* below the High Altar, though remodelled beyond recognition, its solid walls with their mosaic decoration replaced by marble lined screen walls with huge windows which open into that “lower church”<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the re-excavated level in the East basilica was

connected with the West basilica by flights of steps ascending from its aisles. As a result, the relation of the East and West basilicas was thrown into a confusing ambiguity: its nave, filled by the raised chancel, remained subservient to the West nave; its aisles, on the other hand, present themselves as fragments of the self-contained unit as which it had been laid out originally. This impression of fragmentation was reinforced by the distribution of light which, as a result of Vespignani's restoration, floods the building from numerous windows pierced into the walls of aisles and galleries; the three windows closed in either clerestory were re-opened, while the other three, fitted with Gothic tracery, were now blocked<sup>6</sup>, with three more in the east wall shedding indirect

(1) Dig. 1447-1455; the tracery was removed in 1946-1950.

(2) Dig. 1492; see also photo AUDÉOUD.

(3) Digs. 1629, prior to 1647.

(4) The date of the excavation in the north and east aisles is given as 1821 by NIBBY, *Analisi...*, *loc. cit.*; DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 134, refers with regard to the excavations to the abbots Callisto and Manzoli, the latter active around 1802.

(5) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31780 (fig. 27) seems to indicate a project to shift the position of the columns. Also the drawing 31707 (fig. 23) shows the capitals with their volutes facing north and south rather than east and west; on the other hand, the drawing 31709 gives them in this latter position. STEVENSON, *Vat. lat.* 10558, c. 46, based on a conversation with eyewitnesses, stresses that “*le colonne e il deposito non sono stati toccati affatto*”.

(6) An apparently earlier project of Vespignani's to reopen the blocked windows (*Racc. Lanciani* 31692) was abandoned.

light. In the aisles, on the other hand, windows were opened where none could have existed prior to 1857: six in the north aisle, three in the east aisle, and two, facing north, east and south respectively, in both the northeastern and southeastern corner bays. Six windows in the south aisle open into the adjoining sacristy. Likewise in the galleries and their corner bays windows were opened north, east and south (figs. 28, 29).

The transformation, between 1882 and 1885, of the short easterly aisle into the tomb chapel of Pius IX and its exuberant decoration increased, if anything, the impression of fragmentation created by Vespignani throughout the East basilica.

*γ) The restoration of 1946-1950.* No attempt was (nor could it be made) to correct in the recent restoration the basic ambiguity introduced by Vespignani in the relation of the western to the eastern parts of the structure. The East basilica partly retained the features of the independent structure as it had originally been conceived; partly it remained the chancel part appended to the West basilica in the XIII century transformation. Still, some changes were made aimed at stressing the independent character of the basilica. The opening of all the clerestory windows concentrated more light onto its nave. Two concentric steps in the easternmost bay of the West nave

and a semicircular landing echo the curve of the apse of the East basilica buried underneath (fig. 25). Finally the removal of the XVII century balustrade formerly surrounding the ante-room of the confessio and rising along the ascending lateral stairs and in front of the upper canopy allows for a more complete and more unified view of the East basilica. In the confessio, the substitution, for the old heavy altar, of a light mensa, renders visible the west face of the tomb monument.



Fig. 28 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, exterior, south clerestory from southwest, 1934 (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 29 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, east facade, south flank, and south clerestory from southeast, 1934 (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 30 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, north aisle, looking east (Photo: Anderson).

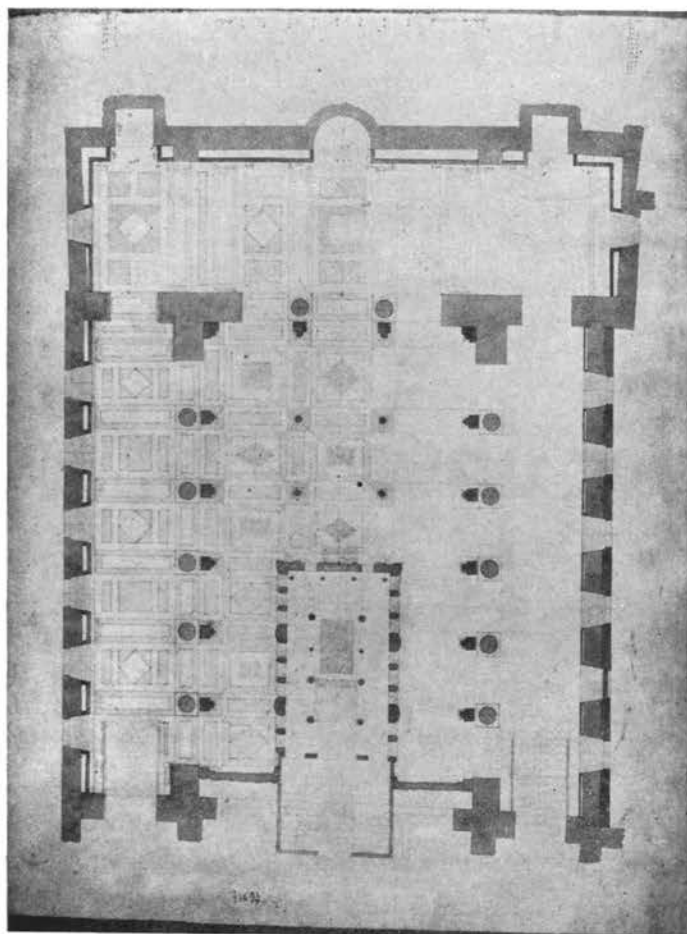


Fig. 31 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan for restoration of East basilica, *Racc. Lanciani* 31697.

## II. The original nave.

Plan and elevation of the nave of the East basilica become clear once the later alterations are disregarded (pls. II, V, VI A). In plan it is a nearly perfect rectangle, 11.35 (11.30) by 19.50 (19.70) meters, its floor level at  $-2.07$  m (figs. 31, 32). Its corners to the east are marked by huge T-shaped piers, each prong 1.15 m strong, the "leg" projecting west 1.55 m, the cross bars 1.70 m in the direction of the center axis, but barely 0.55 m in the direction of the aisles; the pilaster to the east is Vespignani's addition. The two piers at the west corners of the nave differ in shape from those to the east as well as among each other. The northwest pier is shaped as a double hook, its eastern prong 1.30 m long and 1.10 m strong, the prong towards the aisle equally strong and measuring 0.65 m along its eastern but as much as 1.30 m along its western face. The western hook, 0.90 m strong at its western, but only 0.55 m strong at its eastern or, better, southeastern end, projects along its northern face 0.80 m towards the colonnade of the west nave, while its southern face continues in a straight line for as much as 1.95 m facing the center axis of the triumphal arch. A fissure near the middle of this face separates its western part, in XII or XIII century brickwork identical with that of the West basilica, from the eastern part, an *opus listatum* masonry cut through and obviously the core of a wall; on the other hand, as became apparent during the restoration 1946-1950, the adjoining eastern face of the prong shows the well-preserved good surface of the same *opus listatum* masonry. The excavations of 1947-1949 have, in fact, revealed that the eastern part of this southern face of the pier is but the rising northwest corner of the apse which originally terminated the nave of the East basilica. The southwestern corner pier (figs. 33, 34) of the nave is more regularly cross-shaped: the eastern prong is 1.30 m long and 1.15 m strong, the one towards the aisle

1.25 m strong and measures 0.55 m along its eastern, 0.80 m along its western face; the western prong, 1.00 m strong, projects towards the west colonnade, 0.65 m along its southern, 0.95 m along its northern faces; finally a short northern prong, 0.90 m strong, projects towards the center axis of the nave, its western face 0.40, its eastern face 0.55 m long. But this northern prong (fig. 33), while seemingly regular in shape, is likewise the remnant of an apse corner, the southwest corner, its east face a smooth, well-preserved surface, its north and west faces, a cut core of *opus listatum* masonry (fig. 34)<sup>1</sup>. Both this prong, and its counterpart on the north pier, carry the triumphal arch which originally opened westward into the apse<sup>2</sup> (figs. 24, 35).

The pavement of the nave was laid out in 1863-1865 and no traces of an original pavement have been found in the nave, while both in the aisles and inside the apse such traces came to light in 1857-1865 and 1947-1949 respectively (figs. 47, 52).

Twelve columns of *pavonazzetto* rise between the corner piers of the nave, five to the north and south and two to the east (fig. 30). Famous since the XVI century, their shafts measure from 0.65 to 0.70 m in diameter and are, except for the westernmost column on either side, 5.70 m high. All are fluted and rise from ionic bases, set on low plinths slightly different in height. While all the bases have the same height, 0.31 m, the plinths vary: to the south they range from 4-6 cm; to the north their height from west to east increases from 4 to 7.5 or 8 cm, with base-blocks, 4 and 6.5 cm high added below the two easternmost columns. Base blocks and plinths respectively are placed on low foundation walls of crude stones, cut into the live tufa or crossing the bottom section of pre-existing catacomb galleries<sup>3</sup>. Only below the westernmost column on either side, preceding the triumphal arch, bases and plinths are placed on dadoes, 0.57 m high to the north, 0.64 m to the south, and decorated on their sides with crosses and rosettes; the column shafts correspondingly are only 5.10 m high. It is also these two columns (fig. 30) whose shafts show filled rather than open flutings and which carry the capitals decorated with victories and trophies, drawn time and again<sup>4</sup> and referred to since the Renaissance, while the other ten columns are surmounted by slightly higher and simpler, yet beautiful, Corinthian capitals. Shafts, bases and some of the Corinthian capitals give the impression of having been gone over thoroughly at Vespignani's time. Above the capitals, 7.05 m from the floor level runs the entablature composed, to the north and south, of Roman spoils, door jambs and fragments of friezes of II and III century workmanship, widely different in length, height and the design of the tendril friezes, and in the shape of the sur-

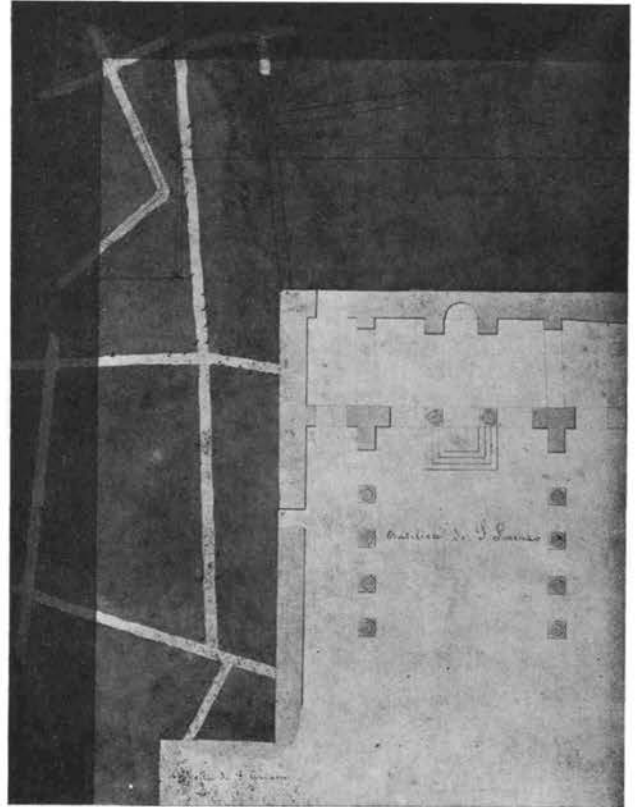


Fig. 32 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan of East basilica and adjoining catacomb galleries, 1857 (Vatican Library, Cod. Ferraiuoli 888).

(1) In 1947-49 the imprints of *cancelli* slabs, re-used as marble revetment, were visible on the west face of the west prong.

(2) See below, pp. 55 ff.

(3) Observed 1947 during sounding in East basilica, between first and second column in south colonnade.

(4) See above, p. 4, and note 3.

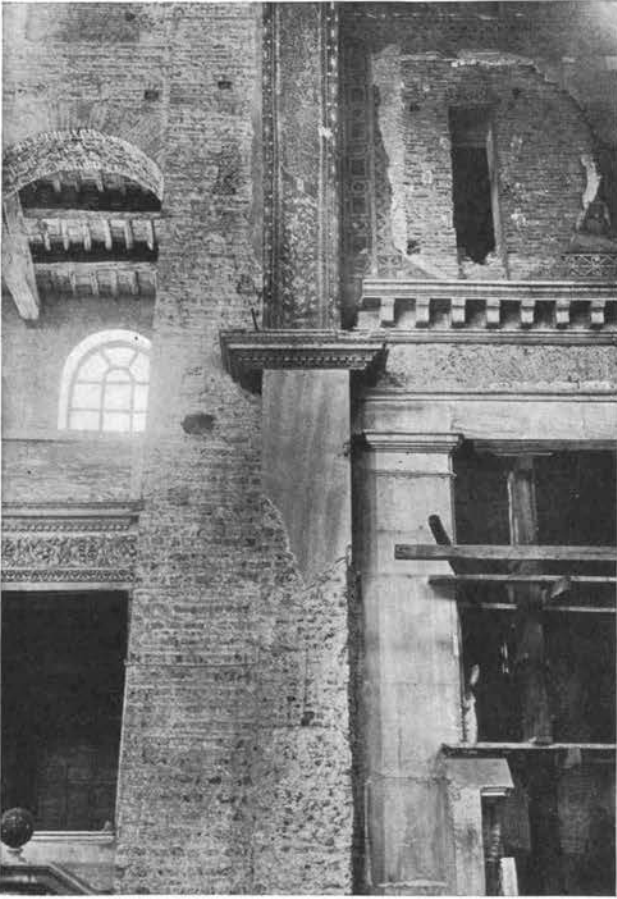


Fig. 33 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, southeast pier and soffit of triumphal arch (Photo: Sansaini).



mounting cornices. On the contrary, the east colonnade carries a more regular Ionic entablature with a triple fasciae architrave, a smooth frieze and a bracketed cornice, all three apparently whole pieces. The height of the entablature throughout totals 0.95 m (figs. 25, 33).

The gallery zone, towards the nave, opens in six arcades north and south and in three, east, supported by short columns. The two columns to the east are placed on dadoes, 0.85 and 0.88 m high resp; they are decorated with crosses, their ends voluted, their arms flanked by rosettes and birds (fig. 37). The other ten columns repose directly atop the entablature of the lower order; the bases in part, the plinths entirely, are buried in the modern brick pavement of the gallery (fig. 36). The shafts of the columns all differ among each other, obviously being Roman spoils. The two in the east gallery, slightly longer than the rest, 3.08, as against 2.98 m, are green granite<sup>1</sup> and unfluted. All others are *pavonazzetto*, but while the first through fourth columns, counting from the east, are simply fluted with fillets in the lower two-thirds of the shaft, the fifth columns on either side, preceding the triumphal arch, have spiral flutings (fig. 35). A similar careful distribution of older spoils, stressing the east gallery and leading from there towards the triumphal arch and the apse, determines the arrangement of the capitals: the two in the east gallery are Corinthian “leather leaf” capitals of V century date<sup>2</sup> (fig. 38), the first through fourth north and south II or III century Corinthian, the fifth on either side II century composite. All capitals carry flat impost blocks whence spring the semicircular arches of the arcade. The parapets of *serravezza* dating from the XIX century but before Vespi-

(1) CORSI, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

(2) R. KAUTZSCH, *Kapitellstudien*, p. 58 f. as against the VI century date suggested by KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1934.

Fig. 34 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, southeast pier, west springing of apse *H* and west prong showing imprints of *cancelli* plaques (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

gnani's time <sup>1</sup>, seem to replace an older set, three porphyry and three marble slabs on either side <sup>2</sup>, presumably looted by Napoleon I <sup>3</sup>.

The arches of the gallery arcade, 2.25 m in clear diameter are formed by bricks, averaging 0.40 m in length. All are alike, but it should be noted that the left springing of the westernmost arch to the north (fig. 35), embedded as it is into the northwest pier projecting from the triumphal arch, consists of slightly longer bricks and suggests an original project with slightly wider arches in the gallery zone. (Apparently for technical reasons all arches adjoining the corners were inserted into the piers, after these had been built). Such a first project is also suggested by another anomaly. In three corners of the nave a pilaster strip, L-shaped in the two east corners, limited to the south wall in the southwest corner, continues the corner pier upwards to above the level of the clerestory windows; only in the northwest corner is there no provision for a pilaster strip of any kind (figs. 35, 39). The likelihood, then, is that construction was started by building this corner first, without pilaster strip and with the springing of a wider arch. Then the apse was built and work continued with the southwest corner, introducing the pilaster strips and narrowing the arches. Finally work went along around the building until the northwest corner was reached again. The pilaster strips bond with the walls of the nave and both are built of the same *opus listatum* masonry. One, rarely two, courses of brick alternate with single courses of tufelli and face, both inside and outside, a core of good rubble masonry.

The walls of the gallery arcades continue upwards into the clerestorey without any visible break. They contain six windows on either side, their sills only 1.50 m above the apex of the gallery arches (figs. 34, 39). 1.50 m wide and originally 2.50 m high, their jambs are surmounted by semi-circular brick arches, 0.40 m wide and slightly set back; above the original sills a band, 0.40 m high, had been inserted prior to Vespignani. Since 1946-1950 all the windows are open. Above the windows, the *opus listatum* masonry, well preserved both inside and outside, continues to a level of 16.60 m above the floor of the nave. From there on it is superseded by two successive strips of brickwork, totalling 1.95 m in height, the first of XIII century, the second apparently of XIX century workmanship (figs. 28, 29). Embedded in the latter were the beams of Vespignani's timber roof as are those of the present open ceiling.

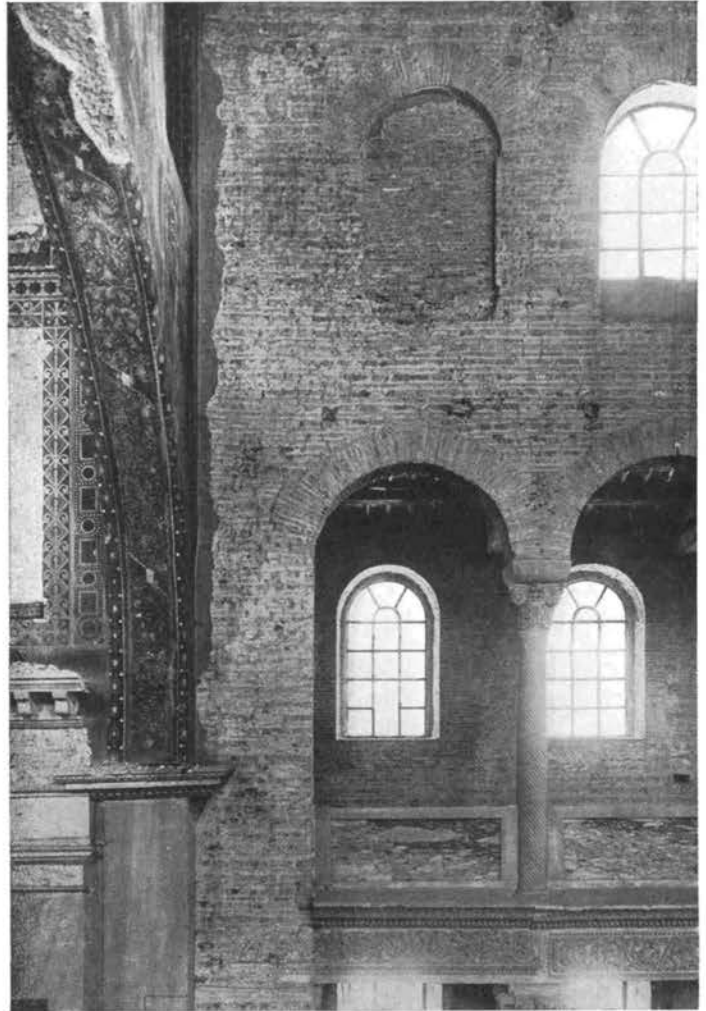


Fig. 35 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, north gallery and clerestory, east end (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) See the interior views by Rossini (fig. 22) and Audéoud, quoted above, p. 5.

(2) PESARINI, *Vat. lat. 13129*, f. 151, quoting "ms. Monsacratì nella biblioteca di S. Pietro in Vincoli".

(3) STEVENSON, *Vat. lat. 10558*, c. 46.



The lateral clerestory walls of the nave are bonded to the east with the transverse clerestory wall which rises above the triple arcade of the east gallery. Three windows, alike in size to those in the lateral walls of the nave, open in this transverse east wall and lead into the upper section of that gallery (pl. VA; figs. 25, 37). The lateral clerestory walls of the nave continue, eastward however, and form the clerestory walls of the upper part of the east gallery; one original window opens on either side (figs. 28, 29). The terminating east wall of the clerestory, on the other hand, was entirely rebuilt by Vespignani (fig. 29).



Fig. 36 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, south gallery, looking west  
(Photo: Sansaini).

arch, the present south corner, remains slightly further east apparently as the result of a later repair (fig. 28). Two windows open in the spandrels of the triumphal arch, clearly visible from both the east and the west nave, and taken into account by the artists who designed the mosaic of Pelagius II (figs. 24, 39). Placed somewhat higher, these windows are slightly lower than those of the clerestory, their height being only 2.10 m, but they have the same width. Whether or not their fillings, marble plaques perforated by seven rows of round holes, are original, is a moot question. But certainly these windows must have originally opened towards the outside.

rebuilt by Vespignani (fig. 29).

The clerestory walls of the east gallery (as far as they are original, that is, west, north, and south) and those of the nave are apparently uniform and it must be presumed that a corresponding *opus listatum* wall terminated the east gallery eastward. At first glance, a break on the south clerestory between the nave and the upper wall of the east gallery, might suggest a later date for this latter (fig. 28); but apparently this break marks only the point where the masons started and ended, building clockwise, that is, different from the gallery zone, where they had worked counterclockwise starting from the north-west pier of the nave.

The west corners of the clerestory turn sharply inward, northward and southward respectively, thus indicating that the wall of the triumphal arch forms the termination of the nave. While the corner on the north side (fig. 29) is in line with that

### III. The apse.

A number of features, visible in part before the restoration of 1946-1950 (but then inexplicable), in part only afterwards, indicate that the triumphal arch originally opened into an apse. For one thing, the marble cornices above its piers are apparently inserted into the pre-existing masonry<sup>1</sup>. For another, the soffit of the arch slopes westward (fig. 35), as if it were meant to continue into a vault. Indeed, (and this is a third point), the west face of the arch uncovered in the course of the restoration of 1946-1950 but now no longer visible, showed traces of cut bricks, surmounted by a huge relieving arch—clear proof of the original existence of a vault, presumably the half dome of an apse. As mentioned previously, the cross piers which carry the triumphal arch on either side also show traces of alterations which hint at the previous existence of an apse: the western tongue, built in brick, which on either pier terminates the colonnade of the West nave, was added to the three prongs of an original *opus listatum* pier; the two prongs which carry the arch north and south were cut back on their inner and on their west faces (figs. 33, 34). Finally, the excavation undertaken in 1947-1949 has brought to light the foundations and the rising wall of the apse which terminated the nave of the East basilica<sup>2</sup>.

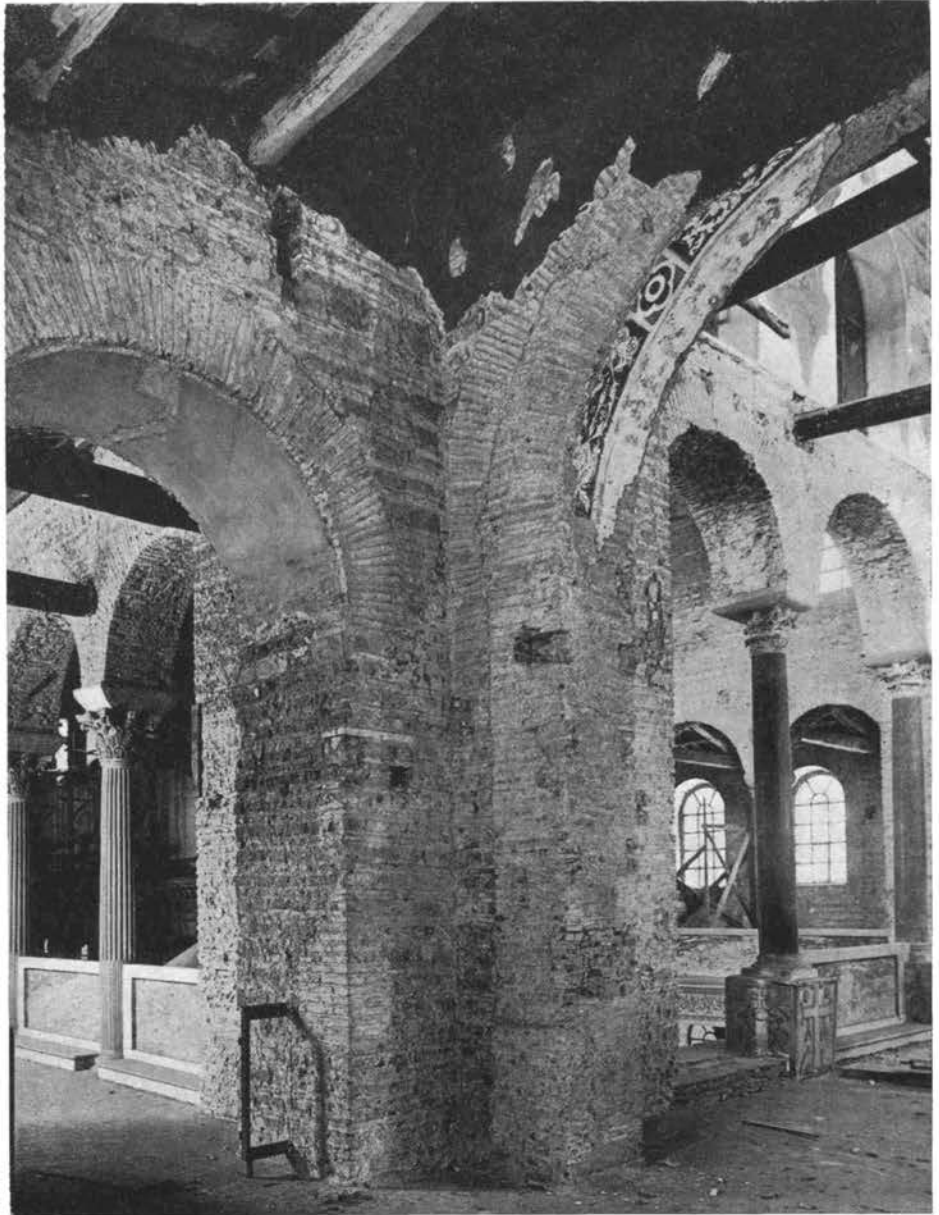


Fig. 37 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, gallery, southeast corner bay, looking northwest (Photo: Sansaini).

This apse, marked *H* on our plan, was nearly semicircular, 9.98 m wide and 5.25 m deep (pls. II, VII, VIII; figs. 21, 40, 41, 42, 52). It was attached, on either side, to the half piers that support the triumphal arch, originally the apse corners. Obviously the existence of this apse coincides with the westward slope of the soffit of the triumphal arch and the traces of a vault on its west face. The found-

(1) PESARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 45, erroneously considered these cornices part of the original triumphal arch.

(2) FRANKL-JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1950; KRAUTHEIMER-JOSI-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, 1952.

ations of the apse, as uncovered on its outside, are built of chunks of rock, and rise to a maximum level of  $-2.30$  m. Inside the apse, a pavement was first laid out at  $-2.18$  m, that is, nearly at the level of the nave of the East basilica. Two *formae*, *f* 23 and *f* 24, were sunk from this level into the floor. Above the foundations the wall of apse *H* consists of concrete masonry, faced both inside and out with an excellent *opus listatum* and totalling 1.08 m in strength (figs. 21, 42, 52). The outer or west side was finished for view, while the inner wall was covered with a thick layer of mortar.

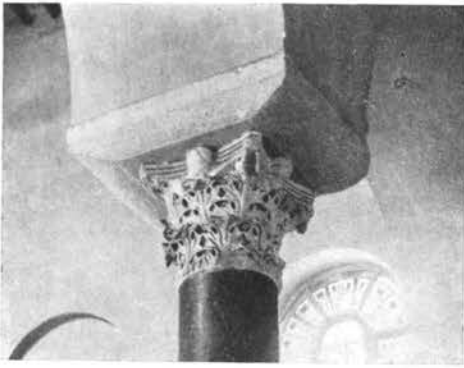


Fig. 38 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, east gallery, capital (Photo: German Archaeological Institute).

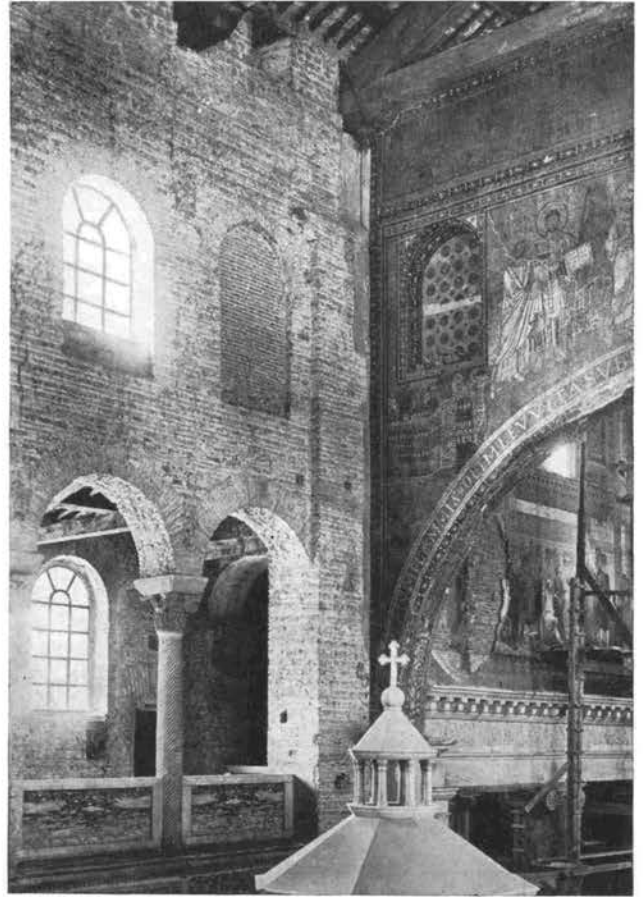


Fig. 39 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, southwest corner, gallery, clerestory, triumphal arch (Photo: Sansaini).

This layer shows the imprint of a marble revetment consisting of plaques from 0.17 m to 0.55 m wide and 0.80 m high and held in place by iron hooks; a number of these hooks and some pieces of marble are still *in situ* (figs. 40, 41). At a level of  $-1.38$ , that is, 0.80 m from the original floor, these plaques were surmounted by what seems to have been a row of thin marble battens, followed by a second series of marble plaques, only 0.33 m high. The entire revetment was terminated by an S-curved cornice which is still largely in place, its upper face at  $-1.05$  m below the level of the West basilica, that is 1.13 m above the level of the apse (fig. 42).

Above this revetment the wall of the apse was originally pierced by at least two openings (pl. VII; fig. 42). There may have been four, but the respective right and left jambs of only two apertures are still *in situ*, placed 2.20 m from the north and south springing of the apse. Their sills, beginning at a level of  $-0.94$  m, rise 1.24 m above the original floor of apse *H*. Since the opposite jambs of these openings are not preserved, the width of the openings cannot be exactly determined. But obviously these openings were windows, judging from the height of their sills above the floor of the apse. On the other hand, an additional small aperture in the center of the apse (fig. 53) was certainly only a *fenestella*; with an inside width of 1.05 m (1.25 m outside), it started as low as  $-1.46$  m below the West basilica, that is, a mere 0.72 m above the floor level of apse *H*.

The lack of any difference in floor level between the nave of the East church and its apse *H* is not unusual in cemeterial basilicas. Still, some time and not necessarily long after the East basilica

had been built, this anomaly was corrected by laying out a new pavement in apse *H* at  $-1.88$  m, i.e. 0.30 m above its original level. As evident from imprints on its concrete bed, this second pavement was composed of longish hexagons and squares.

#### iv. The aisles.

Like the lower portions of the nave, the aisles show heavy marks of the XIX century restoration. Their general layout is clear: both the north and south aisles are at present 7.45 m high, 3.30 m wide and 20.00 m long in the clear and both open east and west in arches towards the aisles of the West basilica and the corner bays of the east aisle respectively. Indeed, the east aisle, since 1885 the tomb chapel of Pius IX, is divided into a center and two corner bays by arches resting on narrow pilasters projecting, one pair from the east wall, another from the east faces of the corner piers of the nave; the total length of the aisle is 20.50 m, its width 5.25 m. Yet the width of none of these aisles is original, for in all three, in front of the original walls Vespignani placed a false lining of flat tiles to which were applied false pilasters to correspond to the original columns and to the new piers filling the nave (figs. 31, 43, 44). This false lining was placed at a distance from the original walls of 0.64-0.66 m in the east, ca. 0.40 m in the north and 0.15 m in the south aisle. The lining in the south aisle could be set up only after the removal of a reinforcing wall



Fig. 40 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Apse *H*, southeast springing from northwest, and wall *P* (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 41 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Apse *H*, interior from northeast and sarcophagi *f* 16-21 (Photo: Sansaini).

along the inner face of the south wall designed to support the medieval outer porch along the south flank (figs. 16, 46); at the same time, however, the building of the new sacristy in place of the porch led the architect to reinforce, now on the outside, this south wall by adding 35 cm to its



Fig. 42 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Apse H, northeast springing from south, and window jamb (Photo: Sansaini).

thickness (fig. 31). Along the east and north flanks where the aisles had been built into the hillside, their walls above the new ground level were for the major part apparently rebuilt *ex novo*: a masonry typical for the period of Pius IX, five to six courses of large regularly hewn tufa blocks alternating with double or triple brick courses shows both inside and outside on the north aisle wall (fig. 29). Whether or not any of this masonry represents a refacing rather than a rebuilding cannot be made out at this point. In any event, this masonry gives way to a brickwork, likewise XIX century, at a level of 5.77 m above the floor level of the East basilica, that is near the springing of the aisle windows.

The windows in all three aisles including the corner bays of the east aisle were pierced into the walls during Vespignani's restoration. Nowhere, either in the building as it stands, or in any of the older illustrations is any trace of an original

window discernible in the aisles. Also in 1857-1865, ceilings with large cofferings were inserted in the aisles (fig. 30). Finally, when the east aisle became the tomb chapel of Pius IX, pilasters were added to the east faces of the T-piers at the corners of the nave; they support the reinforcement of the arches that separate the center from the corner bays of that aisle. Others were added to the north and south faces of these T-piers as well as to the corresponding wall piers; they carry architraves. Also, the new tomb chapel was covered all over with marble revetments, carved capitals, and mosaics.

The original portions of the aisles are thus not always easy to identify. Only to the west, where they face the aisles of the West basilica, the exterior walls both of the north and south aisle are well preserved (pl. VI A, B; fig. 45). Continuing without a break into those of the galleries, they are built of *opus listatum* identical with that in the upper walls of the nave. A relatively low aperture, its *opus listatum* jambs 2.23 m distant from another and topped, above the customary set-back by a brick arch (length of bricks averaging 0.40 m), opens from the aisles of the East into those of the West basilica. The difference in level between the two churches since 1865 has been overcome by flights of twelve steps, but since the jambs of the openings continue behind these steps right to the floor level of the East basilica<sup>1</sup>, the openings originally were not only extraordinarily slender, 6.20 m clear to the apex of the arch, but also they must have led into a space on one level with the East basilica. At the same time it should be noted that the masonry on either jamb and above the arch is weathered. That the left springing of the south arch has apparently been repaired is of lesser importance.

(1) Visible 1946-1950.

On the other hand, not a single original stone either inside or outside has remained in evidence on the walls of the north and east aisles. On the south wall soundings undertaken in 1947-1949 have uncovered portions of the original masonry (figs. 43, 44). Thus, knowledge of the character of these walls, of the lighting of the aisles, and of their pavement prior to 1947-1949 rests largely on Vespignani's drawings, both surveys and restoration projects.

Several of these drawings show the south wall. Three plans<sup>1</sup>, measured at the level of the chancel, that is, 3.70 m above the original level of the East church, indicate its thickness ca. 0.70 m (figs. 16, 27, 47). They also show, attached to the outside, three pilasters corresponding to three of the four piers that carried the arches of the lateral porch which preceded the sacristy; on the inside they show, at a distance of 3.30 m from the east arch of the aisle, that is projecting opposite the easternmost column of the south colonnade, a pilaster, ca 1.20 m strong, next to it a door, and farther west, starting 7.60 m and terminating 14.20 m from the east arch, a strengthening applied against the original aisle wall. One drawing<sup>2</sup> renders the elevation of this south wall below the level of the chancel down to the original floor level (fig. 46): the south

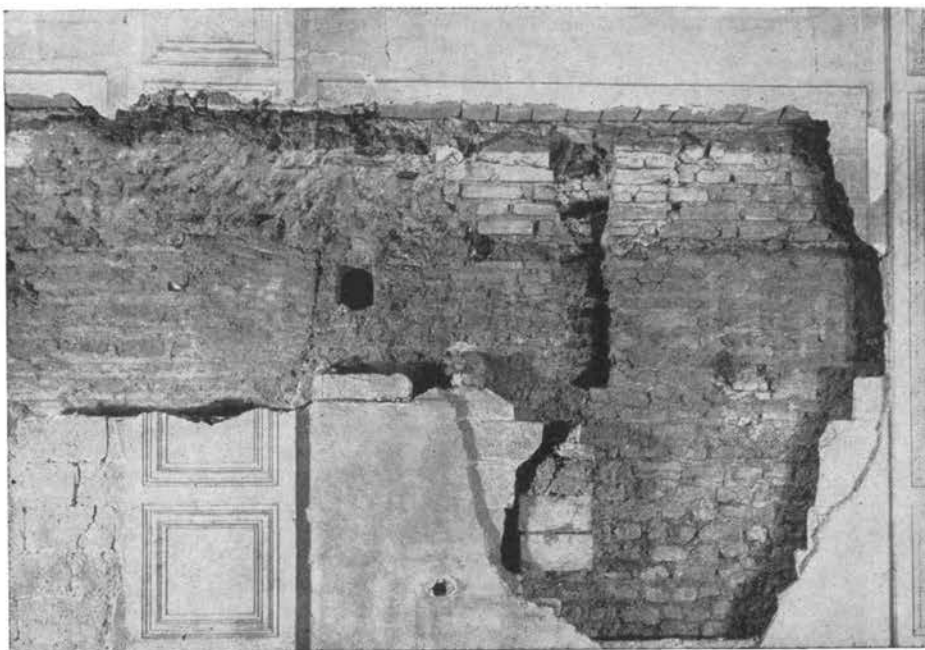


Fig. 43 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Soundings 1947-49. East basilica, south aisle, south wall, springing of entrance arch (Photo: Sansaini).

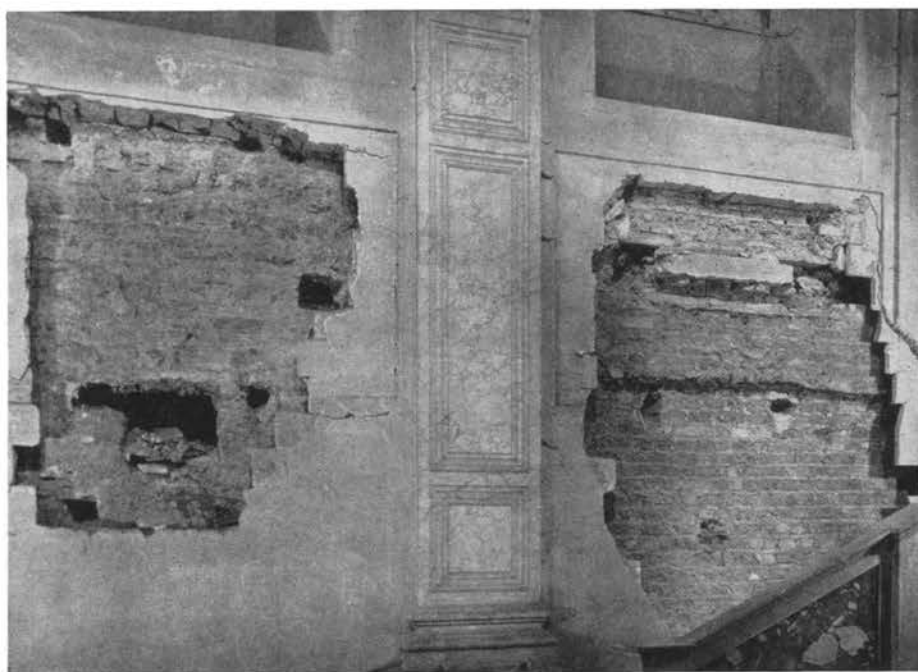


Fig. 44 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Soundings 1947-49. East basilica, south aisle, south wall, west end (Photo: Sansaini).

jamb of the east arch and the adjoining aisle wall for a length of ca 3.15 m shows *opus listatum* masonry; farther west follow a projecting mass of rubble, ca. 2 meters wide, possibly the foundation of the upper pier, then, in line with the *opus listatum* wall, a wall of *tufelli* blocks,

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31702, 31711, 31780.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31723.

possibly supporting the door on the upper level. This in turn is followed by the rubble foundation of the strengthening wall; from its western end springs a brick arch which spans the distance to and rests against the south jamb of the west arch of the aisle built in *opus listatum*. Behind this brick arch, in line with the *opus listatum* masonry farther east, appears a *tufelli* masonry.



Fig. 45 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, north aisle, west wall from west (Photo: Sansaini).

The evidence of this drawing is both confirmed and enlarged by that of the soundings undertaken in 1947-1949. They have brought to light the good *opus listatum* masonry in the easternmost stretch of the aisle wall extending 4.33 m from the east arch, that is to a point situated behind the rubble pier indicated on the drawing *Racc. Lanciani*, 31723.

At this point there came to light a jamb and the left springing of a brick arch, its voussoirs composed of *bipedales* (pl. II; fig. 43). Its right springing was found 3.84 m farther west, corresponding to the third intercolumniation from the east and again joined to and hence contemporaneous with the original *opus listatum* masonry of the aisle wall. While the upper part of the arch is apparently lost, its curve suggests an original height of 4.38 m above the level of the East basilica. The arch was blocked subsequently with a *tufelli* masonry intermingled with bricks; within it projects the support of the upper doorway marked on Vespignani's drawing. The original good *opus listatum* masonry appeared again farther west, corresponding to the third and second intercolumniations counting from

the west; it was hidden at Vespignani's time by the rubble foundation of the strengthening wall (fig. 46). Only in the last intercolumniations a different element came to light, the *tufelli* jamb of a doorway, 2.61 m wide, its right jamb 0.67 m from the terminating west arch of the aisle (fig. 44). Oddly enough, the doorway was blocked with *tufelli* resembling those of its jambs; the blocking, 2.58 m from the level of the aisle, carried a projection of *tufelli*, 0.52 m high which in turn supported the sill of a door, on the level of the upper chancel. The brick arch noted by Vespignani was apparently removed by him together with the medieval strengthening of the wall.

The original masonry of the south wall, then, was *opus listatum* of the same character as the nave walls. It was deformed but not essentially altered by later, presumably medieval additions and openings. But more important than these are the huge arch in its eastern section, and presumably another opening in the western part of the wall—an opening the existence of which can be gathered from the *tufelli* blocking which is exactly like the one used to block the arch farther east.

The original clear width of the south aisle, from the original wall surface to the shafts of the columns amounts to 3.60 m.

Little can be said regarding the original north wall. It may have been stronger than the walls

to the south, 1.10 m as against 0.70 m, as suggested by Hübsch's section <sup>1</sup>, which suggests moreover a thickening of the wall up to a level 2.70 m from the original floor. Vespignani's drawings unfortunately fail to clarify this last point, but at least one <sup>2</sup> seems to confirm the greater strength of the

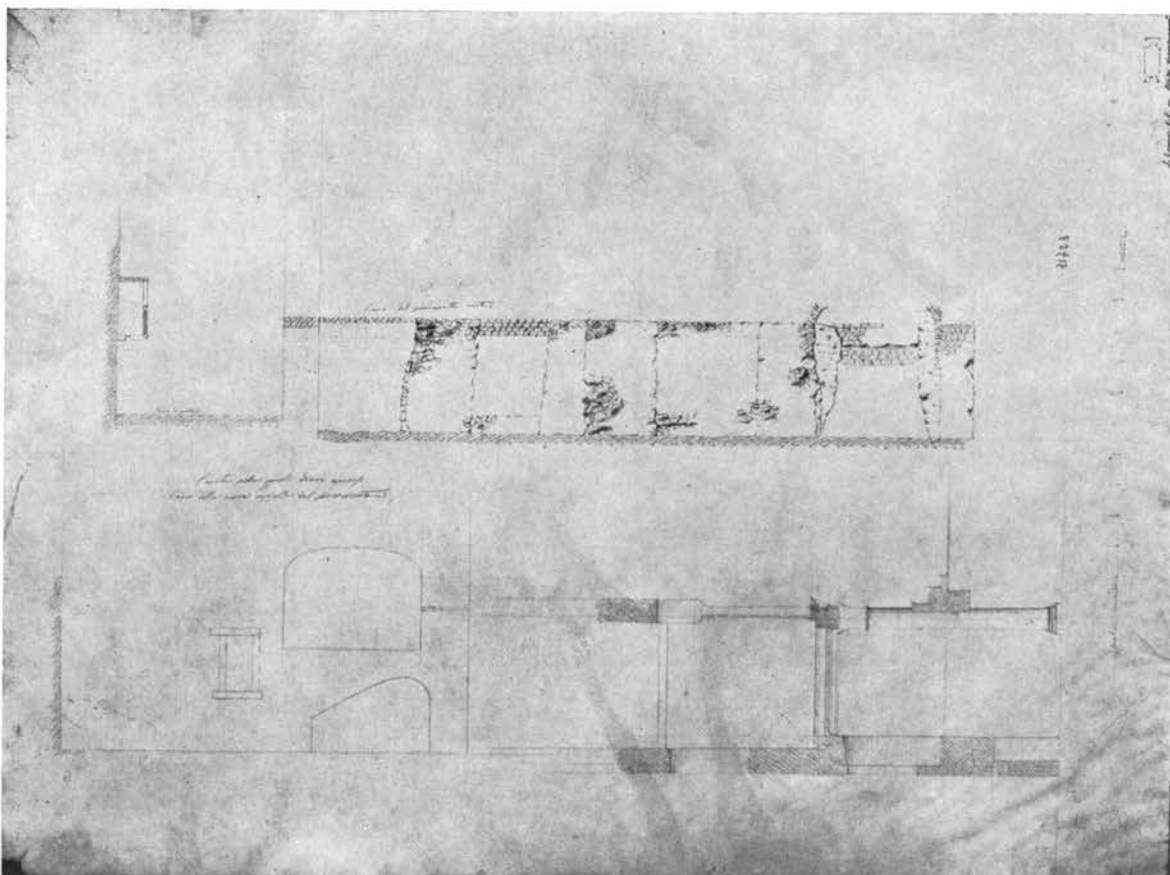


Fig. 46 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, East basilica, south aisle, elevation of south wall, section through east aisle of east gallery and elevation of intermediate bays, *Racc. Lanciani* 31723.

north wall (fig. 16). The width of the aisle also prior to Vespignani's time seems to have been 3.90 m, that is, somewhat more than that of the south aisle.

The masonry of the east aisle is not visible anywhere, neither on the present building nor in Vespignani's drawings. But these drawings <sup>3</sup> show a number of features of that aisle which have disappeared since 1857-1865. For one, the entire plan is irregular (pl. II; figs. 16, 31, 47): while the east wall of the center bay runs parallel to the transverse axis of the nave, the east walls of both corner bays stand at a slight angle to the transverse axes, the north and south walls of these bays at an angle to the corresponding walls of the aisles. Moreover, the two corner bays differ, the one to the north being longish in a westerly diversion, the one to the south roughly square and thus protruding considerably southward beyond the line of the aisle. No explanation comes to mind for these irregularities. A small door, framed by interlace work prior to 1857 sat in its south wall, on the medieval chancel level (fig. 46) <sup>1</sup>, but the four steps which Vespignani saw in that corner (fig. 47) would seem to have led to a door at a lower

(1) HÜBSCH, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 1.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31702.

(3) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31702, 31707, 31711.

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31723.



level. The arches which separated the three bays rested on one side on piers projecting ca. 0.65 m from the east wall (they were hidden by Vespignani behind the false lining of the walls); on the opposite side, they disappeared into the east face of the T-piers at the corners

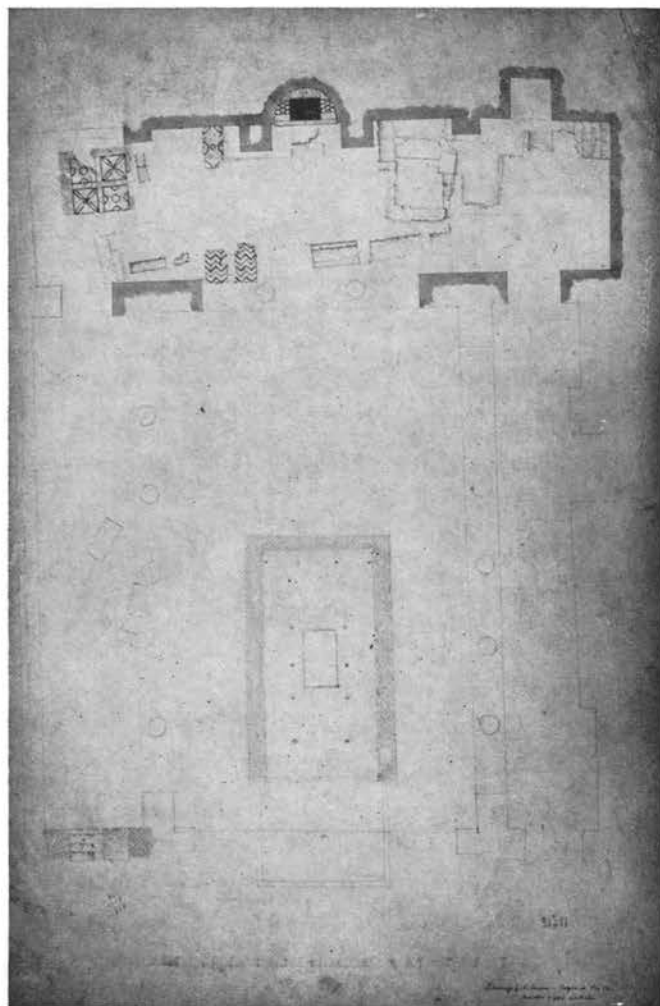


Fig. 47 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, East basilica, plan of findings, *Racc. Lanciani* 31711.

of the nave (fig. 23). Relatively low, their apex remained below the level of the capitals of the nave columns. In each bay a niche projected eastward, rectangular ones right and left, a semicircular one in the center, only 2.25 m high and prolonged by low piers and a barrel vault projecting as much as 1.05 m from the east wall (and apparently concealed either by Vespignani or in 1882-1885)<sup>1</sup>. The niche in the right corner bay was 1.60 m deep and decorated on its barrel vault with a jewelled cross standing against a starred ground, on its side walls with the figures of four female and four male saints (Agatha, Caecilia, Agnes, Lucia, Sixtus, Stephen(?), Cosmas, Damian), on the rear wall with the Virgin and Child, flanked by saints Agatha and Lawrence<sup>2</sup> (fig. 48). As far as the XIX century copies allow any judgment, the frescoes may well date from the VIII century; indeed, they resemble perhaps those in chapel *Hg*<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, parts of the original pavement turned up in the aisles, though not in the nave, in 1857-1865. De Rossi has listed many epitaphs, the earliest dated 323, the latest 507, evidently removed from the catacombs and re-used either in the pavement of the aisles or in the construction of *formae*<sup>4</sup>. Secondly, Vespignani in two drawings has marked both the location of a number of tombs and of fragments of mosaic pavements<sup>5</sup> (figs. 27, 47). The former, sarcophagi and *formae*, scattered through the north and especially the east aisle, all stand at a slight angle, varying from 10 to 25 degrees, to the walls of the East basilica. At least one, between the second and third columns of the north colonnade, counting from the west, would seem from the drawing to have been covered by the plinth of the column<sup>6</sup>; a group of three in the east aisle, enclosed between the two pilasters projecting south of the center niche was apparently enclosed within a small chapel marked off by parapets. In one of the tombs — the reports do not indicate which — an *encolpion* was found, possibly of sixth century date<sup>7</sup>. The fragments

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31702, 31711, 31697, 31692.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31726.

(3) See below, pp. 86 ff. and figs 75-83.

(4) *BAC I* (1863) 22 f.; 31 f.; 68 ff.; 84 ff.; *ibid.* II (1864) 33 ff.

(5) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31711, 31780; cf. also NESBITT, *Archaeologia* XL (1866), p. 182.

(7) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31711; a sounding made in 1948 brought no evidence of such a tomb.

(6) *BAC I* (1863), 31 f; 35 ff. See also W. F. VOLBACH, *La Croce...*, (*Guida del Museo Sacro*, II), Città del Vaticano, n. d., pl. II, fig. 3.

of mosaic pavements are of three different kinds: rosette and cross patterns in red, green, and yellow, and enclosed in square panels at times framed by broad marble strips were found in the south aisle, close to and extending into its western exit arch, a second time some 3 meters farther east, finally as a four some in the north bay of the east aisle and in two fragments in the center bay of that aisle; a zig-zag mosaic in red and green turned up, isolated, in that very bay; finally, a hexagon pattern flanked what appears to have been a porphyry plaque in the semi-circular niche in the center of the east aisle. This hexagon pattern would seem to have resembled closely the pavement found in 1947-1949 in the apse of the East basilica <sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 48 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, East basilica, murals from south niche, east aisle, *Racc. Lanciani* 31726.

The construction of the original ceiling of the aisles cannot be exactly determined. When surveyed by Vespignani, both north and east aisles continued without ceiling or floor respectively into each other; the south aisle did have a ceiling, apparently very thin and at a level slightly above the present one <sup>2</sup>. It is doubtful, however, that this ceiling and floor respectively were of early date. A sounding undertaken in 1946-1950 by the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti* uncovered above the second intercolumniation of the south colonnade, painted onto the architrave on the aisle side, a flat arch in XIII century sham brick work damaged by the beams and cut off on top by the pre-Vespignani ceiling and stucco floor of obviously later date. Thus it appears that in the XIII century, when this sham brickwork was visible, also to the south no ceiling or floor separated the aisle from the gallery. Still, originally the galleries on all three sides no doubt had floors which served the aisles as ceilings, presumably level with the top of the entablature of the colonnades and with the sills of the arches that open west from the galleries.

#### v. The galleries.

Length and overall plan of the galleries correspond exactly to those of the aisles. Their height north and south is obviously less since the outer walls terminate 5.35 m from the floor level (pl. VI A). At that point they carry an open timber roof, its beams inserted on the arcade side into the spandrels of the arches (fig. 36). The impression of lesser height, as compared to the aisles, is strengthened further by the slightly greater width of the galleries, 4.20 m clear from the shafts of the thinner gallery columns to the walls which rise somewhat farther outward than those of the aisles. On the other hand, like the aisles, the galleries communicate through arched openings, tall, though lower than those of the aisles (4.75 as against 6.30 m) and slightly narrower (1.07 as against 1.17 m), west with the aisles of the West basilica, east with the corner bays of the east gallery (figs. 36, 37, 45).

(1) See above, p. 57.

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31709, 31707; HUEBSCH, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 1, indicates a ceiling in the north aisle, 8.40 m from the floor level, that is considerably above the level from which rise the gallery columns. For the ceiling in the south aisle see also CANINA, *op. cit.*, pl. XL.

The masonry in the gallery zone is better preserved than in the aisles. Not only do the west walls show the original *opus listatum* below and on either side of the opening and the brick voussoir of the surmounting arch; also, both the south and the north wall show



Fig. 49 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, east gallery, looking north (Photo: Sansaini).

the same *opus listatum* masonry<sup>1</sup>, the former both inside and outside, the latter only inside. Indeed, Vespignani's restoration on the wall of the north gallery remained limited to facing the exterior with a brick masonry (fig. 29). Yet, of greater importance, is the fact that all the windows, both in the north and south gallery seem to be of his devising. Jambs and arches in XIX century brickwork have been inserted into the original masonry of the wall and stand out as alien bodies (figs. 35, 39). Nor is there any plausible evidence to suggest that Vespignani's took the place of original windows either in the north gallery or in the aisles<sup>2</sup>; indeed, windows in these portions appear only in his project drawings, but are lacking from his survey drawings (fig. 23)<sup>3</sup> as well as from all old illustrations of the building. The south gallery, to be sure, in late XVIII and early XIX century views shows a series of windows, possibly arched, but more likely rectangular and thus presumably of XVII century date<sup>4</sup>.

Along the inner wall of the south gallery, below the modern windows, a row of large beam holes, 21-31 cm wide, was uncovered in the restoration 1946-1950. If part of the orig-

inal structure, they might be indicative of a change in plan.

The east gallery (fig. 49) like the east aisle on the ground floor level, is subdivided into a center part and into two corner bays; the latter open in arches towards the center bay and the north and south galleries respectively (figs. 37, 50). Again, corresponding to the ground floor plan, the south corner bay on the outside projects towards the south. But while the corner bays, each with two windows facing east and north and south respectively, maintain the roof height of the galleries, the center bay rises to the full height of the nave with two rows of three windows each, piercing the gabled east wall (fig. 29). Yet only the walls of the corner bays show sizeable remnants of the original *opus listatum* masonry both inside and outside, the south bay on its south wall to two-thirds of its height (fig. 50), the north bay on its north wall as well as on its east

(1) A tract of this wall, though completely repointed, has been left visible in the restoration 1946-1950.

(2) KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 305 and note, should be correspondingly corrected.

(3) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31692, 31693, 31697.

(4) Rossini, in 1809, and the anonymous woodcut of 1847 (fig. 88) render the windows with arches, the Anonymous ADC of the late XVIII century (fig. 11). and Giovanni Fontana in Canina's publication, as rectangular. Also the text of the *Memoria*, 1865, p. 9, describes the windows in the gallery as "*quadre, piccole e poche*".

wall to its full height. The east wall of the center bay was apparently rebuilt by Vespignani both inside and outside, except for two small portions (fig. 29): a fragment of *opus listatum* at the northeast corner is bonded to the east wall of the north bay, while at the southeast corner a small piece of high medieval brickwork has survived, apparently a repair of the original wall (fig. 50). In the XVII century the greater part of the center wall showed rubble masonry<sup>1</sup>, possibly a repair of the time of Cardinal Caraffa. All the windows in these outer walls are of XIX century vintage. Indeed, Vespignani in his project drawings apparently still planned a windowless east wall. More important, this east wall, in Vespignani's drawings as well as in the older views (figs. 11, 23, 88)<sup>2</sup> had no gable and terminated at the same height as the lateral clerestory walls of the nave carrying a sloping roof. On the other hand, the wall which separates the east gallery from the nave, that is, the east wall of the nave was apparently left untouched. The triple arcade spans the distance between the two corner piers, its brick voussoirs and *opus listatum* spandrels slightly receding from the face of the piers. Above the arcade the wall continues on the clerestory level, again slightly receding; the three windows in this upper wall are an integral part of the original wall, as evidenced by their *opus listatum* jambs (pl. VA).

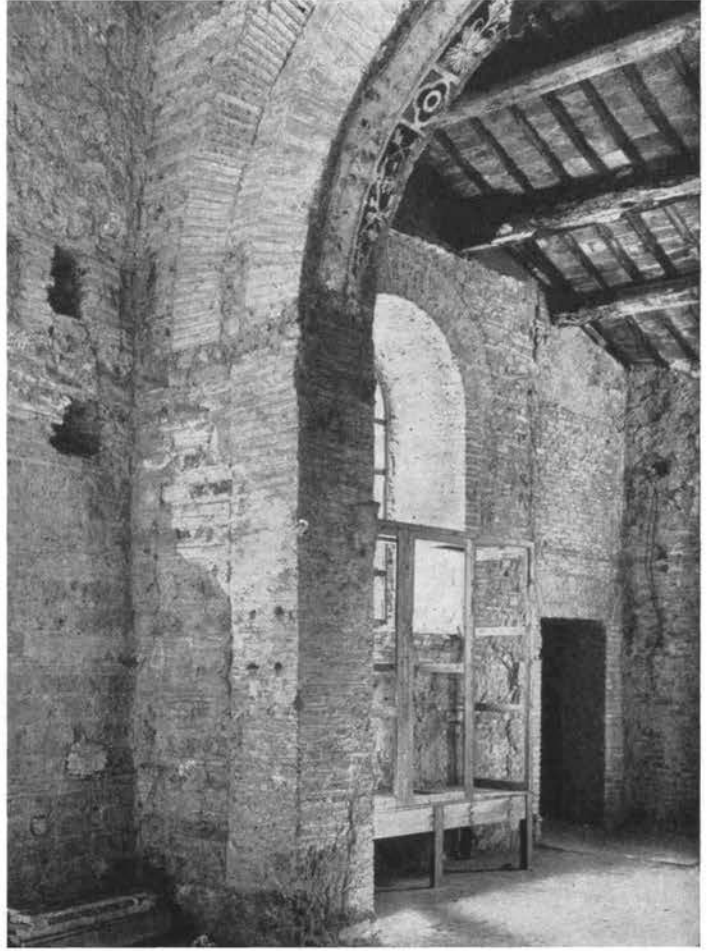


Fig. 50 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. East basilica, southeast corner bay, looking southeast (Photo: Sansaini).

The jambs and arches between the corner bays and the north and south galleries have preserved their original *opus listatum* masonry, and their measurements, 1.92 wide, 1.24-1.27 deep and the one to the north 4.85, that to the south 4.55 m high<sup>3</sup>; a patch of slightly different *opus listatum* in the northwest corner of the southeast bay high up in the spandrel zone of the two arches, seems to indicate a minor repair of later date (figs. 37, 49, 50). On the other hand, the arches which lead from the corner bays to the center bay have undergone two later, though medieval alterations. To be sure, the walls above these lateral arches of the center bay show the original *opus listatum* masonry, though slightly less regular than below, and contain each an original window, though the one to the north was narrowed and shifted westward by Vespignani (pl. VA; fig. 50). But the arches below were wider and higher than today, 4.25 and 5.70 m respectively, so that the apex of their voussoirs nearly touched the sills of the windows above. Thus, their supporting piers in *opus listatum* projected only

(1) CIAMPINI, *De sacris aedificiis*, p. 115: "... murus post absidam tumultuario constructus e diversa materia constat...".

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31692, 31694, 31707; drawing Anonymous ADC; drawing Valenciennes; woodcut Anonymous 1847 (see above, p. 5).

(3) A lower filling of the north arch was removed in 1946-1950.

0.15 m to the west where they bond with the nave corner piers and the arches towards the north and south galleries. To the east they must have projected roughly 0.70 m, but the original pier was replaced by another, consisting of large tufa blocks alternating with several brick courses; it is the "tufa-brick" masonry found also in the east portions of both aisles of the West basilica and presumably of XI century date. Still later, brick piers were built against both the original *opus listatum* and the tufa-brick pier to support a new brick arch which diminished the width of the original arch to 3.38 m, its height to 4.20 m. The technique of the brickwork, strongly marked by trowel lines, resembles closely that used in the remodelling of the western portions of the aisles of the West basilica (figs. 19, 50). This narrowing of the arches and strengthening of their piers became apparently necessary when a ceiling was placed into the east gallery cutting off its upper half: a series of beam and rafter holes came to light in 1946-1950, cut into the *opus listatum* spandrel on either side and into the voussoir of the original wider and higher arch. Above the ceiling a chapel was installed, its walls stuccoed and a huge mural painted on the west wall, representing two archangels placed between the windows, and on the corner piers the figures of *precatio* and *peticio*<sup>1</sup>, all topped by a meander frieze framing four panels with busts of saints. A corresponding floral ornament decorates the soffits of the narrowed arches on the gallery level (figs. 37, 50).

#### VI. Masonry.

The masonry throughout the East basilica consists of *opus listatum*, its core of brick-and-tufa rubble faced with alternating layers of bricks and small tufa blocks. (figs. 28, 29, 33 - 37, 39 - 45). But the character of this *opus listatum* changes somewhat in different parts of the structure, in the ratio of brick and tufa courses, in the cutting and placing of the small tufa blocks, and in the handling of the mortar beds. In the rising walls of the nave, the aisles and galleries, one brick course alternates regularly with one tufa course; the tufa blocks are on the average between 60 and 75 mm high and between 150 and 185 mm long, though occasionally as short as 75 or as long as 220 mm. They are placed always lengthwise, except near corners where a block sometimes is turned sideways, and hewn with the hammer into regular parallelepipeds, though with rounded corners. The bricks, apparently spoils, are from 160 to 400 mm long and from 29 to 32 mm high. The mortar beds are from 17 to 32 mm high, with an average of 27.5 mm, and slope downwards and inwards. Two "moduli", each comprising two tufa blocks, two bricks and four mortar beds, correspond to 29.8 cm (= 1 R.ft.); 50 cm comprise four bricks, three tufa blocks and five or six mortar joints. In the core of the building this masonry fluctuates only slightly: in the corner piers of the nave the *tufelli* are less regular in shape, as low as 50 and as high as 80 mm (once as high as 95 mm), the mortar beds higher, so that the height of two "moduli" rises to 31 cm; in the arches across the east gallery, the height of the tufa blocks averages as much as 80 mm but the mortarbeds are lower than elsewhere in the building. Despite these fluctuations the masonry of the core of the structure is more or less uniform. On the other hand, the masonry both of the apse *H* and of the clerestorey of the nave, especially above the east gallery, shows wider departures, though along different lines. In the apse (figs. 21, 41, 42) the bottom section starts above the foundations with as many as four and seven layers of bricks before it continues with an *opus listatum* with never less than two brick courses sandwiched between the single tufa courses; even above the zone of the window sills, two brick courses are not infrequent. 31.5 cm, slightly more than one Roman foot, thus corresponds to one tufa block plus

(1) *Racc. Lanciani* 31721.

two brick courses. Also the tufa blocks are extraordinarily regular in shape and never less than 60 nor more than 85 mm high. On the other hand, beginning with the walls of the galleries and continuing into the clerestory walls of the nave, the masonry is far less regular (figs. 28, 35): at times the regular alternation of one brick and one tufa course is interrupted for a short stretch by two and three brick courses, or else two tufa courses intervene between single brick courses. The tufa blocks are less regularly shaped, occasionally just fist-sized chunks, and very often placed sideways rather than lengthwise. In the clerestory walls of the east gallery, especially south, two and even three successive courses of tufa blocks are frequent.

The changes thus indicated need not suggest changes in plan. The higher proportion of bricks in the lower sections of the apse, of tufa blocks in the upper walls, may well be interpreted as the intention on the part of the builders of strengthening the lower, while reducing the weight of the upper parts of the structure. On the other hand, the less regular construction of the upper walls is no doubt due to negligence best attributed to hastiness. For some reason the building, finished in its lower parts, had to be terminated in a hurry. Such hurry need not, but might well indicate a second building period, possibly after a short interruption.

#### VII. The tomb.

The tomb of Saint Lawrence rises in the crypt which was inserted, one recalls, together with the XIII century chancel into the nave of the East basilica. However, it would seem to antedate the building of both crypt and chancel. At present, it consists of two parts, the large monument-block and a low socle (pls. II, V A). The latter, rising 0.22 m above the floor of the western front section of the crypt, terminates, with a somewhat narrower projection below the altar mensa, 1.10 m from the entrance of the crypt. Eastward the socle ends abruptly with the steps descending to the rear section; indeed, flush with the last step it is turned into the richly inlaid face of a *confessio*, 0.65 m high, flanked by two projecting pilasters. A *fenestella* opens in its center, framed by a gold, blue and red glass mosaic and surmounted by a cornice which bears the dedicatory inscription of *Cencius Cancellarius*, Cencius Savelli. A cosmatesque mosaic, composed of porphyry and *verde antico* covers the top of the socle east of the monument block. The block, set back 0.50 m from the east edge of the socle, is rectangular, 2.15 by 1.30 m, and 1.13 m high. While enclosed on three sides by simple marble plaques, its west face, hidden by the modern altar, opens in a second *fenestella* framed by the marble pattern of a (lost) glass mosaic. The covering top plaque of the block, on the other hand, is framed by a cosmatesque green and red frieze sloping inward, like the top of a *mensa*.

The inscription of Cencius Cancellarius suggests that the tomb monument in its present state dates from before 1216 and possibly prior to 1191/92 when Cencius held the position of *cancellarius* prior to his election to the cardinalate. Hence the monument apparently antedates the construction of the crypt.

The visible structure of the monument block reveals no element of earlier date. On the other hand, its very position within the East basilica is revealing, for it rises in the very center axis of the nave, in line with the second columns counting from the west on either side. To be exact, a point in the western half of the sarcophagus block lies at a distance of 6.20 m from the axes of the north and south colonnades and of 12.40 m both from the inner curve of the apse and from the east colonnade of the nave. No doubt, then, the entire East church was laid out around some object now enclosed within the monument block, in all likelihood the original tomb of Saint Lawrence.

## c) THE CAMPANILE AND THE ADJACENT STRUCTURES

A number of structures rise (or rose formerly) south of the East basilica. They are of interest primarily in that they suggest the confines and ways of access to that building and to those preceding it.

Outstanding among these structures is the campanile (pl. II; figs. 1, 2, 11). It is eight stories high, the first three windowless, the upper five with two windows on either side. The lower portions have been assigned, not quite convincingly perhaps, to the XI, the upper parts starting with the third floor, to the XII centuries<sup>1</sup>. In any event, marble fragments with interlace work, dating from the VIII or IX century and walled up in the lower parts of the tower, provide a *terminus post*. On the other hand, a *terminus ante* is given by the disappearance of the hill or of early structures south and west of the East basilica. Indeed, the south and west faces of the lower portion of the tower both show traces of having been built against live rock or against some earlier structure. Also, in the west face, some 6 meters from the ground, a door opens without any outer stairs ascending to it<sup>2</sup>. Hence, at the time the lower part of the campanile was built, the hill or some earlier structure extended south and west. Even more revealing is the placing of the campanile at an angle of roughly 15 degrees to the axes of the East as well as the West basilica, and at a distance of over 6 meters from the wall of the eastern section of the south aisle of the West church, that is of the "intermediate bays" (pl. II; figs. 2, 16)<sup>3</sup>. Obviously, its placing was determined by the existence of previous structures nearby, structures which differed from the axes of and hence presumably antedated the East basilica.

Indeed, such structures existed east, west, possibly south and certainly north of the campanile. For one, incorporated into its east face the fragment of a wall has survived, running eastward, its *opus listatum* faces turned north and south. Reaching as high as +7.80 m, it must have belonged to a structure which once occupied the site (and antedated) the medieval lateral porch of the East basilica and hence of the present sacristy. Since, on the other hand, it reaches considerably higher than the gallery level of the East basilica, it is very unlikely that this early structure was linked to the building of the East church. It may well have been part of an earlier system of constructions on the site.

Remnants of such an earlier system have indeed come to light during the excavations 1947-1949 adjoining the southwest corner of Vespignani's *Cappella del Sacramento* (pl. II). Running parallel to the axis of the campanile, they consist of some *opus listatum* walls, one projecting from beneath the foundations of the south wall of the Chapel of the Sacrament, and at least 1.60 m strong, the other 5.30 m farther south and 1.35 m strong; the first block was built for view on its west and south sides (while its north side was built against live rock); the second had its good faces east and north. Leaving at either end passageways of 0.65 and 1.35 m respectively, a wall of only 0.50 m strength ran between the two blocks. Finally, a second wall, also of *opus listatum* was found parallel to this first wall at a distance of 1.40 m, its west face built against the live rock. Obviously these remnants become intelligible only when related to the finds made inside the West nave, behind apse *H* of the East basilica<sup>4</sup>. If thus related, they suggest an "access corridor" or anteroom of some sort

(1) SERAFINI, *Torri Campanarie*, pp. 104 ff.

(2) Another door in the east face, 8 m from the ground and framed by interlace posts, may have led onto the roof of the lateral porch of the East basilica; see above, p. 46.

(3) See above, p. 39.

(4) See below, pp. 80 f.

and certainly they indicate a system of structures on an axial system into which the campanile had to be fitted at a later point.

Prior to 1857 other elements of the same axial system were preserved on the site of the present

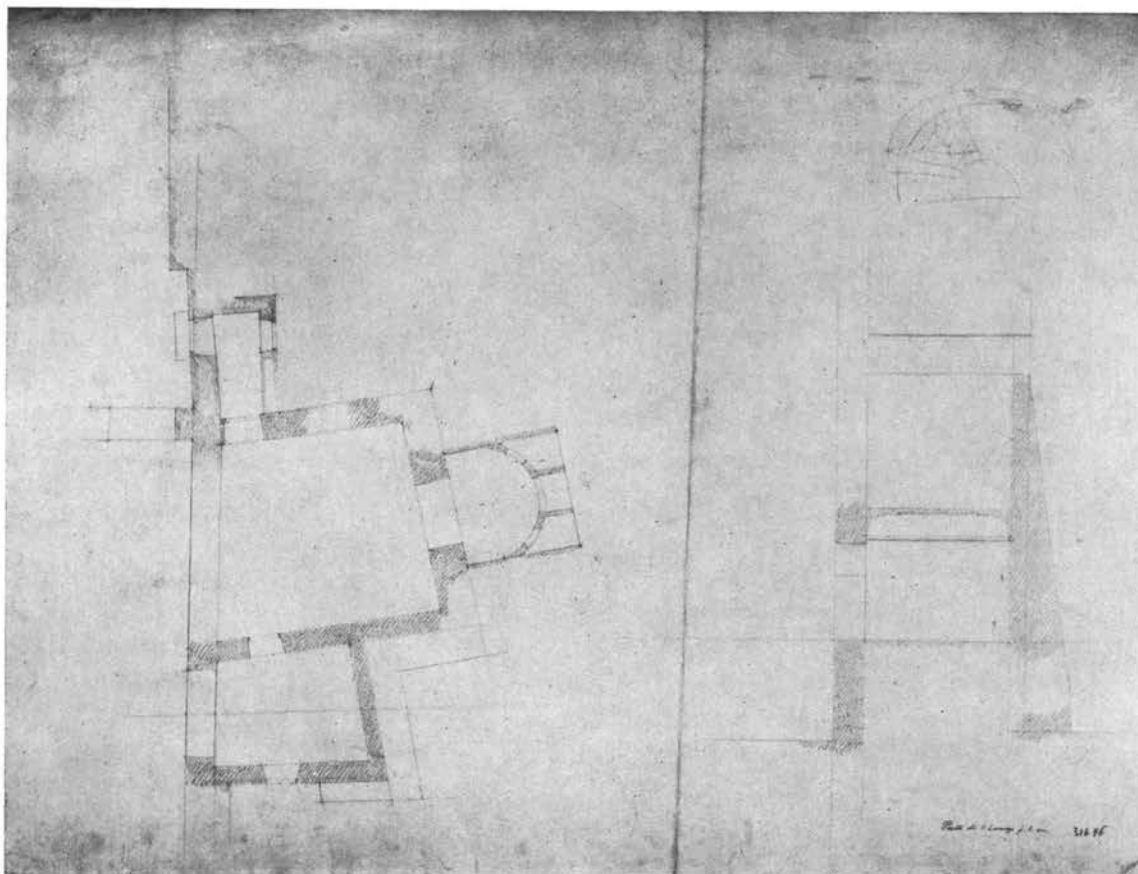


Fig. 51 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Structures on site of Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, plan and section, *Racc. Lanciani* 31696.

Chapel of the Sacrament. At that time, two structures, a square room and a smaller, irregularly rectangular annex along its west wall linked the campanile northward to the wall of the southern “intermediate bay” (figs. 46, 51)<sup>1</sup>. Neither their original function nor their date can be established, however. The larger room as early as 1624<sup>2</sup> and still in 1857 served as a monks’ choir, its altar installed on the groundfloor of the campanile; while apparently level with the West basilica, it would seem to have communicated with it only through a rectangular opening, 1.60 m above floor level, its frame composed of stone beams of different length. The annex had two stories: the lower one level with the West church opened only towards its aisle in a very low lop-sided, the upper one in the depressed ellipsoid arch (fig. 18), remnants of which were uncovered in 1946-1950<sup>3</sup>. This lower floor was accessible from the monks’ choir by a short flight of steps<sup>4</sup>. The flat vault of the lower and the oval windows of the upper story as well as the battened buttressing along the southwest corners of both monks’ choir and annex date possibly from the XVII or XVIII century (fig. 10). The brickwork of the depressed upper arch however and its relation both to the original *opus listatum* masonry of the wall and to the high medieval brickwork of the corner of the intermediate bay, suggest a date in the early Middle Ages. It is of even greater significance to realize the relation of

(1) Plans and elevations, see *Racc. Lanciani*, 31696, 31702, 31712, 31723, 31780; among views, those of Piranesi (fig. 10) and Le Geay show the chapel and its annex.

(2) See above, p. 39, note 3.

(3) See above, p. 38 and fig. 18.

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31696; see also Letarouilly, *op. cit.*, pl. 260.



the west wall of this annex to the very early structures in the immediate vicinity; for the wall runs parallel to the "access corridor" just mentioned; it continues the direction of the fragment of the *opus listatum* wall incorporated into the wall of the south aisle of the West church<sup>1</sup>; and it lines up with the walls *D 1-D 6*, excavated in 1947-1949<sup>2</sup> (pls. II, VII A).

Vespignani, while demolishing the chapel and its annex, found a "mass of live tufa" (fig. 26)<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 52 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Bird's eye view (Photo: Sansaini).

It may have been the rest of a catacomb gallery, containing a *loculus* and, possibly, an object of special veneration.

#### d) THE EXCAVATION INSIDE THE WEST BASILICA (1947-1949)

The lay-out of the East basilica makes sense only in the light of the excavations undertaken in 1947-1949<sup>4</sup> (pls. II, V A, VII, VIII).

The excavation covered an area of approximately 250 square meters in the nave and the north aisle of the West basilica, extending from the ambos in the nave to the steps which lead up to what is now the chancel of the church (figs. 52, 54). Additional soundings were made in the correspond-

(1) See above, p. 39.

(2) See below, pp. 80 f.

(3) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31712.

(4) The excavations were undertaken with the generous assistance of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, of the American Philosophical Society and of Vassar College. They were supervised by Enrico Josi, Richard Krautheimer and Wolfgang Frankl. Our warmest

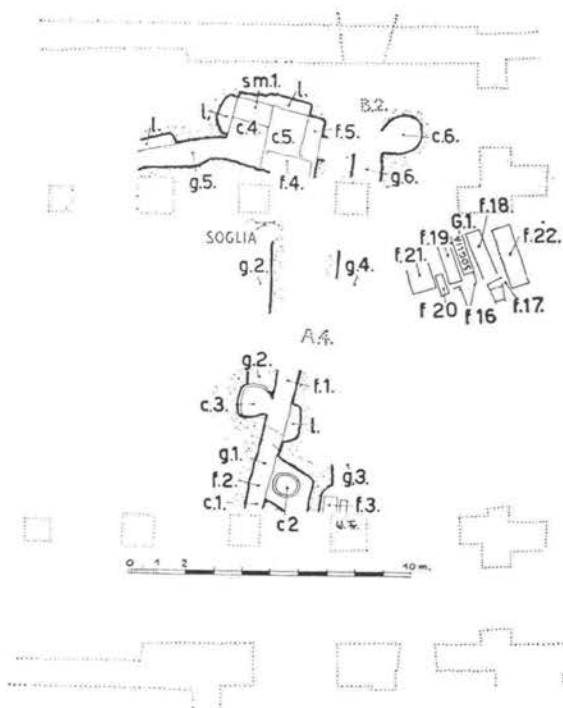


Fig. 53 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. *Arenarium* catacomb g 1-4 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

ing portion of the south aisle, in the East church, and, outside the south aisle, west of the campanile. Thanks to the efforts of the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti* and the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* the area below the nave has been covered with a concrete ceiling and made accessible from a door in the southwest corner of the East nave.

The finds will be described starting from the lowest and rising to the highest levels.

#### 1. The oldest catacomb system.

(a) On the lowest level were found remnants of a system of catacomb galleries g1-g6, hewn into the tufa and running across the

thanks go to the above mentioned institutions. They go also to the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti medioevali del Lazio* and to the late Alberto Terenzio who was then directing the restoration of the church, for their co-operation and for the subsequent building of a shelter to keep the excavations accessible; to the Capuchin Fathers of S. Lorenzo and especially to the Rev. Father Modesto who smilingly suffered the disturbance caused by three successive campaigns; finally to the indefatigable workmen of the Commissione di Archeologia Sacra.

The presentation of the results as given in the following pages is nearly identical with that published in our previous report KRAUTHEIMER-JOSI-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, 1952; it is supplemented by a few passages from the report FRANKL-JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1950, and by some additional observations.



Fig. 54 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. North aisle, tomb chambers c 4-5 and wall D 1-2, looking west (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 55 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. North aisle, tomb chamber c 4-5 and gallery B 1-4, looking east (Photo: Sansaini).





The large L-shaped chamber lies below the center and the south half of the Honorian nave, at the west end of the intermediary bays at a level of  $-3.50$  m (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 52, 59). Running south to north extends a room which is 2.35 m wide and thus far too large for a corridor. Its length is over 5 m, but it may have extended much farther south; the walls at the southwest corner of the *Cappella del Sacramento* may well have formed its (possibly later) entrance. From the main room, a side chamber, 2.10 m deep and 2.72 wide, projects due west (figs. 60, 61). Its center is occupied by a rectangular pier,  $0.75 \times 1.05$  m, possibly intended to support a tufa ceiling. Along the east wall of the main chamber rectangular niches are laid out at regular distances, 0.85 to 1.15 m wide, 0.59 m deep, and, judging from the filling of one of the niches, *E* 4, at least 1.00 m high. Superficially they recall the niches frequently found in catacombs for sheltering lighting fixtures, but their large size suggests that they were to shelter huge candelabras rather than simple lamps. The walls both in the main room and in the side chamber were covered with stuccoed plaster, and are preserved to a height of as much as  $-2.42$  m, 92 cm above the original floor.

The corridor *A* 4-*A* 15, 0.85 m wide, branches off the L-shaped chamber, directly opposite its west room, and runs straight toward the site occupied by the tomb of Saint Lawrence (pls. II, VII, VIII; figs. 25, 57). Its south wall, near the corner that turns into the L-chamber, is occupied by a niche of the type found in that room. Farther east, near the later apse *H* of the East basilica, one more niche opens in its south wall. In the part of the corridor that lies inside the area of apse *H* (fig. 56), loculi *l* 1-5, surmounted by flat arches of bricks, 1 R. ft. long, occupy both walls; they are closed with marble plaques *in situ*, one of them marked with an inscription *EMIN* (fig. 62). The level of the corridor slopes from east to west from  $-3.30$  m to  $-3.59$  m.

At the east end of the corridor another chamber, *A* 18, branches off to the south (fig. 57). Only its west wall, 2.00 m long, and the west corner of its south wall are preserved. But it should be noted that this wall is barely 6.00 m distant from the tomb of Saint Lawrence.

This entire system is closely linked to the L-chamber, and its careful masonry, its regular layout, the niches in the walls, all point to some important funeral or cult center. No doubt it played an incisive part in determining the position of the later structures on the site.

(b) The importance of this nucleus is further emphasized by the changes it underwent later.

1. A gallery *B* 1-4 was laid out coming from the north and intersecting the gallery *A* 4-15 (figs. 55, 63). This gallery, *B* 1-4, starts in the area below the very east end of the north aisle of the West basilica, coming from the east; after about 4 meters, it turns sharply north. Its level,  $-3.59$  m near the gallery *A* 4-15, rises to  $-2.74$  m in the area under the Honorian north aisle. Its purpose was obviously to facilitate access from other parts of the catacomb system to the corridor that connected the L-chamber, the other tomb chamber farther east, such as *A* 18, and the site of the tomb of Saint Lawrence. The *opus listatum* lining of the new corridor differs from that of the earlier gallery, in that the tufa stones are irregular in shape (fig. 64). Also, one modulus counts two bricks and one tufa-stone and measures 210-240 mm, with an average of 80 mm for the height of the *tufelli*. The mortar beds between the courses as a rule are rounded; occasionally, however, they slope inward and downward. Altogether the technique is reminiscent of that used in the second quarter of the fourth century in the foundation walls of the nave of Old St. Peter's.

2. Within the L-chamber a number of changes took place, either before or after the construction of *B* 1-4 (figs. 59, 60, 61, 63). The floor of its west room appears to have been raised after installing a *mensa* tomb, *sm* 2, and a *forma* *f* 6; traces of stucco on this tomb and on the center pier indicate the level of the new floor at  $-3.12$  to  $-3.21$  m. A second *mensa* tomb, *sm* 3, appears to have been installed slightly later, reaching a level of  $-2.97$  m. It contains a sarcophagus (figs. 61, 65). In the center of its face a group of three figures is represented: a man standing and apparently dictating to a woman standing to his right, while a second woman stands behind him reading from a scroll;

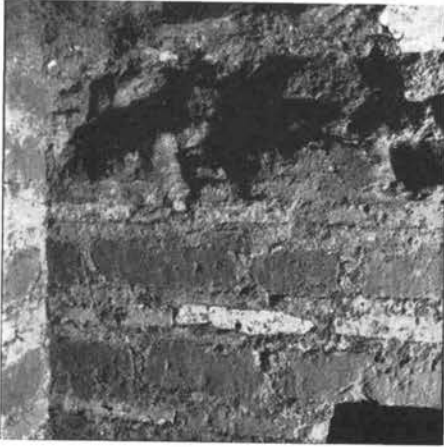


Fig. 58 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber masonry detail (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 59 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber, cataract and apse *K* during construction of shelter, 1950 (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).



Fig. 60 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber, supporting pier, *mensa oleorum*, apse *K*, from northeast (Photo: Sansaini).

near each corner of the front stands a figure of the Good Shepherd. On the short sides, in very low relief, a young shepherd is represented, seated and feeding a lamb. The fragment of a lid, found at this point and showing Jonah being cast into the sea, would seem to have belonged to this sarco-



Fig. 61 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49.  
L-chamber, supporting pier, *mensa oleorum*, cataract, sarcophagus, from west (Photo: Sansaini).

phagus. Typologically the sarcophagus appears to form part of the group of “philosopher” sarcophagi, and on the basis of the chronology proposed for the type it can be dated tentatively within the last twenty years of the third century<sup>1</sup>. Sunk as it is into the *mensa* tomb the sarcophagus may, however, have been in second use.

Finally, a tomb *t* was laid out east of the center pier at the end of the main room of the L-chamber (figs. 59, 61). This tomb is exceptional throughout. Its measurements,  $0.86 \times 1.40$  m, are far too small for a regular tomb. Equally unusual is its construction: it is half hollowed into the rock down to a level of  $-4.28$  m and half built up by a good *opus listatum* wall, *C* 1, which is covered with plaster inside and rises to  $-3.02$  m,  $0.45$  m above the original floor level of the main room. The rear wall, *C* 2, of the tomb, also stuccoed, continues north where it leans against the older *mensa* tomb, *sm* 3.

(1) F. GERKE, *Die Sarkophagtypen der vorkonstantinischen Zeit*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1940, pp. 280 ff.,

(fig. 63). The outer side of *C* 2 is stuccoed and thus must have been visible; it seems to have formed a step which separated the lower level of the main chamber from the raised floor of the west room. Obviously, then, tomb *t* was designed to rise above the floor and to be visible from the south, east, and north. Its size and construction suggest that it was laid out to receive the venerated remains of some martyr, possibly transferred from their original resting place<sup>1</sup>.

3. In a successive, if not much later period, the entire floor of the L-chamber including both its main part and the west room, appears to have been raised to the upper level of the new tomb *t* and a marble pavement laid out at  $-3.02$  m<sup>2</sup>. Still, tomb *t* was even more clearly marked: its south portion was closed below the new level with a tile roof *a cappuccina*; this portion was forcibly opened at a later time.

Over the small remaining portion to the north, a well-like cylindrical structure was erected (figs. 52, 59, 61) its outer diameter measuring 1.00 m, its inner, 0.55 m. From the new level of  $-3.02$  m it rose originally 0.46 m high to a level of  $-2.56$  m. Faced on the outside with thin marble plaques, the structure can only be a cataract, designed to provide an opening through which visitors could look into the north part of tomb *t*, offer libations and insert *brandea*. Such cataracts are not infrequently found over venerated tombs in the Constantinian period, as can be seen by the arrangement in S. Sebastiano, St. Peter's, and S. Paolo f. l. m.

At a later period, yet undetermined (fig. 66), the cataract was transformed into a well by lowering its shaft down to the level of the ground water at ca.  $-7.00$  m.

Two pieces of columns shafts, obviously in second use, were placed against the cataract, one on its east side, the other on its west side (figs. 52, 59-61). They would seem to have been *mensae oleorum*, set up simultaneously with the cataract or slightly later.<sup>3</sup>

4. After the cataract had been built, a number of formae (*f* 9-13) were inserted in the floor of the main chamber and of the access gallery *A* 4-15. This gallery simultaneously was raised



Fig. 62 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Gallery *A* 4-15, east end, loculus with inscription EMLN (Photo: Sansaini).

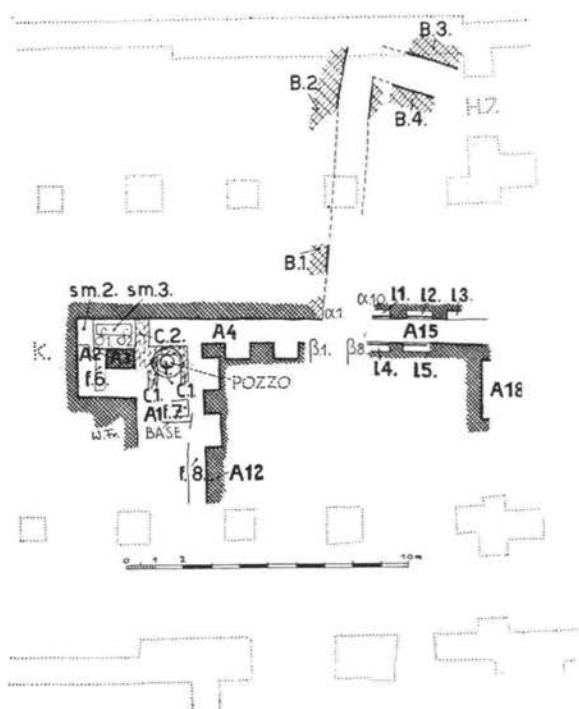


Fig. 63 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber including tomb *t*, gallery *A* 4-15, gallery *B* 1-4 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

(1) We are greatly indebted for this suggestion to Father Kunibert Mohlberg, O.S.B.

(2) An epitaph, reused in the pavement bears the inscription (i)NNOX(entius).

(3) See A. M. SCHNEIDER, "Mensae oleorum", *R. Qu. Schr.* 35 (1927) pp. 287 ff.



to the level of ca.  $-3.15$  m. The forma of a child, *f* 10, was found *in situ* close to the entrance from the corridor *A* 4 to the L-chamber (fig. 67). The inscription

QVINTIANE Q VIXIT  
VNNIS N.V. ET MENS.N.X.  
IN PACE

appears to date from before the middle of the IV century<sup>1</sup>. Hence, it gives a *terminus ad* for the raising of the level in *A* 4-15, and a *terminus post* for the time until which the L-chamber remained in use. At the same time it dates the cataract presumably into the earlier fourth century. It was continued to the west by the trace of another forma slab at the same level. Forma *f* 12, farther east, had been broken in the collapse of later structures; inside was found the fragment of a column shaft.

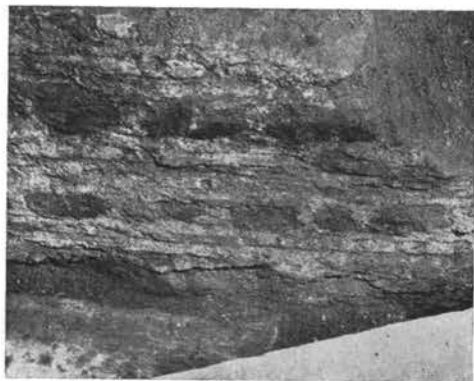


Fig. 64 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Gallery *B* 1-4, masonry (Photo: Sansaini).

The niche in the south wall of the corridor *A* 4-15, just before it reaches the site occupied by the later apse *H* was apparently repaired by patching up the corners in its upper part, *E* 1, *E* 2, from level  $-2.69$  to  $-2.40$  (pls. VII A, VIII G). The relative chronology of this repair cannot be established. It is more important to note that this door, and the niche farther west, near the corner which turns into the L-chamber, were closed with an *opus listatum* masonry, *E* 3 and *E* 4 (fig.

68). While *E* 4 starts at the original level of the corridor,  $-3.30$  m and, thus would seem to antedate the formae *f* 9-13, *E* 3 starts at the very level of these formae,  $-3.15$ , and hence should be contemporaneous with them or of somewhat later date. At the level  $-3.09$  m, a loculus, its closing slab still in place, was inserted into the blocking *E* 4.

5. A small fragment of an inscription was found lying in the loose earth near the forma *f* 10 at the level of  $-2.70$  m. Its paleographic character is Philocalian. Its original site remains undetermined and the letters preserved ... (c)RVRA// ... (E)NDA// ... N(E) fit into none of the known Damasian poems; but they correspond in size and style to the fragment (s)VPPL(x) (e)T MEA from the Verano.<sup>2</sup>

### III. The underground area.

The west room of the L-chamber and the tomb *t*, surmounted by its cataract, remained an important focus of the lay-out during the subsequent periods, but they were decisively changed.

(a) The first important change consisted apparently in preserving only the west room of the L-chamber, its vault supported by the center pier, but laying out in front of the cataract an area capable of sheltering a larger crowd and thus forming a subterranean chapel inside the hill (pl. VII A; fig. 68).

To this end, the east wall of the L-chamber, opposite the cataract, was razed at a level of  $-2.68$  m, for a distance of approximately 2.00 m. In addition, the portions of the corridor *A* 4-15 nearest to the L-chamber appear to have been razed at the maximum height of  $-2.60$  m. The level of the live tufa on either side of the corridor *A* 4-15, cut as it is at  $-2.69$  m, appears to indicate that the area extended north and south to below the foundations of the Honorian colonnades.

(1) Information kindly supplied by the late Prof. A. Silvagni.

(2) A. FERRUA, "Spigolature archeologiche", *R.A.C.* 26 (1950), pp. 240 ff., and above, p. 6 f., dig. 366-381.

east into the neighborhood of the old catacomb gallery *g* 3 and of the gallery *B* 1-*B* 4, near the apex of the later apse *H*. Roughly 4.00 m east of the cataract, the level of the area is possibly marked by two tomb slabs situated behind the blocked niche *E* 4 (pl. VII A). Their inscriptions

HIC EST LOCVS FILI and  
HIC REQVIISCIT IN PACE MA ...  
DEPOSITVS SVB D III ID FEB 1

appear to date shortly after 400, but they are obviously in second use (fig. 69). At its east end



Fig. 65 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber looking west, sarcophagus (Photo: Sansaini).

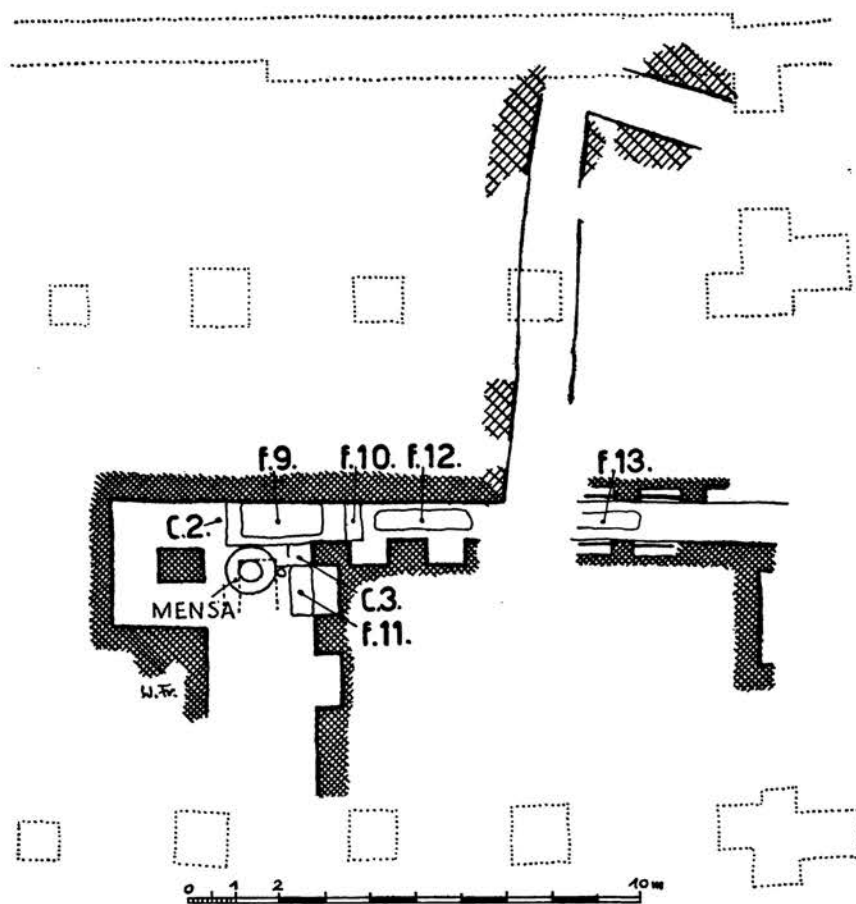


Fig. 66 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. L-chamber with cataract, gallery *A* 4-15, gallery *B* 1-4 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

right and left possibly with the old galleries *B* 1-*B* 4 and *g* 3, respectively. Inside the area the western tract of the corridor *A* 4-*A* 15, near the L-chamber, may have been kept in use at least in its lower portions.

(b) Important changes took place at the western end of the area. The short west arm of the

near *L* 2, a large block of live tufa, —2.12 m high, projects into the area. (The corresponding spot near *L* 1 could not be explored for technical reasons). This block may represent the remnant of a tufa pier left standing to support the tufa ceiling of the underground area, presumably in conjunction with another support near *L* 1.

The area, then would have been roughly rectangular in shape, with apparently three niches at its eastern end between the piers *L* 1 (?) and *L* 2 and the north and south boundaries of the area. These niches would have connected thus: the one in the center with the east portion of the corridor *A* 4-15 which was kept intact, its level raised to —2.43 m; those



Fig. 67 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Epitaph of Quintiana (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) Corrected as against FRANKL-JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 22.

L-chamber was preserved, thus forming a niche extending westward from the underground area. North and south of this niche two huge walls, *D* 1-*D* 6, were built against the live tufa and run north to south, approximately in the direction of the center of the cataract (pls. II, VIIA, B; figs. 54, 68, 70). They

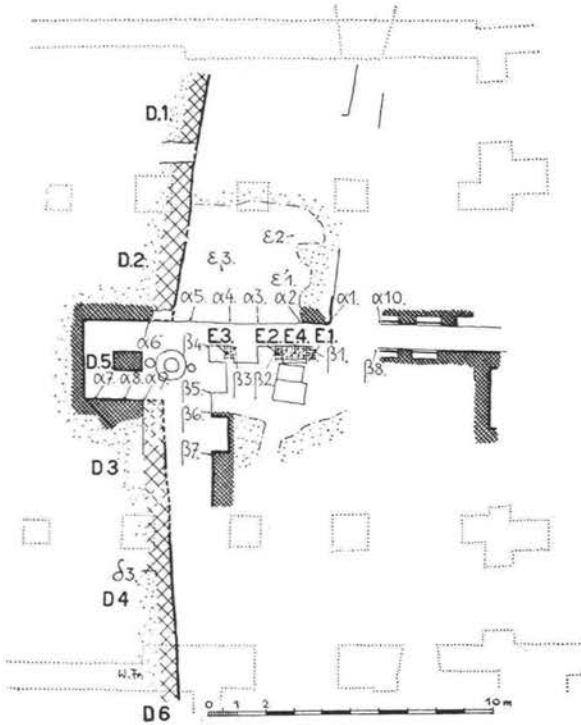


Fig. 68 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Underground area and substruction Wall *D* 1-6 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

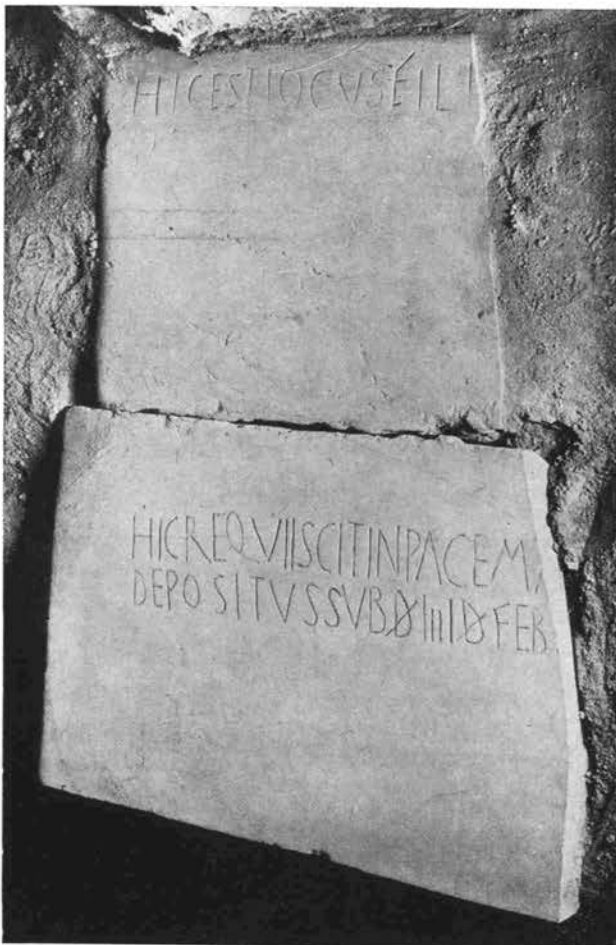


Fig. 69 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Epitaphs (Photo: Sansaini).

diminish in strength, from 0.90 m at their northern to 0.60 m near the southern end. The original length of these walls is undetermined, but the south wall continued below and beyond the south wall of the aisle of the West basilica to *D* 6 (pls., II, V, VIIA; fig. 70). Likewise to the north, *D* 1 continues beyond the north aisle into the adjoining catacomb. The material of both walls consists of marble fragments, rocks of tufa and bits of bricks. Below the north aisle of the West basilica, the level of the setback between the foundation proper and the rising wall of *D* 1-6 is as high as -1.93 m to -1.95m. From there it slopes down to -2.77 m near the north wall of the L-chamber. Approximately this same level (-2.71 m) is maintained for the wall *D* 3-4 below the south aisle of the West basilica. Throughout the area of both aisles, the wall reaches almost up to the level of the West church, and while near the cataract chamber only a few courses are preserved owing to the later construction of the apse *K*, it seems clear that *D* 1-2 was built against what had been the north wall of the L-chamber (pl. VIIA).

The very solid construction of the wall *D* 1 — *D* 6 suggests that it was a foundation wall designed to carry a high upper wall.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, at *D* 6 it carries the fragment of the *opus listatum* wall *D* 6' which remains incorporated within the wall of the Honorian south aisle, crossing it at a right angle and rising to a height of 8.00 m.<sup>1</sup> Hence the upper wall carried by *D* 1 — *D* 6 rose one or two meters above the original level of the hill.

(c) Parallel to *D*<sub>1</sub> — *D*<sub>2</sub>, another wall, *F*<sub>2</sub>, runs at a distance of 1.10 m, cutting across the cubiculum *c* 4-*c* 5, and thus putting it out of commission (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 54, 71). It rests precariously on the step inside this cubiculum and can hardly have supported any great weight. It consists of marble fragments heaped on top of each other and is much more poorly

(1) See above, p. 39.

built than the walls  $D_{1-6}$ ; also, it rises only to the level of the tufa along the foot of  $D_{1-D_2}$ , —1.93 m. Its principal function was apparently to contain the earth with which  $c_4$  had been filled. At the same time it may have supported a light wall. Similarly, the east wall of the L-chamber  $A_{12}$ , rising even at present to a level of —2.42 m., accompanies  $D_{3-D_5}$  at a distance of 1.40-1.50 m. In brief,  $D_{1-D_2}$  and  $D_{3-D_6}$ , together with two parallel walls, resting on  $F_2$  and  $A_{12}$  respectively, may have formed two corridors which led towards the cataract from north and south respectively, the south corridor coming from the outside, the north corridor sloping down from the catacomb. It is just as possible, however, that the walls  $D_{1-D_2}$  and  $D_{3-4-6}$  terminated the underground area without any corridors intervening.

(d) At a later, though not necessarily much later time, the underground area was apparently extended north and south into the zone now occupied by the aisles of the West basilica. This enlargement need not have occurred in the entire length of the area on either side, but it certainly took place along its western boundaries near the walls



Fig. 70 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. South aisle, wall  $D_{4-6}$  looking south (Photo: Sansaini).

$D_{1-D_6}$ . The corridors, if they ever had existed, were abandoned and a system of chancels was set up to regulate the approaches to the cataract (pls. VII, VIII; fig. 71). Two fragments of these chancels  $F_1$  and  $F_5$  are preserved though cut off by the foundation walls of the colonnades; both are built of small, irregular tufa stones, and rise from a level of —2.46 m and —2.42 m, respectively,  $F_1$  being placed on the live tufa,  $F_5$  on the remnant of the wall  $A_{12}$ . Both  $F_1$  and  $F_5$  are preserved to a height of approximately 0.35 m and both show traces of jambs at their inner ends. Continuing  $F_1$ , a similar wall  $F_2$  may have rested on the poorly built wall above the cubiculum  $c_5$ . At right angles to  $F_1$  and  $F_5$  two short walls,  $F_3$  and  $F_4$ , project due east from the terminating west walls  $D_{1-D_5}$  on either side of the cataract. While they rise from a level slightly lower than that of the corresponding fragments  $F_1$ ,  $F_2$  and  $F_5$ , —2.60 to —2.70, as against —2.44 to —2.53 m, they have the same height of approximately 0.55 m.  $F_3$  and  $F_4$  in front of the cataract appear to have been connected by a stone plaque or grill; north and south they formed, together with  $F_1$  and  $F_5$  the jambs of two openings. The extraordinary strength of the walls  $F_3$  and  $F_4$  might possibly suggest (WF) that like  $D_{1-6}$  they too were designed to carry high walls rising through the underground area and possibly emerging above the level of the hill. A marble floor is preserved in the opening between  $F_4$  and  $F_5$  at a level of —2.57 m. On the other hand, between  $F_3$  and  $F_4$ , near the cataract, the pavement was dropped to —2.75 m.

Clearly, then, an arrangement had been created by which pilgrims could be led along the west wall of the area possibly behind a low barrier  $F_{1-2}$  and  $F_5$ . Through the openings near  $F_1$  and  $F_5$  they would enter the area and pass in front of the cataract, barred from it only by a screen. The rectangular niche behind the cataract, the last remnant of the west room of the L-chamber, thus took on the aspect of a square niche,  $D_5$  (fig. 68).

Inside this niche the existence of possibly four successive floors is indicated by traces of plaster on the walls and on the center pier, at —2.38 m, —2.75 m, —2.64 m, and —2.56 m. At this last

(figs. 52, 61). It was possibly at this period that the cataract was transformed into a well, attaining the level the cylinder of the cataract seems to have been raised: the marble revetment of the original shaft terminates and a new ring starts faced with a plaster coat; it rises 0.62 m to a level of  $-1.94$  m

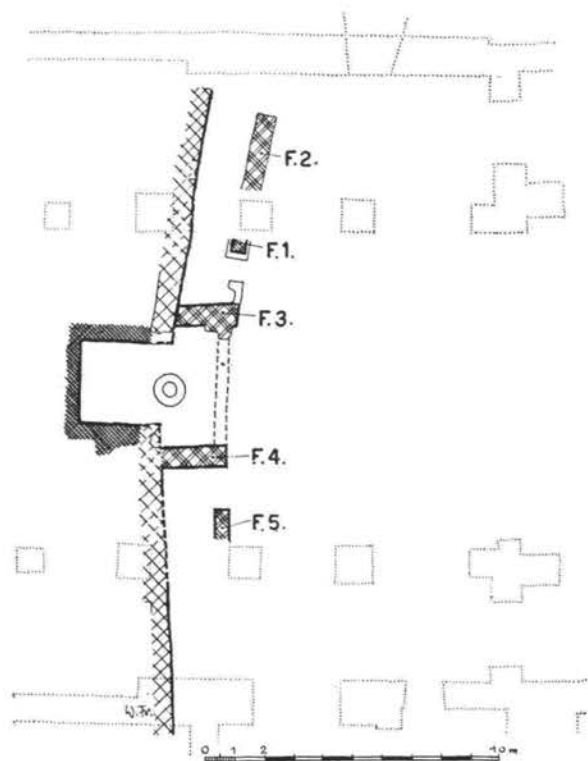


Fig. 71 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Underground area showing walls *D* 1-6 and *cancelli* *F* 1-5 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

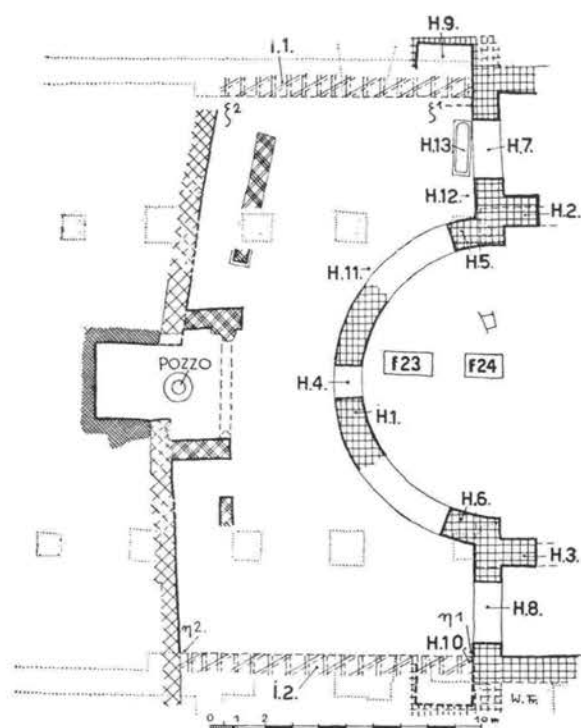


Fig. 72 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Sketch plan of underground area and apse *H* following construction of East basilica (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

the level of  $-7.00$  m. Also at this time, the center pier of the room was razed at a level of  $-2.57$  m. The floor of the underground area north and south of the niche appears to have been laid out somewhat higher, at approximately  $-2.42$  m, as shown by the chancels *F* 1 and *F* 2. Farther east the level of the area may have been as high as  $-2.33$  m. A smooth mortar floor at this level was found inside the later apse of the East basilica, *H*; it is certainly earlier than this apse, but at the same time it covers the last remnants of the corridor *A* 4-*A* 15 and of the cubicula containing the formae *f* 16-22. Thus it presupposes the demolition of these portions. Hence, it seems as if the underground area in a second stage had been extended farther east into the area later occupied by apse *H*.

#### iv. The underground area after the building of the East basilica (Intermediate bays, I).

The building of the East basilica entailed digging away the hill east of the underground area and around the site of the present tomb of Saint Lawrence; it entailed also taking over the easternmost portions of the underground area. Likewise the portion of the hill immediately west of the new structure must have been cut away and a narrow gap opened between apse *H* and the west wall of the East basilica on one hand, and the remaining portions of the underground area farther

west on the other. In any case, the new building replaced—to use the terminology of Pelagius' dedication—the former “caves” by a well lit, larger, hall.

(a) The apse of the East basilica *H*, including its *fenestella* and the two wide windows on either side, have been described above. Its foundation wall was sunk down to the level of the live tufa, whether on the floor or outside the pre-existing catacomb galleries, and terminated outside the apse at  $-2.55$ , inside at  $-2.45$  m, only slightly below the level of the enlarged underground area. Indeed, the west portions of the underground area remained preserved in back and closely connected with the new apse, including as their focus the well-cataract, the screen in front and the niche behind (fig. 72). The *fenestella* in the apex of apse *H* makes sense only if it allowed a visitor to the apse to see the well-cataract, exactly in its axis (fig. 52). Likewise, the two large windows in the wall of apse *H* were obviously designed to admit light into the underground area in the rear; in fact, these windows are sure proof that the underground area existed when apse *H* was built. Finally, the level of the East basilica,  $-2.07$  m, is scarcely 0.20 m above that of the eastern parts of the underground area. In

fact, the arches at the west end of both aisles of the East basilica, *H* 7-8, were obviously designed to create a direct communication on the same level between the aisles and the side portions of

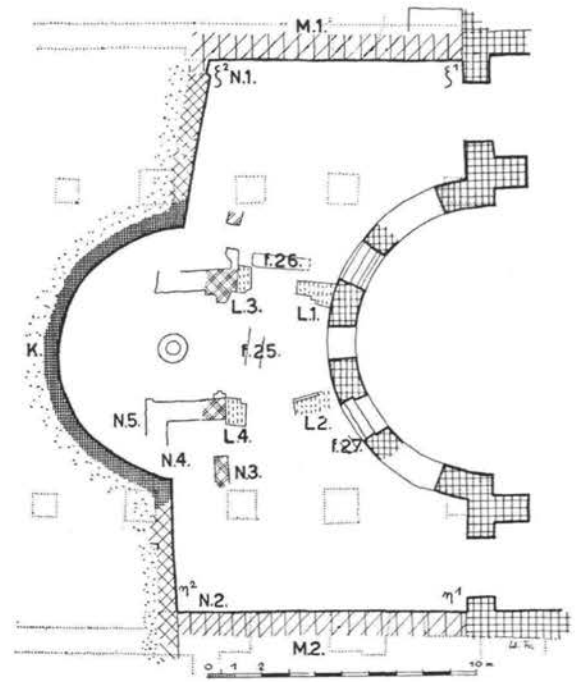


Fig. 73 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Sketch plan of underground area after construction of apse *K* (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

that area. Their apex, ca. 6.60 m above the original floor of the East basilica, gives an approximate idea both of the minimum height of the underground area and of the presumable maximum height of the windows in apse *H*. On the other hand, the underground area can hardly have been much higher, limited as it was by the original level of the hill at  $+6.00$  m (thus ca. 8.30 m above the floor of the underground area) as well as by the necessary thickness of the tufa ceiling. At the same time, the wide openings at the west end of the galleries of the East basilica would seem to have led on to the level of the tufa hill, below which the underground area was hidden, thus allowing for a direct access from the hill to the galleries. A short wooden bridge may have led across the gap which separated the wall of the basilica from the neighboring rock; the existence of such a gap is proven by the way in which the *opus listatum* has been washed out by the rain on the west wall of the aisles of the East basilica on either side of and above the arches *H* 7 and *H* 8.

(b) As mentioned before, the enlargement of



Fig. 74 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Inscription on outer wall of apse *H*, left of and below *fenestella*.

the underground area through the zone of both aisles of the West basilica cannot be later than the construction of the East church. In any case, a number of alterations within the area coincide with this period of construction (fig. 73).

The remaining west portions of the gallery *A 4-A 15* were razed and the entire underground area covered by a flagstone pavement at the exact level of the East basilica,  $-2.18$  m. An epitaph, re-used in the pavement adjoining the south jamb of the opening from the north aisle reads:

- (1) ...OCVS ANITAT...  
 REVOCATA QVE VIX...  
 (e)T FECIT CVM VIR(GLMC?)  
 (p)IVSQVAM DVLCL...

The area thus formed a *retro sanctos* behind the apse of the East basilica, placed underground. Its underground position becomes evident from the windows in apse *H*, needed for admitting light



Fig. 75 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, east wall, murals, lower layer, crowned head (Photo: Sansaini).

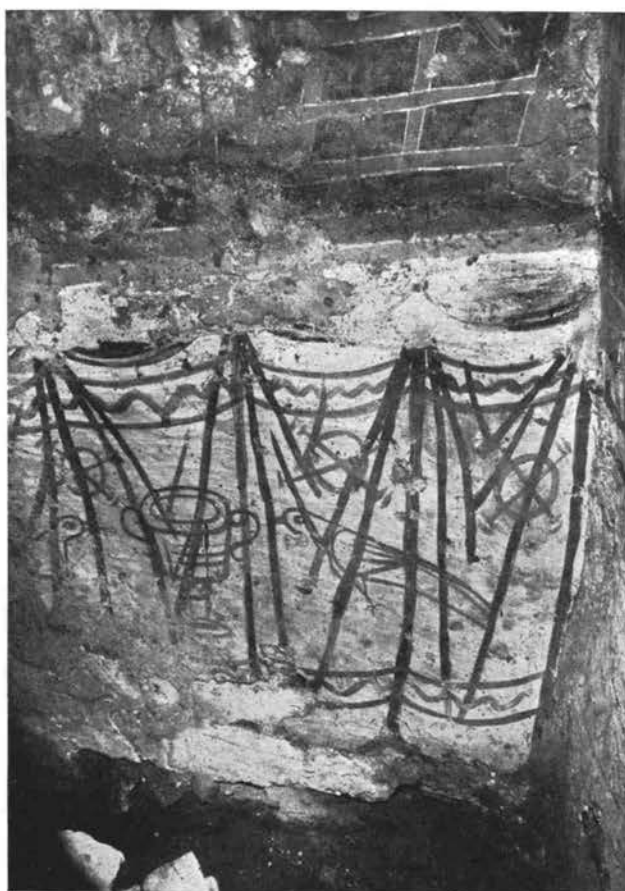


Fig. 76 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, east wall, murals, upper layer, curtains below Madonna (Photo: Sansaini).

into the underground area, and from the openings which led from the galleries of the East basilica on to the hill. Aside from the western boundary where it was hidden by walls *D 1-D 6*, the natural tufa throughout the area seems to have formed the walls and the ceiling, the latter apparently supported by tufa piers *L 1* and *L 2* (pls. VII, VIII). Other piers may have been left standing when the area was extended north and south into the zone of the aisles of the West basilica, but could not be traced. From the north and south walls two recesses, *H 9* and *H 10*, presumably chapels, were opened west of and adjoining the arches *H 7* and *H 8* which led from the aisles of the East basilica into the *retro sanctos*. Of the entrance arch to the south chapel *H 10* only the springing is visible, its

vousoir formed of bricks, 0.40 m long (pl. VIc; fig. 17). The arch would seem to have been roughly 2.90 m wide and its apex would have risen roughly 5.50 m above the level of the area at the time, —2.18 m. Its right-hand springing appears to have been inserted belatedly into the adjoining west wall of the East basilica. On the other hand, *H* 9, the chapel to the north, seems to be contemporaneous with the East basilica. Its entrance archs bond with the wall of this latter, while the other end rests on the live tufa (pl. VA). Like the corresponding arch to the south it springs 2.00 m above the level of the West basilica, that is 4.18 m above that of the underground area and it rose to a height of ca. 5.50 m above that level; the face of the vousoirs is lost, only the core being preserved. The chapel to which this arch gave access is well preserved: measuring in plan only 1.96 by 1.86 m, it is 5.50 m high and is covered by a transverse barrel vault (pl. II). Its east wall continues the line of the adjoining west wall of



Fig. 77 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49 Chapel *H* 9, east wall, murals, lower layer with crowned head, and upper layer, figure of Virgin and standing angel (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 78 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, east wall, murals, upper layer, Virgin and standing angel, inscriptions (Photo: Sansaini).

the East basilica and is built of the same *opus listatum*. On the other hand, its west wall shows brickwork with only an occasional course of tufa stones; it may thus belong to a later remodelling and the original west (and possibly the north) wall of the chapel may have been formed by live tufa.

(c) At a later time the *retro sanctos* and possibly the area of the hill at the level of the galleries was further altered. Atop the tufa boundaries north and south of the area, two *opus listatum* walls were placed, *I* 1 and



*I*<sub>2</sub> (pl. II, VA, VIc) <sup>1</sup>. Underneath, the live tufa was apparently left standing. The walls *I*<sub>1</sub> and *I*<sub>2</sub> start, the one to the south at +7.54, the one to the north at +9.00 m, and rise to +9.80 m, that is nearly 12 m above the level of the underground area. Hence they rose far above the level of the hill behind the East basilica, and it may be significant to recall that the north wall shows a row of beam holes, possibly intended for a roof. It is equally important to remember that the wall to the south, *I*<sub>1</sub> at its western end meets the *opus listatum* which, placed atop *D* 6, crosses the wall of the Honorian south aisle. But *I*<sub>2</sub> would seem to be built against and thus later than that transverse wall.

Remnants of a painted decoration came to light in differ-



Fig. 79 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, east wall, murals, upper layer, Christ child (Photo: Sansaini).

ent places of the underground area.

On the outer wall of apse *H* to the left of the *fenestella* appeared fragments of a long inscription in white lettering on a bluish-green ground which was obviously meant to be viewed by visitors to the underground area (fig. 74). Only a few letters could be deciphered, among them in the last line possibly the name *ABVND...*; the paleographic character and the color scheme point possibly to a date in the early seventh century <sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, remnants of a large mural decoration in chapel *H* 9 appear to present a

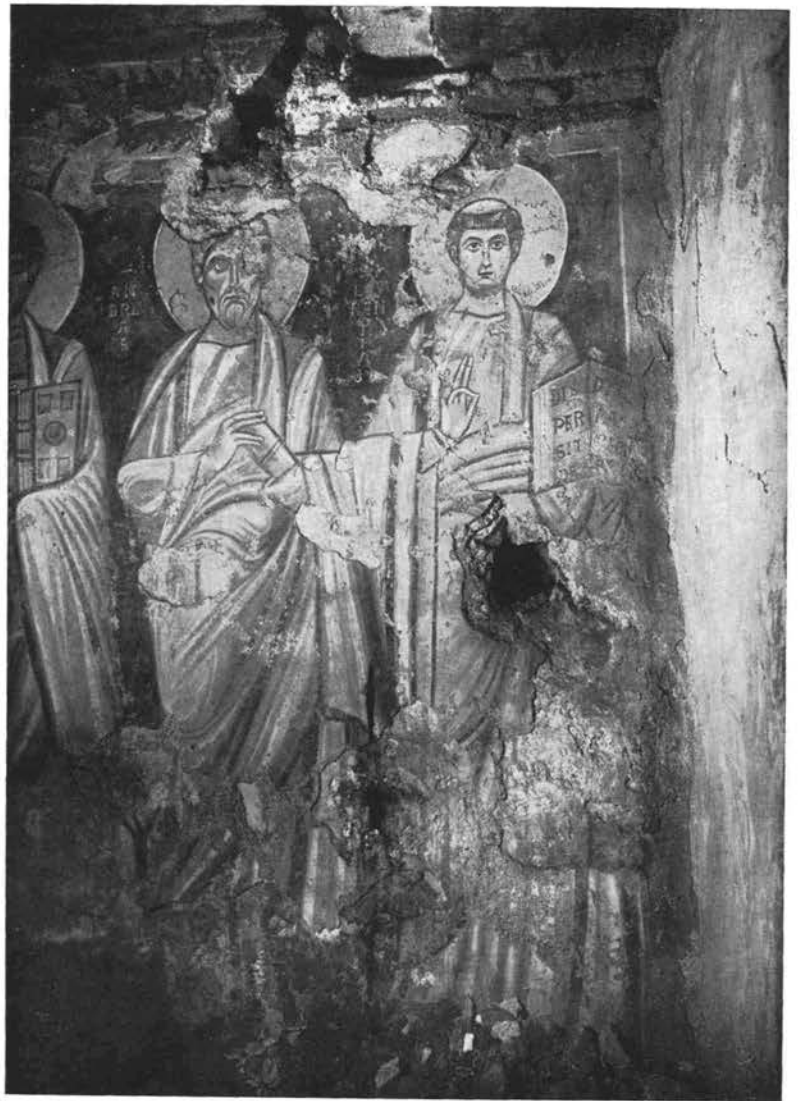


Fig. 80 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, north wall, SS. Lawrence, Andrew and John the Evangelist (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) See above, p. 38.

(2) Suggestion kindly made by the late Prof. A. Silvagni.

*terminus ante* (or possibly even *ad*) for the date at which the entire area including the chapel *H* 9 was regularized by masonry walls and its upper portions made to emerge from the ground (figs. 75-83).

Two layers of frescoes can be distinguished covering the three walls of the chapel. Of the lower layer only the top quarter shows on all three walls: traces of a figure with a halo on the west wall;

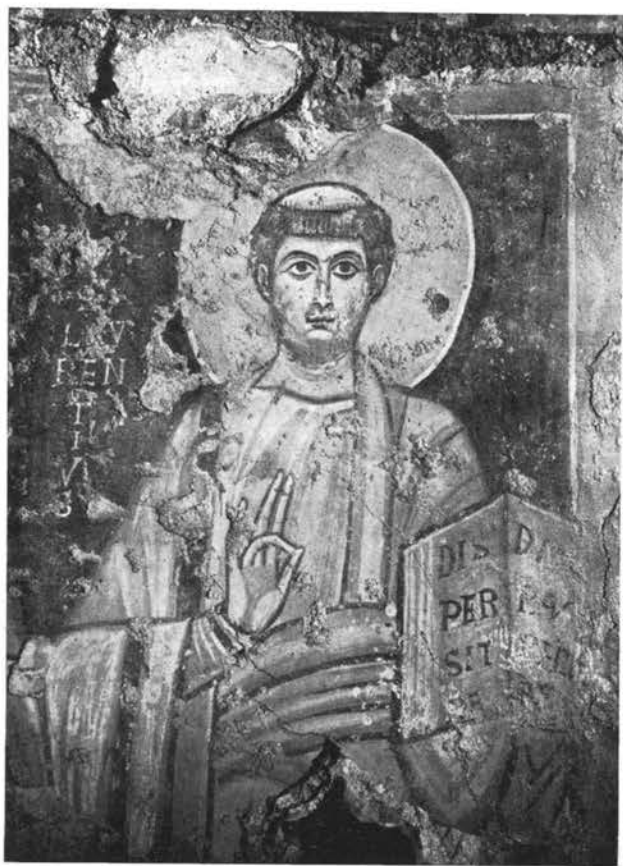


Fig. 81 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, north wall, St. Lawrence (Photo: Sansaini).

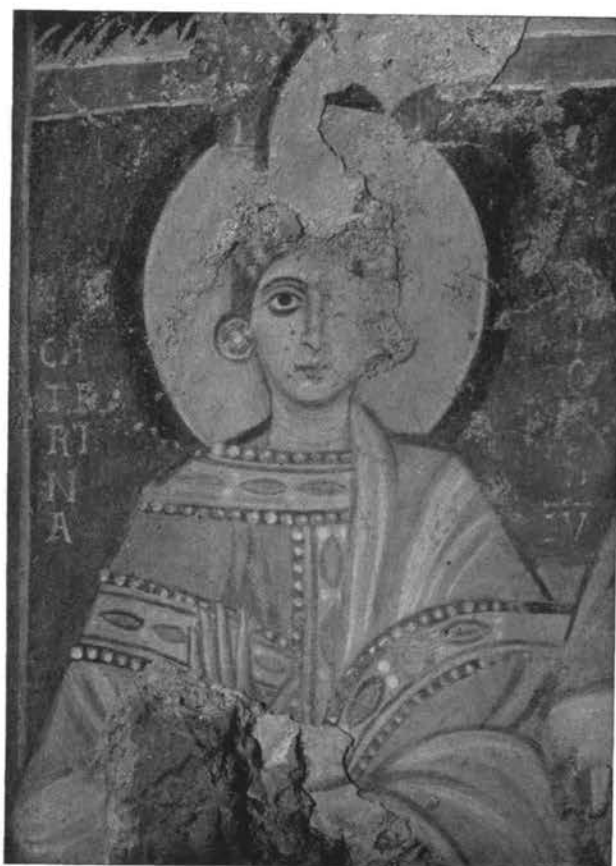


Fig. 82 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, north wall, St. Catherine (Photo: Sansaini).

(fig. 83) three haloes on the north wall; and a fine crowned head surmounting a jewelled dress on the east wall (fig. 75). Its style suggests a date about 700, close to the time of the apostle heads, executed at S. Maria Antiqua under John VII, and of the relative works at S. Saba <sup>1</sup>.

The second layer of the frescoes in its lower register shows a design of curtains (fig. 76). The main register on the east wall is occupied by the figure of the Virgin enthroned, the Child seated on her lap, and flanked by two angels (figs. 77, 78, 79). On the north wall a series of four Saints is arranged, each accompanied by his name: Lawrence, Andrew, John the Evangelist, Catherine (figs. 80, 81, 82). On the west wall appears a fragment of the figure of a man, with a halo and in short tunic and leggings, seemingly presenting an offering or receiving a gift, possibly a crown, in his veiled hands. A garland terminates the design on top (fig. 83). Stylistically the closest parallels are offered by the frescoes of half figures of saints in the annular crypt of the lower church of S. Crisogono, from the time of Gregory III (731-741) <sup>2</sup>.

On the band which separates the two registers on the north wall the donor's name appears:

(1) See WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, pls. 158, 169.

(2) WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, pls. 173 ff.; we want to thank the late Miss Myrtila C. Avery and Professor Ernst Kitzinger who were good enough to give us their expert opinion on these murals within the limitations imposed by photographic evidence.

EGO IOHS QVI MAXIMVS PRB ET MONACHVS VOCAT(us). The painter, too, has placed his name on the footstool of the Virgin: EGO CRESCENTIVS INFELIX PICTOR—so far the first artist's signature known to us in the history of early medieval painting (fig. 78).

#### v. The western apse (K)

In the course of further regularizing the underground area, the rectangular niche at its western end, the last remnant of the L-chamber and the immediately adjoining portions of the rear wall, *D* 1-4, were demolished to make room for a large apse, *K* (pls. II, VII, VIII; figs. 52, 59, 60, 73).



Fig. 83 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Chapel *H* 9, west wall, martyr offering crown (Photo: Sansaini).

The well-cararact, its second stucco ring terminating at  $-2.56$  m, remained preserved in the center of the new apse, but it had to be raised by adding a third ring which terminated at the level of  $-1.94$  m (fig. 59). This apse occupies the entire width of the Honorian nave between the medieval ambos. It consists of two portions distinct in level and technique which are clearly superimposed on each other. Its uppermost part *O* 12 came to light in 1911 during Pesarini's and Josi's excavation<sup>1</sup>.

(a) At this point only the lower portion of apse *K* is relevant (figs. 52, 59, 60). Its diameter is approximately 9.30 m, its shape half elliptical. The entire apse was evidently built into and buttressed from the west by the tufa of the hill. Its masonry is of considerable thickness and consists on the outside of very large and irregular rocks; the foundation of large blocks of roughly squared stone reaches down as far as  $-3.54$  m. On the inside, the apse wall is formed by large orthostates of marble, 0.44 m wide and 1.70 m high. They start from a level of  $-3.13$  m. and are surmounted by a second row of lower marble plaques, 0.40-0.47 m high. Above these, in turn, follow

smaller blocks of marble up to 0.20 m high. All these marble plaques are possibly spoils from some Roman structure. Where the plaques fail to join, patches of brickwork have been inserted of excellent quality: five bricks and five mortar beds correspond to 27.5 cm, slightly less than 1 R.ft., with mortar beds ranging from 20 to 25 mm, and with bricks from 30 to 40 mm; the mortar is smoothed and smeared across the edges of the bricks. The apse is sunk into a foundation groove, hewn into the tufa at  $-3.40$  m, but its floor level was considerably higher. In fact, the tufa and the older constructions within the area of apse *K* were razed at a level of  $-2.30$  m, and traces

(1) PESARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

of a pavement along the apse wall were visible at the level of  $-2.21$  m. (Unfortunately these traces disappeared during the excavation). Hence, the rim of the well-cataract must have emerged ca. 30 m from the pavement.

The equality of levels in the East basilica, the underground area and apse *K*, makes it hard to date the latter. The few patches of brickwork may, upon further study, furnish a more precise date.

#### VI. The underground area in its last phase.

A successive phase of alterations is indicated by a new floor laid out in the underground area, at a level from  $-2.01$  m right behind apse *H* to  $-2.12$  m. Together with this new floor, four piers, *L* 1-*L* 4, were set up in the area, *L* 1 and *L* 2 possibly in place of older tufa piers; two were joined to the remnants of the choir screens *F* 3-4; two others were built against the exterior wall of apse *H* (fig. 73). Their material is a rather poor mixture of brick and marble fragments.

By making use of the older levels  $-2.28$  and  $-2.68$  m respectively, the roughly square space enclosed by these four piers in the center of the area was apparently sunk two steps down into the floor. Vertical grooves on piers *L* 1-4 suggest that this sunken space in the center was apparently screened off from the rest of the area.

Possibly during this same phase of construction, the apse of the East basilica, *H*, underwent thoroughgoing changes. A new pavement was laid which extends at a level of  $-1.05$  m, that is 1.13 m above the original floor of the apse; since the floor of the nave of the East basilica remained at  $-2.20$  m, five or six steps must have led up to the new level of the apse which extends only a few centimeters below the windows ( $-0.95$  m) of apse *H*. The outer openings of apse *H* near the corners were closed, so it seems, by railings. Near the center of the apse, the wall of apse *H* was pierced and two stairways, one with four, the other with five steps, were made to pass down to the floor which in the rear area is laid at a level of  $-2.01$  m (pl. VII A, E; fig. 52).

#### VII. The retro-sanctos as crypt and chancel (Intermediate bays, II)

The next building phase appears to have decisively altered the aspect of the entire layout of buildings on the site.

(a) The *retro sanctos* behind apse *H* underwent considerable changes. Its side walls were further regularized: below the existing *opus mixtum* walls *I* 1 and *I* 2, the tufa was lined with new brick walls *M* 1 and *M* 2, which, on the north side closed off the entrance to chapel *H* 9 (pls. VA, VIc, VIIA; fig. 73). Higher up, the walls *I* 1 and *I* 2 were, the one to the north replaced, the one to the south patched up by a masonry of bricks and large tufa and travertine blocks. The brick masonry is very regular and closely resembles that in the adjoining cloister of the monastery.

(b) Possibly it was together with this rebuilding of walls that a number of groin vaults were erected within the underground area. Numerous fragments of such vaults, some of considerable size, were found lying about at a level of  $-2.20$  m and reaching up to a level of  $-0.80$  m, in the loose earth that covered the area underneath the present nave and north aisle (fig. 84). The surface of the vaults throughout bears the imprint of cane mats used to cover the centering, as do the vaults of the cloister. The lateral arches of the vaults of the *retro sanctos* were seen during the excavation at the western ends of both the north and south walls of the intermediate bays, where they reached as high as  $+0.59$  m above the Honorian level. Above these arches a pavement extended at  $+0.59$  m, roughly 3.00 m above the last level of the underground area. On the other hand, the fragments of the vaults indicate a span of not more than 4 m with a height of only 0.60-0.70 m from impost

to crown and a thickness at the crown of 0.35-0.40 m. Thus there must have been at most five vaults along the width and two vaults along the length of the area and their supports must have been no more than roughly 1.50 m high. What these supports were, columns or piers, and where they rested, possibly on piers *L* 1-4, remains for the time an open question.

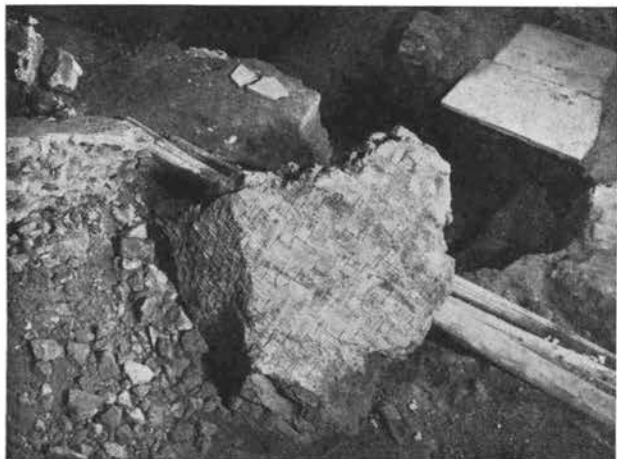


Fig. 84 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Fragment of vault (Photo: Sansaini).

Still, the existence and height of these vaults leave little doubt that at the time they were built the area behind apse *H* was divided into two levels: the lower one, covered by vaults, less than 3 m high, was obviously a hall crypt. The upper one formed a *retro sanctos*, on the assumption that apse *H* remained standing to its original height (RK); if, on the other hand, apse *H* had already been razed, the upper level behind it would have formed a kind of transept in front of apse *K* (WF). The crypt was accessible over the stairs which had been pierced earlier through the wall of apse *H*.

Numerous fragments of a painted decoration were found buried underneath the remnants of these vaults: floral motifs, in gold and red on a blue ground, set off by a white and green frame; remnants of lettering, white on red and red on white; small remnants of human figures. The floral motifs resemble those in the nave, above the vaults, of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (1143-1148).

VIII. Retrochoir, new west apse and tumulus.

The crypt appears to have collapsed, possibly not very long after it had been built. This led to a complete rearrangement of the lay-out.

#### VIII. Retrochoir, new west apse and tumulus.

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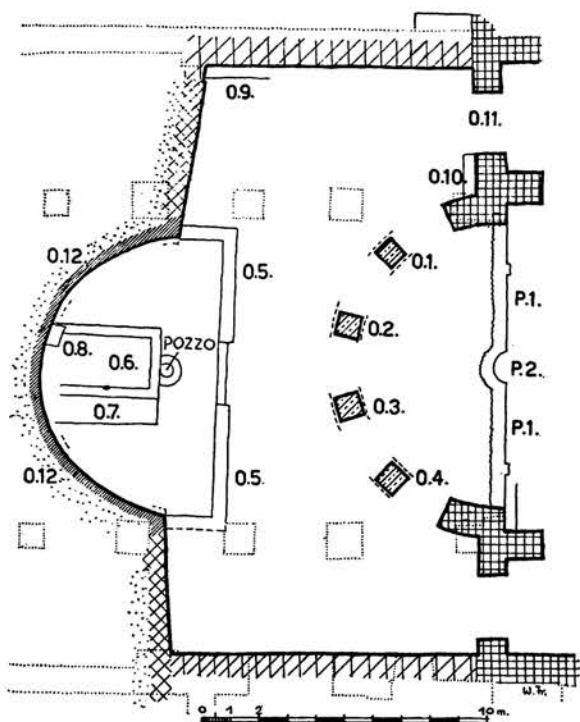


Fig. 85 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Sketch plan of apse *H* and underground area, including piers *O* 1-4 and apse *O* 12 (Plan sketch W. Frankl).

(a) The entire area behind apse *H* was filled in and raised 1.50 m above its former floor to a level of roughly  $-0.72$  m below the Honorian nave and aisles to form a retrochoir behind the East basilica (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 59, 60, 85).

The western apse *K* was razed at the level of  $-0.72$  m, and a new apse, *O* 12, erected on its remnants, with its diameter, 9.80 m, somewhat wider than that of the older apse *K*. Its wall was faced on the inside with rather poor brickwork. Also, the rear of the new apse must have still been encased by the hill: its wall, of smallish chunks of tufa roughly piled together and built *a sacco*, is no more than 0.30 m strong and thus too thin to stand free; remnants of live tufa rock near both ends were razed at a level of  $-0.17$  to  $-0.21$  m, at the same time apse *K* was demolished. At its north end, the apse turns sharply northwards. A short chancel, only 1.60 m long and 10 m wide, extended east on a level with the apse, closed off by marble plaques on the sides and by a brick wall, *O* 5, in front. Throughout the area of

the apse, remnants of two pavements were found, obviously succeeding each other at  $-0.64$  to  $-0.72$  and  $-0.40$  to  $-0.51$  m respectively. A priest bench, *O 8*, rose on the higher level, resting against the earlier wall of the apse. (The pavements, the wall of the chancel and the priest bench had to be destroyed in the course of the excavation). Bits of painted stucco found on this level suggest that the walls and the dome of apse *K* were covered with murals. On either side and in front of the chancel a pavement covered the entire retro-choir, north and south as far as the present aisle walls, east as far as apse *H* at a level of  $-0.73$  to  $-0.81$  m and thus  $0.15$  m below that of the chancel. Below the area of the present south aisle, this pavement was composed of marble fragments (fig. 86), including epitaphs from the destroyed catacomb<sup>1</sup>. Below the north aisle its level seems to have been lower than in the center and south,  $-0.95$  m. A priest bench was resting against the north wall of the retrochoir and against the north pier of the east basilica (*O 9-10*). A stair, *O 11*, marked already in one of Vespignani's drawings<sup>2</sup>, was found to descend from the new level to the north aisle of the East basilica (fig. 47).



Fig. 86 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. South aisle, pavement with inscriptions (Photo: Sansaini).

Inside the apse and chancel, traces of a large rectangular structure, *O 6-7*, came to light, possibly a *tumulus* directly behind and with its north east corner sitting atop the well-cataract (fig. 87). In fact, it would seem that only at this time was the shaft of the well-cataract raised from its previous top level of  $-1.94$  m to the new level of  $-0.72$  m; the masonry of its upper part between these levels appears to have been built into the loose earth of the fill (fig. 52, 59). In the *tumulus* a low shallow footing of brick rose slightly above the floor of the apse; it enclosed a higher core of rubble masonry which, rising to a level of  $-0.44$  m, showed imprints of a marble facing. The footing measured  $3.80 \times 3.70$  m, the core  $2.60 \times 3.10$  m, but it seems that the original structure *O 6*

(1) The inscriptions read:

a) DOMINO ET...	b) ... RITVS TVVS EST	c) + SER...
QVI VIXIT ANN...	. . . . . TE	TAS...
CVIVS FAN...		PVSN...
NOTIVS E...		PI...

A fragment, found at  $-0.40$  m in the area of the north aisle, but not *in situ*, may have belonged to a corresponding pavement. The inscription runs: ... ESCIT...

... VIT T...

(2) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31711.

was smaller and only later enlarged 1.10 m southward by adding *O* 7. The measurements of the *tumulus* after its enlargement correspond exactly to those of the canopy with the inscription of 1148; obviously removed from its original site, the canopy now stands in the chancel of 1254



Fig. 87 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Excavations 1947-49. Apse *O* 12 and *tumulus* (now demolished) (Photo: Sansaini).

raised inside the east nave. In the foundations of the south part of the *tumulus* several VIII or IX century slabs with interlace work and animal motifs had been re-used. The entire structure of the *tumulus* is no doubt earlier than the second upper pavement of the new apse; its original north part seems contemporaneous with the first pavement. (The *tumulus* also had to be sacrificed during the excavation).

The upper portions of apse *K* and the corresponding walls on either side are the ones that came to light in 1913 in the excavation undertaken by Josi and Pesarini<sup>1</sup>. Obviously their relation to the earlier structures underneath precludes what had been formerly assumed, that is, that they were either erected by Pelagius<sup>2</sup> or pre-Pelagian<sup>3</sup>. On the contrary, they are the last structures on the site to precede the Honorian nave of the present West basilica.

(b) At the time the retrochoir was laid out, apse *H* was transformed. The stairs which had descended to the underground area and later to the crypt were discarded when the vaults of this later collapsed; they were found to be covered with fragments of the painted decoration of the crypt. Simultaneously the upper portions of apse *H* were thoroughly altered; only the two corners were preserved at full height; the wall between them was razed to a level of  $-0.88$  m. On this level, four piers were set up, *O* 1-4, slightly trapezoid in plan,  $0.85 \times 0.96 \times 0.88$  m, their stumps at a distance of 1.80 m from each other; their rubble masonry is covered with a thick coat of greyish plaster which shows at the foot the imprint of marble slabs.

The floor which corresponds to these piers extends at a level of  $-0.72$  m inside apse *H* and thus continues without interruption into the area in front of the new west apse *O* 12. Only at the north and south end of apse *H* are there two areas segregated at a lower level of  $-0.93$  m, thus suggesting a step leading from lower side portions to the center.

The four piers *O* 1-4 would seem to have carried five arches or else an architrave. It is doubtful whether, in rebuilding, the original half dome of apse *H* was preserved; it may have been replaced by a half-conical timber roof, or else the piers with their arches or architrave may have stood free without supporting any superstructure. In any case, the entire arrangement opened into the retrochoir in the same way in which an arcade at the east end of the chevet opens into the ambulatory of a French Romanesque church.

The rebuilding activity of this period, mid-twelfth century or somewhat later, fundamentally altered the building complex: the East basilica, which since the late sixth century had grown more

(1) See above, p. 88, note 1.

(2) PESARINI, *loc. cit.*

(3) KRAUTHEIMER, *loc. cit.*

and more important, now is treated as the principal construction on the site; the building to the west is turned into a mere retrochoir, an appendix to the main building.

#### IX. The retrochoir as transept.

This lay-out seems to have been altered even before the present west nave was built around the year 1200. Indeed, prior to this time, the piers  $O_{1-4}$  atop the wall of apse  $H$  were razed at a level of  $-0.63$  m. The triumphal arch of the East basilica thus came to form the boundary line between the nave of this basilica and the former retrochoir, now a long choir or transept which extended from the triumphal arch to the new west apse  $O_{12}$ . A new pavement was laid out all over the area, with its mortar bed found at a level of  $-0.53$  m, and its marble slabs at  $-0.42$  m. On this level a long chancel was set up, 6.70 m wide and extending east from the short chancel  $O_5$  in front of  $O_{12}$  (fig. 85). Flanked by brick walls which were razed at a level of  $-0.13$  m and with its entrance to the east, this long chancel ended just 2.20 m west of the triumphal arch. (It had to be demolished during the excavation).

The thin wall  $P_1$ , perpendicularly under the triumphal arch, belongs apparently to that same building period (fig. 40, 85). It was designed, no doubt, as the eastern retaining wall for the fill on which the retrochoir was placed. Yet, this wall must have had some other function as well; for not only was its eastern face covered with fine stucco, but it contained also a niche  $P_2$  in its center facing the tomb of Saint Lawrence. The concrete floor of this niche lies at nearly the same level as the pavement in the crypt west of the tomb-monument,  $-1.49$  against  $-1.43$  m. Yet it must be earlier than that crypt which, after all, had its entrance from the west and thus eliminated the niche  $P_2$ .

#### X. The last phase.

When the present West basilica was built, the wall  $P_1$ , the west apse  $O_{12}$  and the adjoining rear walls were razed at  $-0.17$  m, as was the hill west of this apse and south of the intermediate bays. The West basilica was laid out and the former East basilica became its chancel, sheltering below its floor the new confessio around the tomb of Saint Lawrence.

#### e) THE BASILICA ON THE VERANO

The existence of Early Christian structures on the Verano cemetery might have been suspected since the sixties of the last century. Sarcophagi, inscriptions, and mausolea, dating from the IV, V, and VI centuries have come to light continuously in the northwestern area of the cemetery, bounded by its main gates and main road, by its western and northern walls and by the projecting west wing of the monastery, but extending beyond to the foot of the flight of stairs leading to the *pincetto* on the hill east of the convent (figs. 1, 3, 88). The apse of a small chapel and a Damasian fragment<sup>1</sup> were found in digging the foundation walls of the cemetery just north of the main

(1) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31710; see also above, p. 6 f., dig. 366-384.



gate. The neighborhood of the chapel of the Dominicans, ca. 20 m northeast of the northeast corner of the gate, yielded the epitaph of Fl. Eurialus “*ad mesa... beati martyris Laurentii discindentibus in crypta...*” (fig. 89)<sup>1</sup>; the sarcophagi of Licentius and Flavius Magnus<sup>2</sup>; the epitaphs of



Fig. 88 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Verano cemetery, convent and churches from south, woodcut 1847.

several *virgines* of the V century<sup>3</sup>; finally, the Damasian fragment: “*Marmoribus vestita...*”<sup>4</sup>. At the opposite end of the area, in one of the north corners of Vespigani’s quadriporticus, the trefoil chapel of bishop Leo came to light (fig. 90)<sup>5</sup>; the Johannes mausoleum was found at the foot of the *pincetto* stairs, and re-used in it the Lucillus Pelio epitaph “*in basilica maiore ad domnu Laurentium in mesu et situ presbiteriu...*” (fig. 91)<sup>7</sup>. On the Pincetto was found an anonymous epitaph from a tomb in “*bassilica maxiore*” (fig. 92)<sup>8</sup>. As it happened, however, the existence of a huge structure in the area was never suspected until 1950 when a new cemetery wall fitted with rows of loculi and recesses (fig. 1) was built to take the place of Vespignani’s cemetery wall. At that time Mr. Frankl observed that the old north wall of the cemetery in its entire length of over 70 m rested on an *opus listatum* wall and that at its eastern end this wall was fully preserved to a height of nearly one meter above ground within the northwest corner of the projecting west wing of the convent (pl. III). Simultaneously, in the farthest northwest corner of the cemetery, at the western end of the *opus listatum* wall the springing and part of the curve of a huge absidal structure were uncovered by the workmen of the building firms in charge (pls. III, IV; fig. 93). Frankl and Josi<sup>9</sup> suggested even then the possibility of identifying these remnants with the *basilica maior* of the sources<sup>10</sup>. While the long *opus listatum* wall was torn down before even a photograph could be taken, it was fortunately surveyed and reported by Mr. Frankl (pl. III). The springing of the apse was saved through his efforts, combined with those of Drs. Colini and Gatti of the *Reparto X (Antichità e Belle Arti)* of the municipality of Rome, built into a concrete shelter and made accessible through a manhole, placed in the last recess of the new *loculi* wall. Based on these finds an excavation was

(1) Dig. 405.

(2) Dig. 406, dig. 425 or 438.

(3) Dig. 434, 464, 483.

(4) Dig. 366-384.

(5) Dig. after 384, and *Racc. Lanciani*, 31731.

(6) Dig. V or VI century.

(7) Dig. late IV or V century.

(8) Dig. V or VI century (?)

(9) FRANKL-JOSI, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 50.

(10) Dig. 635-642, 772-795.

undertaken inside the cemetery in 1957, financed by the Phyllis Lambert Architectural Research and Publication Fund of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in collaboration with the *Reparto X* of the *Comune di Roma* and with the support of the *Pontificia Commissione di Archeolo-*

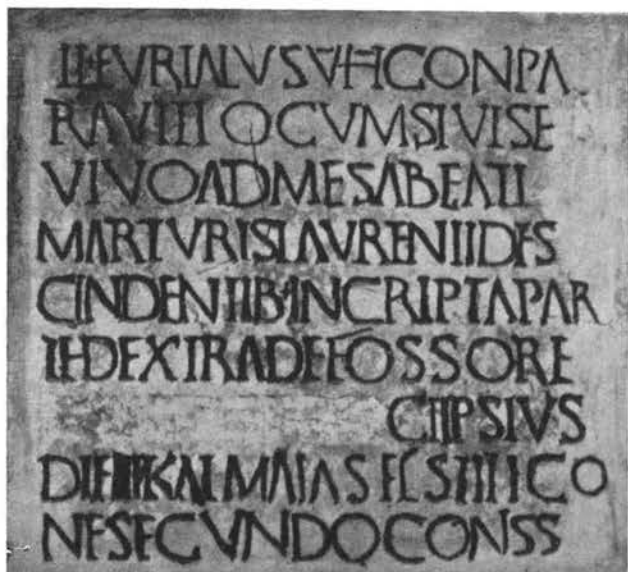


Fig. 89 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Epitaph of Fl. Eurialus, 405 (Photo: Sansaini).

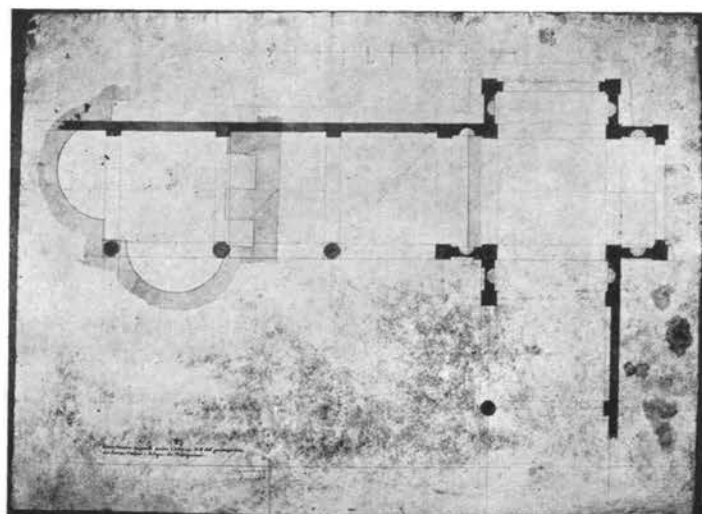


Fig. 90 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Vespignani, Plan of trefoil chapel excavated below *quadriporticus* on Verano.



Fig. 91 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Epitaph of Lucillus Pelio, East basilica (Photo: Sansaini).

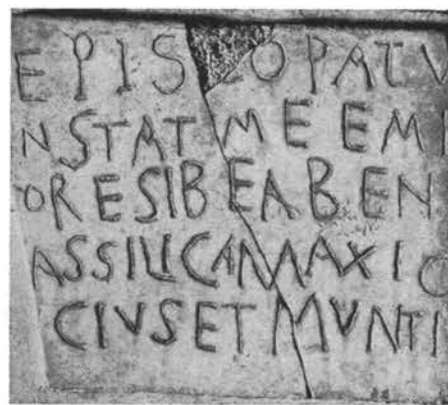


Fig. 92 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Epitaph of unknown, "in basilica maxiore", East basilica (Photo: Sansaini).

*gia Sacra*. The excavation naturally had to be limited to the pathways and roads crossing the cemetery between grave plots and mausolea. Also, as was to be expected, the area in times past had been thoroughly turned over: the stratification is badly disturbed and the levels of finds lying in loose earth not too meaningful. Nevertheless, the elements *in situ* were sufficient to establish the basic elements of a huge basilica.<sup>11</sup>

(11) Our sincere thanks for practical help, continued interest and valuable advice go to Professors A. M. Colini and G. Gatti of the *Reparto X del Comune di Roma*; to the Rev. Father A. Ferrua, president of the *Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*; to Professor John B. Ward Perkins, director of the British School in Rome; to Professor Lawrence Richardson of Yale University on whose advice we could depend in determining character and date of the sherds found; last not least to Messrs. Alfred Frazer and Walt Widrig, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, our indefatigable collaborators in the excavation.

### 1. The absidal structure

The fragment of the curved absidal wall (pls. II, III, IV ; fig. 93), as uncovered in 1950 and preserved in a concrete shelter below the northwest corner of the cemetery, is roughly 11 meters long along its outer curve and, measured at the top, 0.90 m strong. Obviously the segment of a



Fig. 93 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, Excavation 1950, apse (Courtesy: Dr. G. Gatti).

circle, its curve swinging west-west-southwest suggests an inner diameter along the chord of 32.40 m. Founded on the live rock which below the apse appears at a level of  $-4.01$  m, it rises in the top parts extant to a level of  $-1.85$  m. Its masonry, visible from  $-3.50$  m upwards, presents itself as an *opus listatum* with a decided preponderance of *tuffelli* blocks over bricks, seven and more as against one.

At a distance of ca. 3.75 m from the inner springing of the apse curve, the eastern jamb of a door crosses the thickness of the wall, starting from a level of  $-2.64$  m. (fig. 94, 95). The true level of the opening may well have been higher, since the level  $-2.64$  m may have carried a stone sill. The corresponding western jamb is well preserved at a distance of 2.70 m. At a distance of 4.30 m from the western jamb of this first, the eastern jamb of a second door rises from the same level,  $-2.64$  m; it was clearly discernible in 1950 (pls. II, III), but was then buried under the western wall of the cemetery. No trace is left of the opposite western jamb of this second opening. But the finds suffice to show that the apse wall was pierced by a series of openings placed at regular intervals. The level of the opening is marked in the wall by a single course of bricks and their sill is formed simply by the smooth surface atop that brick course.

A level of  $-2.64$  m, as suggested by that of the wall openings, may, but need not correspond to the floor originally extant within its curve. The existence of this level seems to be confirmed by a groove in the inner wall, just east and below the first opening, 1.75 m long and 0.30 m below its level with fragments of tiles still inserted (fig. 94). It denotes the triangular roof of a grave

a *cappuccina* which would have just reached the level of  $-2.64$  m. A second floor level, however, at roughly  $-2.35$  m is given by two elements: a sewer, its *tufelli* walls,  $\zeta$ , crossing the apse southward and surmounted by a roof a *cappuccina*, its ridge at  $-2.35$  m and waterproofed by an outside mortar covering; finally another row of horizontal grooves along the inner curve of the apse wall at the very level of  $-2.64$  m, apparently also traces of graves a *cappuccina*, would have had roofs terminating at  $-2.35$  m or thereabouts, corresponding to the level of  $-2.37$  m, indicated by the colonnade which will be discussed later (figs. 93, 94) <sup>1</sup>.

The springing of the apse curve, at its southeastern corner, shows along its eastern face, first a smooth surface, 0.60 m wide; continuing north another 0.70 m this surface was, when seen in 1950, broken off but smoothed so as to serve as the western jamb of an arch pierced belatedly into a pre-existing wall (pl. III; fig. 93). The springing, in short, in its broken north half forms the starting point for a straight wall running due east and west.

## II. The aisle walls

a) The north wall (pl. III), was observed in its entire length in 1950 when the XIX century cemetery wall it carried was torn down. It was carefully surveyed by Mr. Frankl both inside and outside for a length of about 25 meters from the springing of the apse; farther east the wall was torn down with such speed that only the most important points could be checked. Even so, all essential characteristics of this, the north aisle wall of the Verano structure, are clear.

The wall as seen in 1950 extended from the springing of the apse to the northwest corner of the projecting west wing of the convent, a distance of 77.49 m, but it continued eastward incorporated into the north wall of that wing. Its end, that is, the northeast corner of the structure, was observed in 1957 by Dr. Colini and uncovered, 5.05 m distant from the northwest corner of the wing (pls. II, IV; figs. 96, 97). Hence the length of the straight wall totalled 81.59 m. Throughout, the wall was apparently founded on the live rock, its level fluctuating from  $-4.01$  m near the apse to  $-5.21$  m some twenty meters farther east.

The wall in its lower parts consists of a foundation built of chunks of tufa and ending at a level of  $-2.78$  m (pl. III). Above it, the wall proper rose, with setbacks placed at irregular intervals on the outside; they run at one point, at  $-2.74$  and  $-2.01$  m, at another point at  $-2.51$  m, and

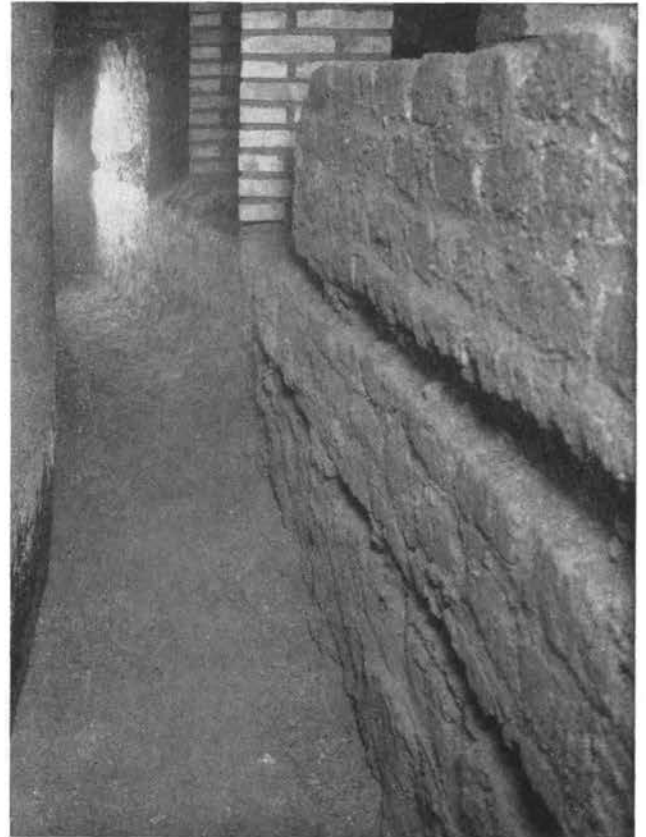


Fig. 94 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, apse, interior, first opening, looking west (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 95 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, apse, western jamb of first opening (Photo: Sansaini).

(2) Regarding the walls outside the first opening in the absidal wall, see below, p. 107, regarding the columns, pp. 103 ff.

thus contrary to expectation are not continuous for the entire length of the wall. The setbacks, 3-6 cm deep, cause the thickness of the wall to diminish from 0.87 m at the foot to ca. 0.80 m in the top section. The masonry in the two bottom sections below the level of  $-2.01$  m consisted



Fig. 96 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Convent, west wing from north with northeast corner of *basilica maior* left of drain pipe (Photo: Sansaini).

of tufelli blocks, 8 cm high, topped at the setback by a single brick course. Above the uppermost setback, this construction gave way to a more regular *opus listatum* in which one or two (exceptionally also three) tufa courses alternated with single brick courses; the moduli for the alternation of single tufa and brick courses amount to 0.16—0.21, of double tufa and brick courses to 0.255—0.29m, one Roman foot or somewhat less. The horizontal mortar joints were concave, rounded with the handle of a trowel. This *opus listatum*

when seen in 1950 still rose at its highest point to a height of  $-0.35$  m, that is, to the very foot of the XIX century cemetery wall at  $-0.37$  m. Within the north wall of the convent wing it was preserved nearly one meter high and indeed, its northeast corner, though deprived of its *opus listatum* facing within the convent wall still rises to  $+0.35$  m (fig. 97). Thus, the highest points of this wall in 1950 stood approximately 3.00 m and more above the level indicated by the openings in the apse.



Fig. 97 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, northeast corner embedded in wall of convent wing (Photo: Sansaini).

Along its outer north flank the main wall in its entire length showed traces of wall fragments, vaults and arches, in addition to the arch pierced through it near the springing of the apse (pl. III). They were apparently remnants of tomb chapels added to the main structure at a later time and presumably at higher levels. They will be discussed below in some detail. At one point, 17 odd meters from the springing of the apse, two loculi had been broken into the outside wall, at levels  $-2.24$  and  $-1.70$  m respectively, childrens' graves, to judge from their size.

*β) The south wall.* The south wall of the Verano basilica was dug up in 1957 in two places at a distance of 33.85 m from the north wall: in dig 1, south of the monument of Goffredo Mameli (fig. 98), and dig 2, some three meters west of the wall of the XIX century quadriporticus. (pls. II, IV).

(a) In dig 1 the south main wall A came to light at a top level of  $-2.12$  m and was followed down to  $-3.91$  m (pls. II, IV; fig. 99, 100). The masonry, as on the opposite north wall, consists of tufelli blocks, 8 cm. high, and occasionally, though rarely, interrupted by a brick course; the mortar

beds, averaging 4 cm. in height, are slightly concave. The thickness of the wall was 0.90 m. At the very foot of the wall a forma had been hewn into the ground, containing fragments of white plaster; a piece of marble cornice, skirting a *clipeus* frame, and hence possibly from a sarcophagus; the neck and handle of an amphora; a terracotta sherd, Roman ware A and hence presumably III or IV century; finally, two inscriptions, ..INIIV.. and ..VE...; the hooked serifs and the strong vertical and fine diagonal bars of the first inscription suggest a date between the late IV and the mid-fifth century.

Beginning at a level of  $-4.10$  m and reaching up to  $-2.12$  m, a far weaker wall, only 0.60 m strong, juts southward from the main wall (figs. 99, 100). Above the level of  $-3.07$  m it appears to have been bonded originally with the main wall A, even though its masonry differs slightly through its somewhat lower mortar beds and a slight increase in the number of brick courses. The relation of the two walls has, however, been somewhat disturbed, for at their junction a tomb was later hollowed from the main wall. Occupying the entire width of that wall A and using in the back the north face of the west branch of wall A 1, it was lined with marble plaques and reached a top level of  $-2.52$  m, its bottom remaining at  $-3.07$  m. The tomb could be traced for a length of 1.80 m. None of its contents were preserved, but very possibly some or all of the objects found in the forma at the bottom of wall A may have slid down from the wall tomb.

Outside, that is, south of wall A and east of wall A 1, a forma F 3 was found (fig. 101), its *cappuccina* roof containing a marble slab and topped at  $-3.60$  m by a *bipedalis* tile. Its low level suggests the possibility that it antedates the construction of wall A, and belongs to the wall below, A 1. Its contents are lost, but from the level of  $-3.17$  m downward a number of objects were found, such as a piece of plaster painted with black, gray, and purple stripes, and the fragment of an inscription, ...(h)IC POS..., possibly III or IV century. They suggest the existence of a tomb chapel in that corner. Likewise, west of wall A 1 a mausoleum must have existed, as witness the backing of the west branch of wall A 1 by a later wall and the existence of a floor at the level  $-2.82$  m.



Fig. 98 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, excavation in front of monument of Goffredo Mameli (dig 1) (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 99 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 1, from northwest (Photo: Sansaini).

(b) The main south wall *A* was found again in dig 2, 20 odd meters east of dig 1 (pls. II, IV; fig. 102). Measurements and construction were the same as those established in dig 1, except that the top level reached by wall *A* was at  $-2.07$  m. The east and south walls, *D*, of a forma, poorly



Fig. 100 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 1, from northeast (Photo: Sansaini).

built of tufa chunks, extended south from the outer flank of the main wall.

In the loose earth on top of the main wall a number of minor finds came to light at levels ranging from  $-2.92$  to  $-3.06$  m, among them a fragment of plaster painted in black, red and porphyry with a vine scroll, and with a cross scratched in, and a small fragment of an epitaph, inscribed in what appears to be late IV or V century lettering: ...*(i)N PA(ce)...* // ...*MAI . M...* East of the forma, at the level  $-2.94$  m, more finds came to light: numerous pieces of painted

plaster, ranging from cream colored to green and blue, to dark gray, purple and red, and among these latter a group of fragments of a moulding; pieces of glass; finally, a sherd blackened by fire and thus apparently from a cooking pot (figs. 118, 119).

Dig 3, extending northward from dig 3, was undertaken in the hope of encountering at its northern end the foundation wall of the south colonnade of the Verano basilica (pl. IV; figs. 103, 104). This hope proved vain: the decisive small area across the path had apparently been destroyed; instead, a XIX century tomb was found, built in brick and rising from the level  $-2.94$  m to that of  $-2.29$  m. Farther south, on the other hand, dig 2 uncovered in the area of what had been the south aisle of the building, a row of formae, extending northward at a slight angle to the main axis of the structure (pl. IV; fig. 104). Their side walls, running east and west and their eastern end walls



Fig. 101 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 1, forma south of south wall of basilica (Photo: Sansaini).

are built of courses of small tufa stones, at times more, at times less irregularly disposed. The

tombs suggest two, and possibly three successive layers. In the first, the tomb bottoms, scooped from the earth (the live rock is more than two meters farther down), lie at levels of  $-4.01$  and  $-3.97$  m, and only small fragments of side walls, some 20 cm high, have survived. In the second and third layers the tomb bottoms range from  $-3.82$  to  $-3.74$  m, and at least one is formed by two huge *bipedalis* tiles. The tomb walls are more carefully built and while one ends at  $-3.42$  m, another, possibly indicative of a third layer, reaches as high as  $-2.96$  m, possibly to support a *cappuccina* roof. An adjoining tomb was apparently covered by a small barrel vault, its apex attaining a level of  $-2.85$  m.

Three coins were found in dig 3 at the lowest level,  $-3.96$  m, but they are too badly corroded to be decipherable. At a higher level,  $-3.08$  m, an inscription came to light, possibly of IV century date. It reads “...VI...// ..NEOS ...// ..DVBII..”. Other finds from the same lower layers include roof tiles and potsherds.

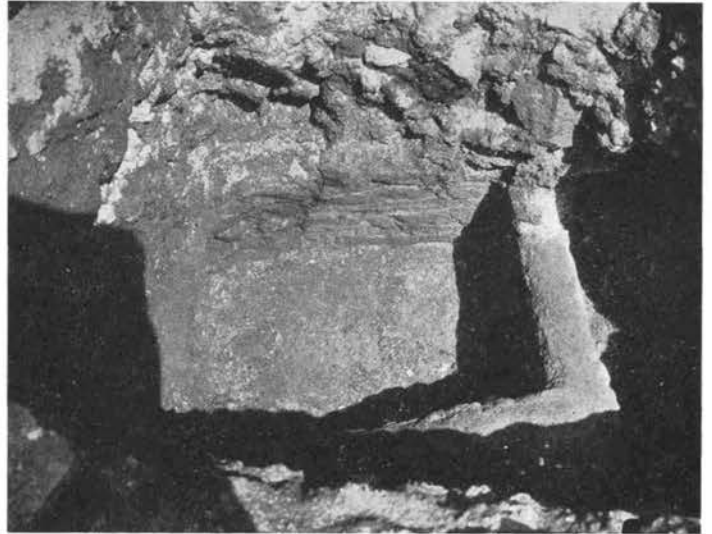


Fig. 102 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 2, forma south of south wall of basilica (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 103 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 3, looking north (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 104 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 3, looking south, showing formae (Photo: Sansaini).



## III. The facade wall.

The north corner of the eastern facade wall remains incorporated, one recalls, within the north wall of the convent wing projecting west. The wall itself was found in dig 6, in the road south along the convent wing, and in dig 7, inside the convent.



Fig. 105 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 6, facade wall, looking north (Photo: Sansaini).

a) In dig 6 (pls. II, IV; fig. 105) only a small piece of the wall could be excavated, owing to the proximity of tombs on one side, of water mains and electrical cables on the other. As it happened, the portion excavated was situated roughly 1.50 m north of the main axis of the structure and roughly 16 m from the north corner of the facade. The wall turned out to be slightly stronger than the north-south wall, 1.00 as against 0.90 m, and was faced both east and west with *opus listatum*; the number of tufa courses could not be established, but it could be seen that they outnumbered by far the single visible brick course. Of major import is the fact that the top of the wall, at the level of  $-2.77$  m, was not broken off, but smoothed with a coat of mortar. It presumably was designed to carry either a threshold or a plinth, thus suggesting an entrance at this very point—no wonder, given its proximity to the main axis, but no trace of a sill or a plinth could be found.

No finds whatever came to light in dig 6.

b) The facade wall turned up again in dig 7, inside the convent, at a distance of 7.00 m. from the north corner, and was traced for a length of 2.00 m (pls. II, IV; figs. 106, 107). While its eastern face (fig. 106) lost part of its surface near the top, apparently when the wall collapsed, and breaks off at the level of  $-1.22$  m, the western interior surface, well preserved, rises even now as high as  $-1.04$  m. But while in line with both the north corner and with the facade wall established in dig 6, the wall found in dig 7 consists not of *opus listatum*, but of a pure brick masonry finely worked, with bricks averaging 3-4, rarely 2 cm, and with mortarbeds 2-4 cm high, averaging 3.2 cm; one modulus, four brick courses and four mortar beds, corresponds to 27 cm. The courses are laid with great care, the number of broken pieces among the bricks is remarkably low. The mortar beds are smooth and straight, neither rounded nor sloping.



Fig. 106 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 7, facade wall, east face, top part (Photo: Sansaini).

At its southern end, the brick wall turns westward at a right angle and shoots forth a western prong (figs. 107, 108). This prong, 1.72 m long, terminates abruptly and is continued by an *opus listatum* wall which could be traced for a length of only 0.62 m; the construction shows beyond doubt that the *opus listatum* was built against the pre-existing brick tongue, and hence is of later date. In contrast to the high level of the eastern brick wall,  $-1.04$  m, both the westward brick prong and its *opus listatum* continuation attain a level of only  $-1.77$  m. But at least the brick prong was originally higher: its upper portions have left their trace along the southern right side of the inner face of the eastern (facade) brick wall (fig. 107). Hence it looks as if it had served as the eastern counterpier of the north

colonnade of the Verano basilica, dividing, then, the area of the nave to the south from that of the aisle to the north.

When the brick prong and its *opus listatum* addition were razed at the level of  $-1.77$  m, a concrete floor was placed over them, extending westward and thus covering the *opus listatum* prong as well, and northward into the area of what was the north aisle of the Verano structure. Traces of this floor—which is obviously of a date considerably later than the original structure—are clearly visible on the inner face of the eastern brick wall, including a brick inserted as support for the floor (fig. 107). Also, below the floor level, this eastern brick wall shows grooves, both vertical and horizontal, apparently for slabs composing a tomb, roughly 0.45 m high but only 0.30 m wide in the clear. Presumably to support the floor, another wall was set up to the north, at a distance of 1.70 m from and parallel to the westward brick and *opus listatum* prong.



Fig. 107 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 7, facade wall, west face, and west prong from northeast (Photo: Sansaini).

This *opus listatum* westward prong still presents a

major problem. It is possible that from the outset it was built as high as the older adjoining brick prong in its original state and was intended to strengthen the high brick counterpier. But it is equally possible that the *opus listatum* tongue never was intended to rise above the level of  $-1.77$  m and that it projected from the brick pier as a mere seat. Finally, it is possible that its sole function was to support the concrete floor which at a relatively late point was inserted into the eastern end of the north aisle.

The finds made in dig 7, all lying in loose earth, include three fragments of inscriptions, among them at least two of II or III century date: .. III OIL... // ... ANN XXII .. // .. EB. XI..., and ... OT ... Other finds were: fragments of roof tiles; pieces of painted plaster; the fragment of a marble cornice; sherds of medieval pottery, among them the broad handle of a large jug, and a piece of majolica ware, painted with a bird and geometric designs.

#### IV. The colonnade

Dig 5, west of the convent wing and in line with dig 7 inside, brought to light the remnants of the colonnade which separated the nave from the north aisle of the original structure (pls. II, IV, V B; figs. 109-112).

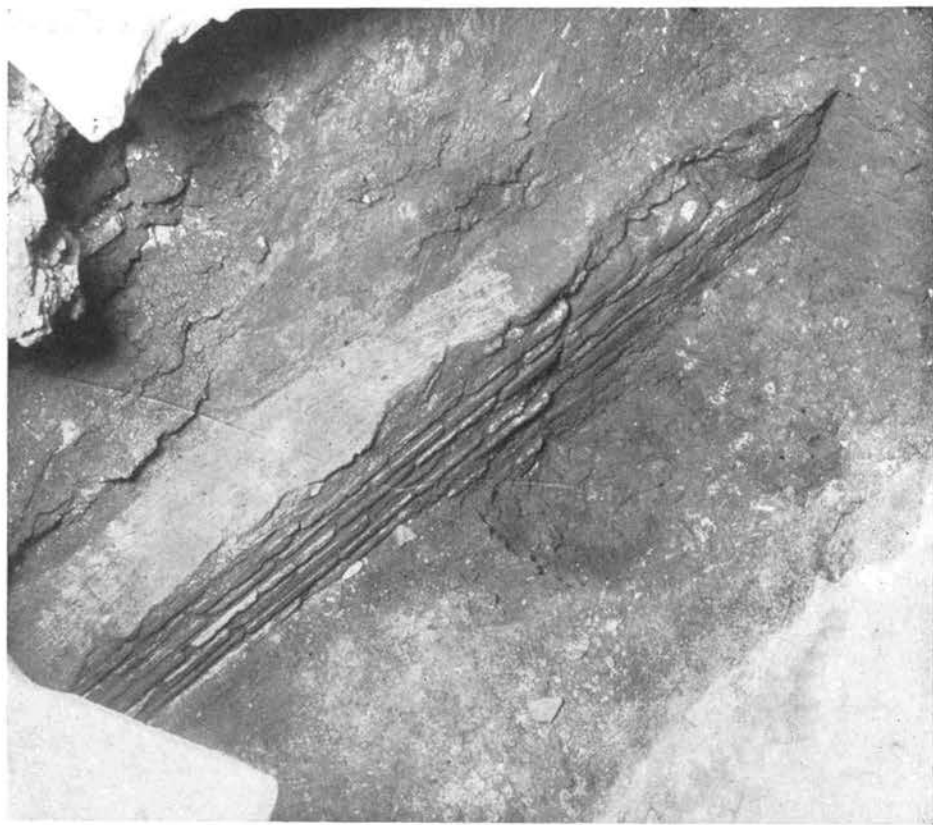


Fig. 108 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 7, west prong from northeast (Photo: Sansaini).

The colonnade turned out to run exactly in line with the westward brick prong and its western continuation found in dig 7 (fig. 108), and parallel to the north wall at a distance of 7.90 m. Its foundation wall (figs. 110, 111) was followed for a length of 3.75 m starting from the west wall of the convent wing and dug up to a level of  $-3.35$  m. It attained an average level of  $-2.95$  m, but in two spots right near the convent wall and two meters farther east it rose to  $-2.78$  m. The wall, 1.00 m strong, was built in *opus listatum*. Two or three tufa courses appeared to alternate with single brick courses; the

*tufelli* blocks are somewhat irregularly squared, from 7.5 to 10 cm high, the mortar beds, slightly concave and smeared over the edges of stones and bricks, 3-4 cm wide. Less than 20 cm from the top of the foundation wall the horizontal grooves of two tombs *a cappuccina* run along its south, nave side; the roof of another *a cappuccina* tomb was still in place along the north, aisle side of the wall, its ridge attaining a level of  $-2.95$  m and surmounted by a weak wall of small tufa chunks which stops at the level of  $-2.65$  m. Grooves for a lower, second row of tombs seemed to be barely visible along the nave side of the foundation wall at the level of  $-3.35$  m.

At the easternmost point,



Fig. 109 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, from north (Photo: Sansaini).

half buried under the west wall of the convent wing, the foundation wall carried a squarish block of travertine, 0.41 m high, roughly 1.60 m long (only half visible) and 1.05 m wide—that is, slightly wider than the foundation wall on which it rests (pl. IV, VB; fig. 112). In fact, it is placed somewhat

off center and thus overhangs that wall noticeably southward. The base block in turn carries, at the level of  $-2.37$  m and carved from one piece of red granite, the plinth and base of a column, totalling 0.36 m in height, the plinth 0.12, the base 0.24 m. The plinth measures 0.85 m square; the base has an upper diameter of 0.62 m, with a roughened surface, 0.55 m in diameter, to carry the column shaft. Base block, plinth, and column base show traces of considerable fire damage.

Attached to the west face of the base block,

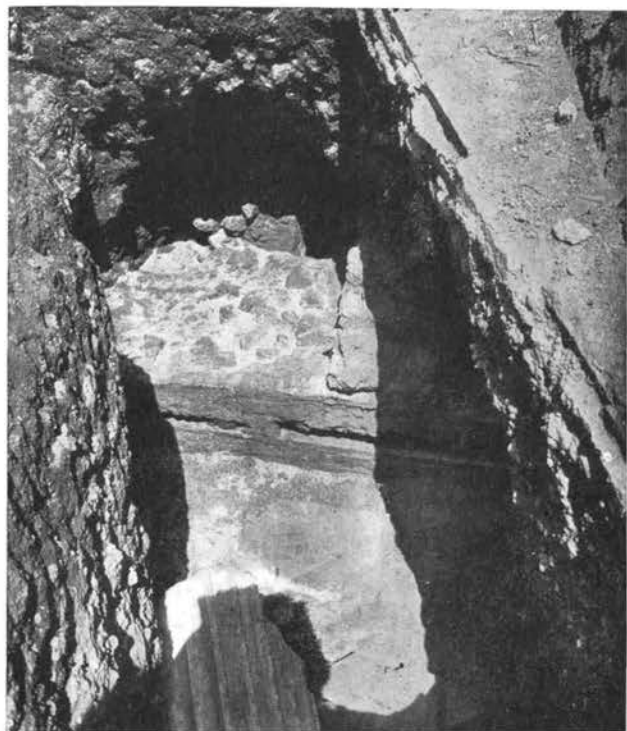


Fig. 110 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, foundation wall of colonnade, from south (Photo: Sansaini).

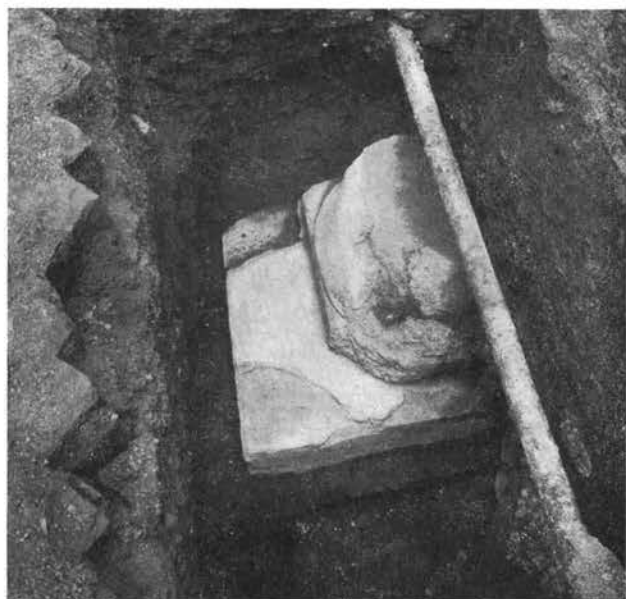


Fig. 112 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, plinth and column base (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 111 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, foundation wall of colonnade, from west (Photo: Sansaini).

a low wall of tufa chunks runs westward, placed on top of the foundation wall proper and intended to secure the base block more firmly. At a distance of 1.60 m from the west face of the base block, this low wall shows the imprint of a second base block<sup>1</sup>, apparently of dimensions compar-

(1) The imprint was first observed by Mr. Ward Perkins.

able to the first, and intended to carry another column base (figs. 110, 111). The distance from center to center of the two columns would have amounted to from 3.00 to 3.20 m.

A number of finds came to light in dig 5.

On the nave side of the foundation wall the fragment of a column shaft, fluted and of green *cipollino*, lay in a southeasterly direction, apparently as it had fallen at a level sloping from  $-2.65$



Fig. 113 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, epitaph of unknown (Photo: Sansaini).

to  $-3.00$  m (fig. 109). Its position suggested that it had risen from the base and plinth above the second base block which has left only its imprint. The diameter of the column, from the width of its flutings and arrisses can be calculated to have been 0.57 m. Smaller fragments of the same column were found nearby at a level of  $-3.08$  m.



Fig. 114 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, dig 5, fragments of two epitaphs (Photo: Sansaini).

The tile of the roof of a tomb *a cappuccina*, found 0.75 m south of the foundation wall, apparently belonged to the westernmost tomb which has left its groove in that wall (figs. 109, 111). The floor of the tomb, laid out with *bipedalis* tiles was found at the level of  $-2.80$  m. Tiles either from this or an adjoining *cappuccina* tomb came to light at the level of  $-2.90$  m.

In falling the column shaft had smashed a huge marble slab with a long inscription, lying at the level of  $-2.71$  m, apparently only slightly moved out of its original place (fig. 113). Unfortunately, the inscription, is so badly worn that only a few words can be deciphered, for instance, the last line “ET QVINTILIVS FILIVS EIVS (p)RECES-  
SIT IN PARAD(isum)”. Both the lettering with its characteristic U and open S forms and the E with a long top bar and the formula “*precessit in paradisum*” suggest a late IV or early V century date<sup>1</sup>. The fragment of another inscription found nearby at the level of  $-3.00$  m, ... CE..// COM., suggests an earlier date.

Five fragments of another large inscribed slab were found atop the foundation wall, at a level of  $-2.50$  m... The inscription runs ...(r)EQVIESC(it) // ... INARIV...//... ORVMQ...// (p)OSITVS S (ub) // ... VN...//; the lettering suggests a date in the V century<sup>2</sup>. The fragment of another inscription, ...ABV...// ...VE...//...A..., of similar lettering, was found nearby (fig. 114).

(1) Suggestion kindly offered by Professor Enrico Josi; the formula is as a rule “*precessit in pace*” or “*in somnum pacis*”, see Diehl, *Inscriptiones Christianae Veteres Latinae*, *passim*.

(2) Suggestion kindly offered by Professor Enrico Josi.

Other important finds from dig 5 (fig. 118) are a fragment of a marble transenna with an open fish scale pattern, broken in two pieces; a fragment of II or III century lead glaze ware, and another of IV or V century ribbed ware; glass phials; a piece of plaster with two layers of paint; finally, a number of roof tiles.

#### v. The chapels along the flanks.

A number of walls jutting out from the north flank of the main structure, came to light in 1950, and were hastily surveyed by Mr. Frankl (pls. II, III, IV). Obviously remnants of mausolea and formae, the majority proved to be additions to the basilica, though sometimes of only slightly later date.

A veritable maze of these walls accompanied the springing and the first, northeastern springing and the first, northeastern springing of the absidal wall, and some remain visible below the northwest corner of the cemetery (pls. II, IV; fig. 115).

Oldest among them appears to be a wall *P*. Running at an obtuse angle to the absidal wall, only its east face was visible in 1950. But the highly regular brick work, with mortar beds ranging from 18 and 20 to a maximum 28 mm and with bricks from 38 to 40 mm high, suggests a III century date. Apparently it is the small remnant of a mausoleum antedating the basilica. Two huge tufa blocks further west, reaching as high as —1.54 m, may, but need not belong to the same structure.

Likewise only a tiny remnant of the wall *Y*<sub>2</sub> was preserved. Situated at the westernmost border of the area excavated, it ran at a slightly oblique angle to the main axis of the basilica and more or less parallel to the western curve of the absidal wall. Faced with *opus listatum*, its north side showed an alternation of two tufa with one brick courses, while its south side, though contemporary, consisted almost exclusively of tufelli with only one brick course at the bottom. Thus it closely resembles the masonry of the basilica walls. *Y*<sub>1</sub>, a tufa wall, reaching to the level —2.23 m, seems to have been the side wall of a tomb *a cappuccina*. It later gave way to a wall *Z*.

Adjoining the wall *P* at its south end were the two walls *O* and *Q*. Only the east face of *O* had survived; its brick work, with mortar beds as high as 42, 47 and 50 mm suggests a date in the second quarter of the V century. *Q*, apparently later than *O*, showed *opus listatum* masonry with a regular alternation of tufa and brick courses, but with four brick courses at the bottom atop the foundation wall. The top level of this foundation, —1.91 m, as against —2.61 m for the foundation of the basilica, leaves no doubt regarding its late date. Indeed, the *opus listatum* with a number of brick courses at the bottom and *moduli* of 17 and 18 cm strongly recalls that of the East basilica. *Q*<sub>1</sub> was subsequently placed atop *Q*; but what little was preserved of it, two courses of *tufelli*, one of bricks, allows for no dating.

Wall *S* (fig. 115) was built against the rear face of wall *Y*<sub>2</sub> and is later than wall *Q*, but it antedates *Q*<sub>1</sub>. Its *opus listatum* masonry shows at some points a vast preponderance of tufa courses, at others an irregular alternation of one or two brick with single tufa courses. The construction (it is the only wall of which large portions have survived) is remarkably crude. Both its masonry and its high level, —1.95 m, thus coincide with a late date for wall *S*. Its plan, parallel to the absidal wall of the ambulatory, at a distance of roughly 3 meters, but turning south near *P* and *Q*, suggests that it delimited a chapel which was accessible from the first northwestern opening of the ambulatory.

A number of *formae* and tombs *a cappuccina*, marked by walls *U*, *V*, *W*, *X* and *Y*<sub>1</sub>, were later inserted into the space of the chapel.

A narrow opening inserted between the absidal wall and the walls *Q* — *Q*<sub>1</sub> leads eastward into

a small adjoining space, delimited by the brick walls *R* and *N* of which next to nothing was preserved.

The next chapel, going east, was flanked westward by a strong wall *M*, faced with a good *opus listatum*, one or two tufelli alternating with one brick course, eastward by a wall *I 1* of unknown



Fig. 115 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, wall *S*, north of apse (Photo: Sansaini).

character. Wall *M* was covered with plaster showing traces of painting. An arch pierced through the north wall of the basilica and likewise plastered and painted, gave access to the chapel. Between chapel and church, a very thin partition wall was left standing, plastered and painted like the rest of the chapel. A low wall *K*, presumably designed to carry screens, protected the entrance inside the north aisle of the basilica. At a later date a wall *I 2* (tufa stones with a single brick course inserted) was built against *I 1* and covered with plaster and paintings; it narrowed down the width of the entrance arch.

The width of the next chapel seems to be determined by the walls *I 1* to the west and *H* to the east, the latter a brick wall with comparatively narrow mortar beds:  $8\frac{1}{2}$  bricks and 8 mortarbeds average per 50 cm with bricks ranging from 26 to 34, and mortarbeds from 22 to 32 mm.

An arch *G*, slightly pointed, leaned against the east face of wall *H*, and was surmounted by a brickwall with quite high mortar joints, ranging from 34 to 40 mm. Arch and wall apparently formed the west wall of a chapel, its east wall being formed by wall *D*, a pure tufelli wall. The floor of this chapel *G—D* seems to have been at a level as high as  $-2.01$  m. The fragment of a vault found collapsed inside suggests that the chapel was possibly vaulted. A forma was inserted into the floor of the chapel.

Adjoining the chapel *G—D* eastward follows the chapel *C—B*. While the masonry of *B* could no longer be observed, *C* was represented by the flat area of an *arcosolium*, built of alternating tufa blocks and bricks against the rear of wall *D*.

No mausolea could be observed further east, though no doubt they existed. Strangely enough with the exception of the first, *M-I*, none of the mausolea found showed any access from the aisle of the basilica, nor from the neighboring chapels. Access thus may have been gained from the north, where the mausolea skirted the foot of the cliff.

#### VI. Structures of secondary importance.

(a) A first attempt at locating the facade wall led to a dig, 6A, along the south wall of the convent wing (pl. IV). No early Christian constructions were found, but a number of walls came to light, dating from the Middle Ages, the XVII and the XIX centuries. A huge brick arch, incorporated into the convent's south wall and originally open, may be of XIII century date. Parallel to the arch at a distance of only 0.85 m ran a wall of a masonry resembling *opus listatum*, but apparently dating from the XVII or XVIII century. Finally, at the southwest corner of the wing appeared the foundation of a huge buttress, built of large tufa blocks and dating not earlier than the XIX century.

On the other hand, the finds of IV and V century date made in the loose earth of this dig were particularly numerous. They comprised, at levels from  $-2.32$  m downwards: flanged roof tiles, fragments of marble cornices, Roman glass phials, and other fragments, including the bottom of a bottle and a piece of window glass, pieces of painted plaster, mostly cream coloured, but one with a tiny piece of a "nilotic" scene, and finally, potsherds. Among these latter, one is Gallo-Roman and thus of I or II century date. Others are Roman ware A and ware B, that is of IV and V century date, and some are fire-charred on the outside, thus indicating their use as cooking pots (figs. 118, 119). The bottom of an amphora was pierced by a round hole, suggesting that it served either as a flower pot or as a libation vessel.

(b) An attempt was made to approach the foundation wall of the south colonnade of the basilica from the north, opposite the north end of dig 3. This sounding, dig 4, led to no result regarding the early Christian structure. Instead, it uncovered the western portions of a large cross shaped pier, built from sizeable irregular tufa blocks (pl. IV). Starting from below the level of  $-3.36$  m the masonry of the pier attained for the better part a level of  $-2.76$  m; but some blocks belonging to its southwest corner were found jutting out from the south wall of the excavation ditch up to the level of  $-2.00$  m (fig. 116).

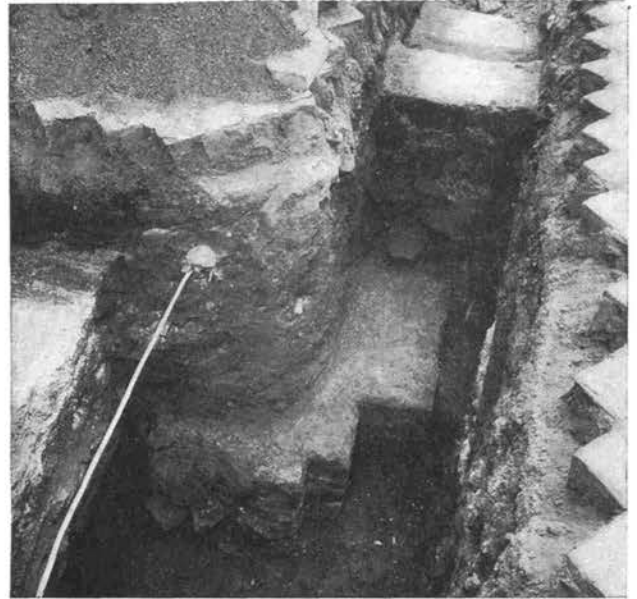


Fig. 116 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Verano, pier of 19th century portico (Photo: Sansaini).

The masonry suggests a XIX century date, but none of the XIX century illustrations of the site show any structure on this specific spot. They, do however, indicate the existence, some 12 m. farther east and in line with the cross pier found, of a pavilion open on three sides and resting on cross piers in front, south (fig. 88)<sup>1</sup>. This pavilion, its floor level at  $+0.82$  m rose from a parapet which continued both east and west and was reached from the ground level,  $-0.88$  m by a flight of stairs. A corresponding pavilion, facing north, rose some 50 meters southward, and slightly further west. A second glance at the woodcut of the Verano of 1847, and Vespignani's plan and section show, however, that these pavilions were but isolated bays of a portico presumably planned in those years and to be continued westward and eastward. Hence we suggest that the pier found in 1957 is the foundation of the cross pier of one of the bays of this portico which was never completed.

Lying in loose earth, several fragments of Roman vessels were found in dig 4: a sherd of Arretine ware of the I century; one of black Etrusco-Campanian ware, presumably I cent. B.C.; one of Roman ware A or B, III to V century; finally, some sherds of uncertain date.

(c) A sounding inside the convent wing, dig 7B, around the column supporting in its center the vault, established below a medieval or XVII century pavement at  $-1.15$  m the footing of the column at  $-1.34$  m. It rested on nothing but a square base and, below, on two brick courses which were placed on two superimposed tufa blocks lying in loose *pozzolana* earth. We closed quickly, after embedding the column more solidly in cement.

Aside from a fragment of *verde antico* and several pieces of marble, no finds were made in this dig.

(1) Cf. also the surveys of Vespignani, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31735 (fig. 4), 31744.



VII. *Disiecta membra.*

(a) On the main axis of the structure, at a distance of 76.75 m from the east facade and extending a length of 5.67 m, dig 8 was undertaken in the hope of finding a span wall along the chord of the apse. No wall was found, possibly because technical reasons prevented us from going below



Fig. 117 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, plaque with fragment of pilaster and capital (Photo: Sansaini).

a depth of  $-2.20$  m. Aside from a sherd of Roman ware B and the handle of an amphora, the dig yielded the fragment of a plaque, roughly 20 by 25 cm, showing in flat relief the fragment of a pilaster and capital, of undetermined late antique or early Christian date (fig. 117). The distance of the pilaster from the edge of the plaque makes it unlikely that it belonged to a sarcophagus; could it be possibly part of an altar frontal?

(b) A sounding inside the convent, southwest of the center column, was equally unsuccessful as regards the early Christian structure. It, too, however, brought to light some loose finds: at the level of  $-1.32$  m two small fragments of inscriptions ... VI ... // ... IS ... and ... MD . // .. SP..., the first possibly of IV or V century date; a few centimeters higher, a piece of dark plaster engraved with a pattern of perpendicular lines; finally, at levels from  $-1.55$  to  $-1.75$  m, a fragment from a strigilated vat sarcophagus, a piece from a column shaft covered with a scale pattern, fragments

of roof tiles and a sherd of medieval glazed ware.

(c) By chance, at the time of our excavations in 1957, the Gas Company of Rome was laying new pipes parallel to and outside the north wall of the cemetery. The ditch dug for the pipes thus ran parallel to the north wall of the old Verano structure at a distance of roughly 1.50 m. Shallow though it was, the ditch yielded a considerable number of fragments, though none *in situ*. A portion 60 cm long of a *cipollino* column, sawed off the side of the shaft, fluted and originally 0.53 m in diameter was found, roughly 39 meters from the northeast corner of the original structure. The fragment of a door sill bearing a hole for the hinge, came to light 40 meters farther west, just east of the springing of the apse wall. Among the bricks and tiles found, some bear stamps, such as ...GNO.... and ...GI..., but their dates remain vague. On the other hand, four fragments of inscriptions seem to date from the IV and V centuries: ...CISSIM..; MENS...// ...VOT...//.. ...KA..; ... IS..; ...R(?)I... Finally, some medieval fragments were found, such as the fragment of a chancel screen with an VIII or IX century interlace pattern and a XIII century (?) tomb slab with the engraving of a chalice.

(d) Two more fragments of fluted *cipollino* columns are preserved, both used as bollards: one, 0.50 m in diameter, stands near the southwest corner of the campanile; of the other much stronger one, with a diameter of 0.80 m, a fragment lies south of the sacristy adjoining the south flank of the East basilica.

(e) Finally, the pieces of architrave and possibly some of the columns in the nave of the West basilica (fig. 14, 15) may be counted among the scattered members of the huge basilica found on the Verano. The architrave pieces, one remembers, are from 3.05 to 3.20, on the average 3.12 m.

long, and thus tally roughly with the distance from axis to axis of the two supports established in the north colonnade of the Verano structure. Among the columns some, notably the six huge columns in the east bays, with diameters ranging from 0.95 to 1.15 m, could hardly have rested

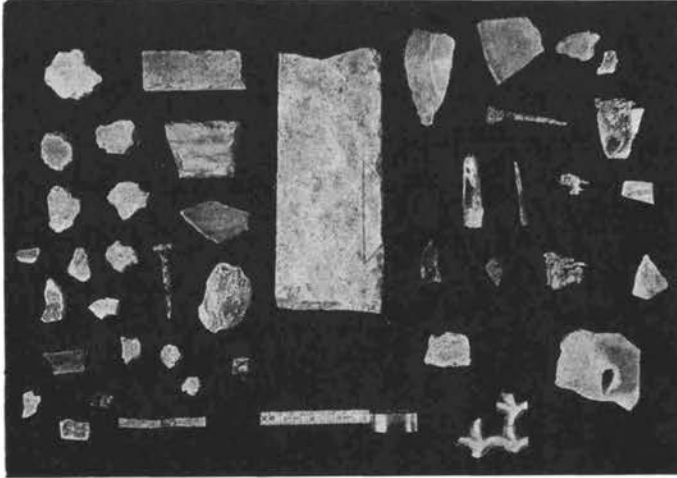


Fig. 118 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, finds (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 119 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. *Basilica maior*, finds (Photo: Sansaini).

on the foundation walls of the Verano basilica which are only 0.90 m thick. Among the other columns, however, those with diameters ranging from 0.72 to 0.85 m might easily have stood there. Hence the architraves and these columns should be taken into account as possibly having come from the basilica on the Verano.

(f) A drawing by Labrouste<sup>1</sup> (fig. 120) records two *cancelli* of Late Roman or Early Christian design preserved as late as 1830 in S. Lorenzo f. l. m.: one, 1.06 m high and 1.21 m long, with rhomboid grill work; another, 0.73 by 0.73 m with a combined rhomboid and St. Andrew's cross pattern. Obviously however, the two could not have belonged to the same set. The second fragment had a number of companion pieces in the church: at least two *cancelli* with the same pattern doubled, were used as part of the marble revetment on the western tongue of the end pier in the south colonnade of the west nave where they left their imprint (fig. 34). Possibly, then, a set of these *cancelli* was employed somewhere in the group of buildings at S. Lorenzo. The pattern suggests the IV or possibly the V century and thus a provenance for the *cancelli* from a construction preceding the building of the East basilica, either a catacomb chapel or the basilica on the Verano. Since this latter furnished other materials for the construction of the West basilica, the likelihood is that the *cancelli* also come from there.

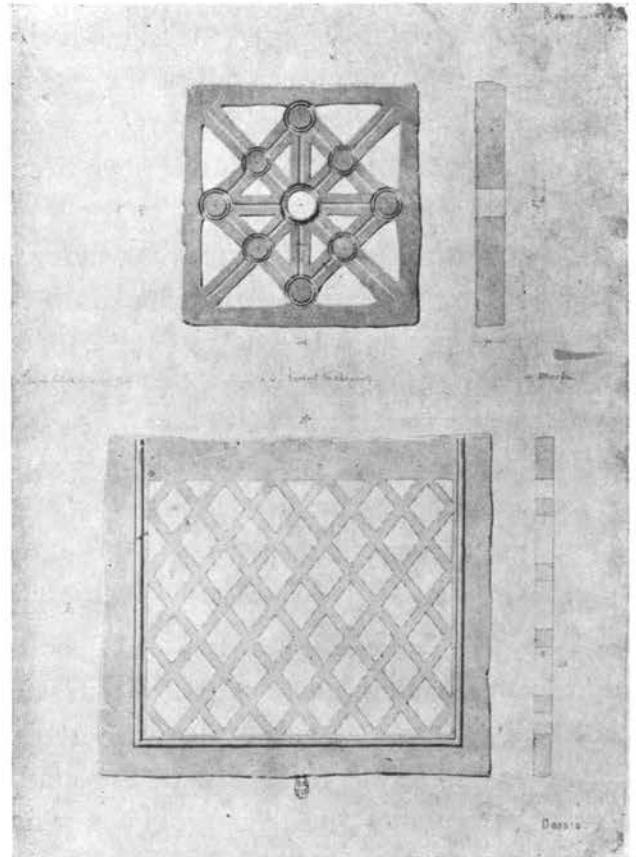


Fig. 120 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Labrouste, Drawings of *cancelli*.

(1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Estampes, Vb 132z (= 41), no pagination.

## VIII. Later changes and survival of structure.

It is likely that the Verano basilica, while in use underwent a number of changes, but nothing is known of them aside from the raising of the floor in the east portion of the north aisle and the concomitant placing of a tomb chamber below. This alteration cannot be dated, even approximately, nor can the lifetime of the building be exactly determined. It was certainly in use during half a millenium and more. In the late IX century or after, it must have fallen into disuse and gradually into disrepair. By the time the West basilica was built, the old basilica on the Verano was apparently a ruin, serviceable only as a quarry. Its columns and architraves, as far as usable, migrated into the new church<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, the walls of the old structure did not entirely disappear. Both the outer walls and the foundation walls of the colonnades have determined over the centuries the construction of newer walls on the site. Whether these incorporated parts of the old walls or used them only as foundations, is not always easy to tell, but *la loi de permanence des lieux* is evident in action.

The modern north walls of the cemetery of 1950 and its predecessor, built in the 1860s, both rest, one recalls, on the remnants of the north wall of the old basilica<sup>2</sup>. They were preceded by a garden wall which ran west along the very same line, starting from the northwest corner of the projecting convent wing and turning south precisely where the modern cemetery wall turns its corner. Visible on all views from the mid-XVII through the mid-XIX centuries (figs. 9, 12, 88)<sup>3</sup>, this wall yet cannot be traced back beyond Stefano della Bella's drawing of 1636 and Israel Silvestre's slightly later etching (fig. 9)<sup>3</sup>. It is definitely missing in Giovanni Maggi's engraving of 1600 (fig. 8). Its placing atop the outer wall of the old basilica which had long disappeared, finds, nevertheless, an easy explanation: when the projecting convent wing was built at the end of the XVI century, the remnants of the old wall must have been found at the corner, and offered a convenient starting point for the orchard wall.

On the other hand, Maggi's engraving (fig. 8) shows two walls which apparently rest on those of the old basilica. One recalls that until the late XVIII century a low wing shot forth southward from the projecting west wing of the convent. In line with the west face of that west wing, it extended south for a distance of roughly twice the length of that west face, 23 meters or so. At its south end a high wall extended west, breaking off suddenly after sixty-odd meters and separating the orchard from the vineyard. Both its direction and its distance from the projecting convent wing suggest that this wall either rose on the remnants or indeed incorporated large portions of the south wall of the Verano basilica. A fragment of this vineyard wall, incorporated into the south wall of the low wing, still appears in the drawing of the Anonymous ADC. (fig. 11).

As stated above, the north wall of the orchard, in Maggi's engraving, does not coincide with the present cemetery north wall and thus with the outer wall of the Verano basilica. It runs farther south and seems to start from near the southwest corner of the projecting west wing of the convent. Thus it apparently coincided with the southern fortification wall of Laurentiopolis. Visible on all XVI century views (figs. 6, 7)<sup>4</sup>, this fortification wall started from a tower, situated farther east, but in line with the southwest corner of that wing. Hence it ran on the line of and presumably rose from the foundation wall of the south colonnade of the old basilica.

(1) See below, p. 140.

(2) See above, pp. 94, 97 f.

(3) See also above, pp. 4 f., representations by Della Bella, Dughet, Anonymous Pacetti and others.

(4) See also above, p. 4, view by van Aelst, 1589.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### a) THE EARLIEST PHASES

The aspect of the site of the present churches of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. and of the Verano cemetery prior to Constantine can be reconstructed only in its barest outlines.

#### i. The Verano area.

The hill extended far west and south from its present area and covered the entire site now occupied by the East and West basilicas and by the core of the convent. Its south cliff fell down sharply somewhere between the churches and the modern cemetery wall towards the wide plain of the *Campus Veranus*. Both the high plateau of the hill and the plain of the Verano were criss-crossed by *deverticula* and covered by mausolea as they have come to light in the excavations of the past century, on the hill as well as at its foot some 100 meters east of the site of the huge structure excavated in 1957. Other mausolea were apparently scattered over the area of that structure and nearby. The two brick walls established in dig 7 and incorporated, one into the east facade of the huge building, the other into the eastern counter pier of its north colonnade, are possibly remnants of such a mausoleum, a III century structure, judging from its brickwork<sup>1</sup>. Another mausoleum, possibly of III century date may have left its traces in the wall fragment *P* near the right-hand springing of the huge absidal wall<sup>2</sup>. One even wonders whether some of the tombs uncovered in dig 3, at levels as deep as —4 meters and thus ½ m below the level of the Verano basilica are not part of an earlier graveyard<sup>3</sup>. In any event, mausolea either preceding or slightly later than the basilica have been found in the area since the 1860s: one, an apse sheltering a tomb on its chord and with a window in its wall of tufa stones, was found while building the entrance gate to the cemetery, “*nell'angolo interno verso la basilica... a sinistra*”<sup>4</sup>; of the other, several blocks of a large marble or stone base came to light “... near the mausoleum of the Dominicans...” close to the south wall of the Verano basilica, some 15 odd meters west of dig 1<sup>5</sup>.

While neither of these two mausolea can be dated, either absolutely or with regard to the construction of the huge basilica, the finds of Aretine and Etrusco-Campanian ware in dig 4 suggest possibly, though not necessarily, that the area was occupied by tombs since the I century A.D. and perhaps since the I century B.C. The fragments of II and III century inscriptions and of sarcophagi, strigilated and vat-shaped, found in digs 1, 7, and 7C, testify to the further occupancy of the area by the tombs and mausolea of a huge graveyard through the III century A.D.

#### ii. The catacomb.

α) *The arenarium-catacomb*. Presumably since the late II century, a catacomb had developed inside the hill, possibly from an *arenarium*. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that part of this *arenarium*-catacomb has survived in the system of galleries *g* 1-6 and the adjoining cubicula (fig. 53). They ran, one recalls, slightly below the level of the East basilica across the area both west and

(1) See above, p. 102.

(2) See above, p. 107.

(3) See above, p. 101.

(4) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31710.

(5) Vespignani's drawing of these base blocks, *Racc. Lanciani*, 31714, shows also what appears to be the basement of the *Cappella dei Domenicani* which occupies roughly that site.

east of the tomb of the Saint, at an angle of roughly 30 degrees to the main axis of the present churches; one of the galleries in the area of the east nave points in the direction of the tomb. Nothing more can be said regarding size or location of this first catacomb. The entrance would have been presumably from the south where the cliff descended to the graveyard on the Verano plain.

*β) The A-system.* This first *arenarium*-catacomb however, was superseded at an early moment by the lavish system *A* 1-19, its axis running due east and west, and presumably intersecting the older system *g* 1-6 near the spot where the tomb of the Saint rises (fig. 57). The backbone of the new system is formed by the gallery *A* 4-15 which runs from the direction of the tomb straight towards the L-chamber. This, in turn seems to have extended in the direction of the south cliff of the hill towards the Verano plain. On the other hand, all traces of the portions of the *A*-system near the tomb have disappeared in the construction of the East basilica and the concomitant demolition of the catacomb galleries and *cubicula* all through that part of the area. It is possible that the gallery *A* 4-15 continued east until it reached a small open space near the tomb; it is even possible that it continued beyond the tomb. But it is equally possible that the gallery ended at *A* 15 and one might even venture the hypothesis that the walls *A* 18-19 at its southeast corner formed the right-hand front corner of a large room which some six meters farther east sheltered the tomb. A total length of ten odd meters for such a "crypt" would not seem too much; even the modest crypt of Saints Marcellinus and Petrus in the catacomb at Tor Pignattara is not much smaller. But *A* 18-19 may just as well be the remnant of a small *cubiculum* to the west of the space around the shrine of the saint.

The east portions of the *A* system thus remain in doubt. The portions to the west on the other hand can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty; but the function of these parts is in doubt. Flanked in its western portion by large niches, presumably to shelter lighting fixtures — *candelabra in pedibus* or *cereostatos* — gallery *A* 4-15 issued from the L-chamber. This chamber was apparently an important element among the new constructions which were superimposed on the previous *arenarium*-catacomb. Its short west arm, opposite the starting point of the gallery *A* 4-15 and south facing straight towards the shrine of the saint, had its roof (presumably live tufa) supported by the rectangular pier *A* 3. Its south arm, only some 2 meters wide but at least 5 meters long, was again flanked by large niches designed to hold lighting fixtures. The function of the chamber thus may have been twofold. The short west arm could have been intended as a tomb chamber and indeed it was the part of the room later all filled with tombs, including one, surmounted by a cataract and provided with *mensae oleorum*. The south arm, on the other hand, really nothing but a wide corridor may well have formed the entrance gallery to the new layout. Indeed, everything points in this direction: its shape, the lamp niches; its proximity to the south cliff of the hill, roughly eight meters distant; finally, the constructions which later rose south of the hill near the site of the campanile and thus in close proximity to the south arm of the L-chamber.

*γ) The tomb of Saint Lawrence.* The original form of the tomb of Saint Lawrence and its relation both to the *arenarium*-catacomb and to the younger *A*-system, remain to be clarified. The documentary sources beginning with the report in the Sylvester biography of the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>1</sup> and continuing with the inscription of Pelagius II<sup>2</sup> and the letter of Gregory the Great<sup>3</sup>, as well as the decoration of the tomb monument by Cencius Savelli Cancellarius<sup>4</sup> suggest first, that the tomb

(1) See above, p. 6, dig. 314-335.

(2) See above, p. 10, dig. 579-590.

(3) *Ibid.*, dig. 594.

(4) See above, p. 14, dig. 1191-1192.

to this day occupies its original position. Neither it, nor the body of the Saint were apparently ever moved<sup>1</sup>. The text of the *Liber Pontificalis* also suggests that Constantine found a *loculus* containing the body of the Saint; this, one would presume, was in the wall of a catacomb gallery or of a *cubiculum*, corresponding to the burial places of martyrs in other Roman catacombs. With regard to the original surroundings of the tomb, several possibilities are open. Either Saint Lawrence was buried in the first, the *arenarium*-catacomb. This is, in my opinion, (RK), the most likely hypothesis. But it is possible (WF) that his burial took place in the catacomb, after the system *A* 1-19 had been superimposed on the first modest catacomb. In that case his body may have been laid to rest either in one of the walls of the room which extended east from the gallery *A* 4-15, if indeed such a room existed; or in a gallery east of that room; or else, in the wall of a gallery continuing *A* 4-15 beyond the chamber *A* 18-19, assuming this to have been a simple *cubiculum*. In all these cases the system *A* 1-19 would presumably antedate the burial of Saint Lawrence. Finally there exists the distinct possibility that the lavish layout *A* 1-19 is later than the tomb and was created with the purpose of providing a dignified frame for the venerated shrine. This again might have taken place either before (WF) or under Constantine (RK).

Obviously, neither the recent nor any older excavations have provided any archaeological evidence regarding the original aspect of the tomb, inaccessible as it remains within the medieval monument block, or of its immediate surroundings.

#### b) CONSTANTINE'S AND LATER IV CENTURY CONSTRUCTIONS

The *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Constantine both a rearrangement of the shrine in the catacomb and the building of a basilica *supra arenarium cryptae*. The attribution to the first Christian emperor may have to be taken *cum grano salis*; but the recent findings testify to a considerable building activity in the IV century certainly on the Verano plain and presumably within the catacomb.

##### 1. The catacomb.

Whatever relation existed between the original tomb of Saint Lawrence and the two catacomb systems, the early *arenarium*-catacomb, and the lavish layout *A* 1-19, the *Liber Pontificalis* ascribed to Constantine alterations through which the venerated tomb was turned into the center of an impressive architectural layout. The tufa block containing the *loculus* was presumably isolated from the wall of which it formed part; it was apparently sawed off at the top; and, the openings of the *loculus* both on top and sideways were covered with silver grates. Also, the block was enclosed within an apse, presumably hewn out of the tufa wall of the catacomb<sup>2</sup>. The procedure in short would have been the same as that employed in isolating and placing against the foil of an apse in the catacomb of S. Ippolito the tomb of Saint Hippolyt or, in the Praetextatus catacomb, those of Saints Felicissimus and Agapitus<sup>3</sup>. The underground sanctuary thus provided should have been of sufficient height to hold the two bronze candelabra ten feet high which the Emperor placed in front of the tomb. It remains an open question whether or not Saint Lawrence's tomb thus transformed into a shrine was surmounted then, like the shrine of Saint Peter<sup>4</sup>, by a

(1) The hypothesis of DA BRÀ, *op. cit.*, *passim*, of several transfers of the body lacks any evidence, archaeological or otherwise.

(2) See above, p. 6, dig. 314-335.

(3) STYGER, *Martyrgrufte*, pp. 185 ff., 129 ff.; MARUCCHI, *Catacombe*, 1933, pp. 288 ff.

(4) J. B. WARD-PERKINS, and J. TOYNBEE, *The Shrine of Saint Peter*, London 1956, pp. 201 ff.

canopy resting on four twisted columns<sup>1</sup>. The baldacchino to be sure, appears related to the *craticula* of the Saint on both the Successa and Gaudentianus medals; but it remains doubtful whether this canopy actually existed, and if so whether it was Constantinian or later; or, whether its representation on the medals was intended as merely the symbol of a martyr's shrine.

In no case is it easy to visualize the underground sanctuary either from the scarce hints given in the *Liber Pontificalis* or from the archaeological evidence available. Not even the relation of the apse to the *A*-system or its approximate position facing west, north, south or (though this is unlikely) east can be ascertained. One would like to imagine it facing west at the end of a room of some size and in line with the gallery *A* 4-15 which after all leads straight towards the tomb. Such a room might have started as mentioned before with the wall *A* 18-19. Provided with an apse at its end it would have resembled large catacomb chambers, such as the "Cappella Greca" in the Priscilla catacomb. But the apse built by Constantine to shelter the tomb might as well have remained isolated from the *A*-system, at least to begin with. Indeed that system might well have antedated the apse (WF). However it is equally possible that *A*-system and apse are contemporary (RK). No decision can be reached without discussing the masonry technique of the *A*-system and related structures<sup>2</sup>.

No archaeological evidence is available regarding the *gradus ascensionis et descensionis* which in the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Constantine. In itself the term may denote just as well one flight of steps on which to walk up or down as two ramps either in the same place or in separate locations. Whether one or two ramps, one would expect these stairs to ascend from the south, from the foot of the cliff. However, the levels of the tomb and of the *A*-system more or less correspond to those at the foot of the hill as indicated by the floor level of the Verano basilica. Hence, no stairs would be necessary coming from that direction, and the possibility should be weighed whether the stairs per chance descended into the catacomb from the top of the hill, some 8 m above the catacomb level.

## II. The Basilica on the Verano.

The observations and finds made in 1950 and 1957 on the Verano cemetery have furnished elements sufficient to reconstruct in its outlines the plan and, though more hypothetically, the elevation of a huge basilica (pls. II, III, IV; fig. 121). Known are: the overall measurements of the structure; its north wall and small parts of its south and east walls; the curved wall of the absidal structure projecting westward; the division into nave and aisles; the crowding of tombs wherever excavations were undertaken, whether in the apse, the nave or the aisles; the traces of tomb chambers along both the north and south flanks; a small portion of its north colonnade, marking the position of three neighboring supports, two columns and the brick counter pier at its eastern end with the added *opus listatum* tongue; diameter and material of some of its column shafts, including possibly some re-used in the West basilica; presumably pieces of its entablature, likewise re-employed in that construction; finally potsherds, inscribed epitaphs and other finds which may be of assistance in reconstructing aspect and possibly function of the structure.

a) *Overall plan.* The overall plan is characterized by the joining of a huge rectangular unit, divided into a nave and two flanking aisles to the absidal structure which projects westward, only

(4) See above, p. 4, note 1.

(5) See below, p. 132.

three feet narrower than nave and aisles combined. Hence the colonnades separating the nave from the aisles must have continued in a curve within the area of the absidal structure. Thus, this latter can only be the outer wall of an ambulatory linking the aisles to each other and enveloping the apse proper which rested on the curved colonnade (pls. II, IV; fig. 121).

*β) Measurements.* If correctly interpreted the measurements result in round figures of Roman feet (pls. II, IV). Thus the total width, including both outer walls is 35.50 m, 120 R. ft., while the clear width is only 33.80 m, 114 R. ft. The length of nave and aisles, measured along the outer flank of the north wall, 81.59 m results in 276 R. ft. On the other hand, it results in the round figure of 275 R. ft., 81.30 m, when taken from the center line of the facade wall to the center line of the span wall of ambulatory and apse, marked as it is by the spur projecting at the north springing of the ambulatory wall. Correspondingly, the width of the north aisle, measured from the center line of the outer wall to that of the foundation wall of the colonnade, amounts to 8.75 m, 30 R. ft. On the other hand, the total length results in the round figure of 333  $\frac{1}{3}$  R. ft., 98.60 m, only when taken from the center line of the facade wall to the outer line of the ambulatory wall. Finally, the measurements of the nave yield no round figures whatever: assuming for the south aisle the same width as for the north aisle, the nave would span 17.20 m from center to center of the colonnades, and 16.20 m in the clear, roughly 58 and 54  $\frac{1}{2}$  R. ft. Thus, it looks as though the builders had started out by taking the width from outside to outside along the facade wall, while for the length and for the inner division of the aisles they used the center lines of facade and side walls as their starting points. After the width of the two aisles had been established, the width given to the nave was simply what was left over.

The strength of the foundation walls, of the north colonnades, as well as of the outer wall of the south aisle and of the facade, averages 1.00 m, 3  $\frac{1}{3}$  R. ft., that of the rising wall, both along the north aisle and in the ambulatory 0.85 to 0.90 m, 3 R. ft.

*γ) Floors and levels.* Throughout nave, aisles and ambulatory, the floors were apparently crowded with tombs, mostly *a cappuccina* and covered, in some cases at least, with inscription slabs (pl. IV).

The levels throughout the building differ slightly among each other. The entrances, both in the ambulatory and in the facade of the nave, suggest a level of -2.64 m and -2.71 m respectively and these levels are confirmed by those of the tombs in the ambulatory as well as in the nave and

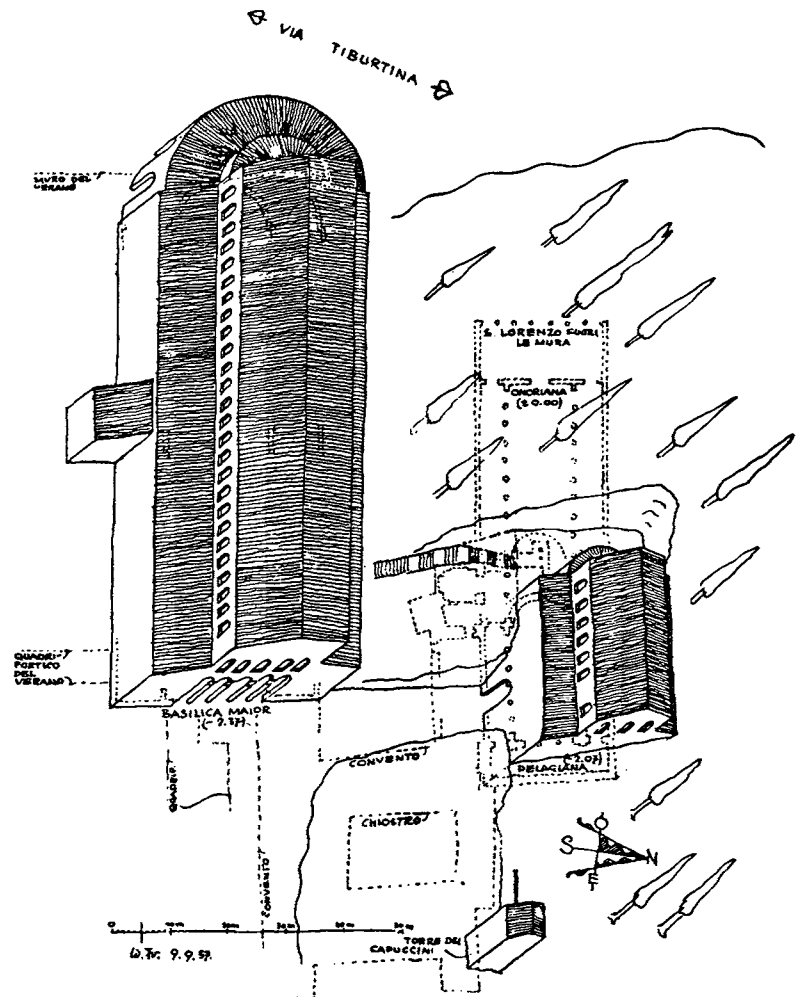


Fig. 121 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Reconstruction of *basilica maior*, and East basilica as of c. 600 (Sketch by W. Frankl).



in the north aisle. On the other hand, the bases of the colonnade rose from a level of  $-2.37$  m. Thus one wonders whether the levels of the wall as they appear in the openings both of the facade and the ambulatory are but beds which carried stone thresholds; these latter would then have reached the over-all floor level  $-2.37$  m (pl. IV).

δ) *The ambulatory.* A reasonably certain reconstruction of the outer ambulatory wall can be based on the remnants which are preserved at and near its northern springing: the distance of the first opening from the springing of the curve, 3.25 m (11 R. ft.); the width of the opening, 2.90 m (10 R. ft.); and the distance from the western jamb of this first to the eastern jamb of the next, second opening, 4.70 m (16 R. ft.). The ambulatory thus would have communicated with the outside through seven openings, facing north, west, and south (pls. II, IV; fig. 121).

While the total width of ambulatory and apse measured 32.70 m, somewhat over 110 R. ft., the inner width of the ambulatory has been assumed by us to have been equal to that of the adjoining north aisle, 7.85 m, 26½ R. ft. This assumption is hypothetical, but it is based on the comparable relation of aisle and ambulatory in the *coemeterium Agnetis* and in S. Sebastiano<sup>1</sup>. The form of the opening of the ambulatory towards the aisle likewise remains in doubt in the Verano basilica. One would like to assume an arch coming across, but no supporting pier projects from the corner of the ambulatory wall. On the other hand, it is not to be excluded that such an arch could have sprung directly from the wall while resting on a half pier projecting sideways from the main pier which at the end of the colonnade and at the springing of the inner apse supported the half dome of the latter.

ε) *The colonnades.* The finds made in dig 5 and dig 7 leave no doubt that a colonnade separated the nave from the north aisle (pls. II, IV). They also supply the measurements of at least one plinth, 0.82 m square; of a base, 0.30 m high jointly with the plinth; of the diameter of one column, 0.57 m; and the material of this one, fluted column, green *cipollino*. Fragments of other fluted columns of the same material found in the ditch outside the north wall or scattered near the south flank of the East basilica suggest that these supports varied in diameter from 0.53 to 0.79 m.

On the other hand, as one recalls, the shafts of the columns in the West basilica are apparently spoils from an older building. The diameters of the majority fluctuate from 0.72 to 0.85 m, not counting some stronger ones, measuring 1.00-1.15 m, at the western and eastern ends of the colonnades. Hence it is perhaps not too hazardous to suggest that despite their different materials, grey granite and porphyry, some or even all of these columns originally also formed part of the colonnades of the basilica on the Verano.

The distances of the supports in the colonnades are not easy to establish. The length of the eastern brick counterpier of the north colonnade, 1.75 m is known as is the position of the next following, that is the easternmost column base. The distance from its center to the corresponding point on the counterpier, 0.25-0.30 m from its west face (that is, equal to the radius of the column) is 3.20 m. On the other hand, of the second column in the north colonnade only the imprint of its base block is preserved; hence, the position of its center and therewith its distance from the first column, can be only approximated (figs. 109-112). But it must have been between 3.00 and 3.20 m.

Again, these figures, rough as they are, find their correspondence among the materials re-used in the West basilica and apparently taken from some older building. Indeed, the majority of its

(1) R. FERROTTI, "Recenti ritrovamenti presso S. Costanza", *Palladio* n. s. 6, (1956) pp. 80 ff.; TOLOTTI, *Memorie degli Apostoli in Catacumbas* (Collezione Amici delle Catacombe, 19), Vatican City, 1953.

architrave pieces, not counting two which were apparently cut down, measure between 2.93 and 3.20 m, averaging 3.11 m<sup>1</sup>. Thus they fit the distances of the columns as roughly calculated for the north colonnade of the Verano basilica. The correspondence seems too close to be merely coincidental and one cannot help feeling that these architrave pieces surmounted originally the colonnades of the Verano basilica. If this hypothesis is accepted, the distances of the columns, always from center to center, would have averaged 3.11 m, with possible deviations. Corresponding to the counterpier at the eastern end of the colonnades, a second counterpier must have risen at their western ends, joined in some way to piers carrying the arch at the springing of the inner apse. Between these counterpiers the number of intercolumniations for the total length of each colonnade, 77.50 m (including a distance of 0.25-0.30 m for placing the entablature on the counterpiers), results in twenty-five, resting on twenty-four columns (pls. II, IV).

The calculation of the number of supports and intercolumniations in the half circle supporting the inner apse had best be based on the number of seven openings in the outer wall of the ambulatory. Thus, a corresponding number of seven intercolumniations, resting on six columns, suggests itself for the concentric inner half-circle. In this case, the distances from center to center of the columns would amount to 3.10 m, or slightly more. In fact, among the architrave pieces reused in the West basilica, four measure 3.43, 3.44, 3.60 and 3.70 m respectively. They may thus have belonged to the absidal colonnade of the *basilica maior*; a fifth architrave piece, as long as 4.10 m, might well have covered the wider intercolumniation in its apex. On the other hand, basing the intercolumniations in the inner apse on the same distances as those in the nave colonnades, averaging 3.11 m, the length of the half-circle, 25.21 m ( $8.00 \text{ m} \times \pi$ ) divides into eight intercolumniations resting on seven supports. This would obviously not only place one support in the center axis but also obliterate the correspondence with the outer openings of the ambulatory; nevertheless, it might be considered as a second, though less likely hypothesis.

ζ) *The facade.* The piece of the facade wall established in dig 6, small though it is, proves nonetheless significant for reconstructing the original aspect of the building. Its carefully smoothed mortar top at -2.77 m prepared to support a stone threshold or a plinth suggests the existence at this point of an entrance. On the other hand, the uninterrupted extension of this mortar bed, up to 1.90 m from the center axis of the structure and beyond, precludes a door opening: 3.80 m and more appears to be overly wide for the center door even of a huge basilica. Thus one inclines rather towards reconstructing the facade with an open arcade like those established recently in Rome for S. Sebastiano, S. Vitale and SS. Giovanni e Paolo<sup>2</sup>. To be sure, this meets with a new difficulty: assuming five arcades in the facade, as they exist in the afore-mentioned buildings, one of the supports should have left its trace in the form of a base block resting on the tract of wall excavated in dig 6. Assuming only three, wider arcades, this difficulty would be removed, but the span of these arcades would have to be at least 4.50 m, 15 R. ft., and thus unusually wide. Hence, although likely, the reconstruction with five arcades must remain hypothetical (pl. II; fig. 121).

η) *The elevation.* The colonnades of the nave, if our assumptions are correct, would have risen from the level -2.37 m. In all likelihood columns of different material, strength, form and colour were intermingled: fluted and unfluted; green *cipollino*, grey and red granite; the diameter varying from 0.53 to perhaps 0.80 m and more. The height of the shafts must have been in the neighbor-

(1) See above, p. 42.

(2) G. MATTHIAE, "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora", *Boll. d'Arte*, n.s. 42 (1956) pp. 107 ff.; A. PRANDI, *Il complesso monumentale della Basilica Celimontana*, Rome 1953, pp. 461 ff.

hood of 5.75 m: not only is this the height of the column shafts in the West basilica; it is also the approximate height to be calculated from the fragments of *cipollino* columns found during the excavations. Slight differences might easily have been equalized by using capitals of different height and shape, Ionic, Corinthian or composite, or different bases, as they were re-used in the nave of the West basilica.

That the colonnade carried an entablature is likely, but its height can only be estimated. The architrave pieces preserved in the West basilica are 0.60 m high; assuming a frieze and cornice surmounting the architrave as at Old St. Peter's, the total height of the entablature might have been 1.50-1.60 m. The total height of the colonnade, including bases, capitals and entablature, might thus have approximated 8.50 m. Without frieze and cornice, neither of which need have been present, or with a lower height of these elements, the total height would have been 7.50 to 8.20 m.

The height of the walls above the entablature and of the clerestorey, and thus the total height of the nave can likewise be estimated only on the not too reliable basis of comparison with contemporary buildings in Rome: in S. Sebastiano the proportion of width and height of the nave is 13.20 by 13.75 m, taking the clear width; in S. Clemente it is 14.20 by 13.30 m; in early V century buildings, such as S. Vitale and S. Maria Maggiore, the proportions became steeper, 14.43 and 17.00, and 16.40 and 18.00 m respectively. The normal IV century proportion thus seems to hover near 1 : 1. (The different proportions of the five-aisled basilicas, such as Old St. Peter's with 23.64 by 37.91 m, and S. Paolo f.l.m. with 23.86 by 32.56 m had better be disregarded). Hence the total height of the Verano basilica should roughly correspond to the clear width of the nave, 16.20 m; thus, the height of the upper walls including the clerestorey would have roughly equalled that of the colonnades including their entablature.

The number of windows in the clerestorey may be assumed, arbitrarily though with some likelihood, to have corresponded to that of the intercolumniations. Their width and distances in the reconstruction have been based on the width of the intercolumniations, their height on the corresponding windows at S. Sebastiano (fig. 121).

The numerous fragments of roof tiles found throughout the area of the building suggest that the nave as well as the aisles were covered, presumably with open timber roofs.

θ) *The flanks.* The outer walls of the aisles, at the highest point preserved, attain a height of roughly 3 m above the original floor level. Thus it is impossible to tell *a priori* whether they were pierced by windows higher up. Yet, in all likelihood the aisles had no windows; for all along the flanks of the basilica mausolea were attached to the walls. Whether part of the original construction or additions of slightly later date, these mausolea are incompatible with a window zone in the aisles.

The location of the *trichora* of Bishop Leo<sup>1</sup> and its relation to the Verano basilica requires a brief discussion (pls. II, IV; fig. 90). De Rossi's statement "at the foot of the stairs leading to the Pincetto"<sup>2</sup> suggests a site corresponding to the north exit in the middle of Vespignani's new quadriporticus. But Vespignani's drawing<sup>3</sup> shows that the site was below one of the corners of the quadriporticus, presumably one of the north corners. Lanciani's note on the drawing identifies this as the northeast corner; but it should be stressed that the northwest corner is at the same distance from the Pincetto

(1) See above, p. 7, dig. After 384.

(2) De Rossi, *BAC* II (1864) 54 ff.

(3) *Racc. Lanciani*, 31731.

stairs as the northeast corner. In placing the trefoil into this northwest corner of the porticus, its location coincides exactly with the fragment of a mausoleum wall found in dig 2<sup>1</sup>. Also, a second glance at Vespignani's drawing shows that the straight wall of the trefoil chapel adjoined a stronger wall, running east and west, — apparently the south wall of the Verano basilica.

ι) *Decoration.* The fragments of porphyry and marble revetment and of painted plaster found during the excavations (figs. 118, 119) suggest that parts of the structure, possibly only the mausolea-chapels along its flanks but possibly also parts of the walls in the nave and aisles, were covered with a variegated stucco decoration and with *opus sectile*. *Cancelli*, such as those found in fragments in dig 5 and those drawn by Labrouste (fig. 120), might have protected the entrances to the mausolea-chapels or they might have enclosed tombs in the nave and aisles. The sherds of cooking vessels found suggest the possibility that some of the tombs were surmounted by *mensae* for the celebration of funeral banquets.

Though apparently a later addition, the decoration placed in the apse (“*circa chorum*”) as a donation of the presbyter Leopardus<sup>2</sup> must be mentioned to complete the picture of the Verano basilica. It showed apparently the hand of God holding a wreath, but nothing else is known, not even whether it was a mural painting or a mosaic.

κ) *The surroundings.* With its huge dimensions, with the colourful columns, with its nave and aisles crowded with tombs with possibly some *mensae* scattered in between, its flanks encircled by mausolea, with its apse enveloped by the ambulatory, the Verano basilica was one of the great buildings of early Christian Rome (fig. 121). To give a fuller impression of it, some words must be added about its surroundings. To the north it stood against the background of the hill that sheltered the tomb of the Saint in the catacomb. South and east spread the plain of the Verano strewn with mausolea, some earlier, some certainly later than the basilica, among these latter, some 40 meters east of the east facade of the basilica, the mausoleum of one Johannes<sup>3</sup>. It is only logical to assume that a plaza extended in front of the facade with roads leading north to the foot of the hill and east toward the mausolea in the plain. The situation to the west, toward the Via Tiburtina, is of greater interest. The sources, indeed, suggest that a colonnaded portico linked the basilica to the *Porta Tiburtina* in the city wall, now Porta S. Lorenzo<sup>4</sup>. The existence of this portico west of the basilica and along the road explains, it would seem, to a large degree the presence of the huge openings in the ambulatory wall.

The ambulatory rather than the east facade, would indeed have formed the main entrance to the Verano basilica. From there would have entered the crowds come from the city to honor their dead, and the pilgrims come to venerate the martyr. Indeed, the inscription of Leopardus<sup>5</sup> could well be interpreted so as to refer to just this situation: it advises the visitor, entering from the ambulatory, that “better things are to be presented to him for his admiration”, presumably a more important part of the decoration “*succedunt meliora tibi miranda tuenti*”; it exhorts him to look about or, perhaps, to look back in his peaceful progress “*respice et ingressu placido*”; finally, at the very end of the stanza, it points out to him the representation, customarily reserved for the apse, which the visitor would have seen first, if he had entered by the facade of the basilica.

(1) See above, p. 100.

(2) See above, p. 8, dig. ca. 400.

(3) See above, p. 9, dig. V or VI century.

(4) See above, p. 12, dig. 715-731.

(5) See above, p. 8, dig. ca. 400.

c) FROM THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE L-CHAMBER AND THE VERANO BASILICA TO THE BUILDING OF THE EAST BASILICA.

i. The catacomb area.

Any attempt at visualizing the constructions inside the catacomb must remain limited both in area and scope: confined to the neighborhood of the L-chamber and extending as far east as the apse *H* of the East basilica, they can be presented at best in their outlines.

(a) Architecturally the L-chamber is little altered by the first changes affecting it; the tombs crowding its short west arm; the single extraordinarily short grave *t*, prominently placed at the entrance of that area and nearly opposite the point where the gallery *A* 4-15 issues towards the tomb of Saint Lawrence; finally, the cylindrical cataract placed over that grave and the *mensae oleorum* nearby (fig. 63). But these changes profoundly affect the function of the site; rather than the side chapel of an entrance hall, the west arm of the L-chamber is turned into a cult center, secondary yet a counterpart to the tomb chamber of Saint Lawrence at the opposite end of the gallery *A* 4-15. Whose relics were venerated in the cataract grave remains so far unknown.

(b) As a result of this change in function, a second series of changes thoroughly altered the architecture of the site: the long south arm of the L-chamber was suppressed; its west arm served as a sheltering niche for the cataract grave and a cave chapel was laid out in front, hewn from the rock, but protected along its west boundary by walls, *D* 1-6. While these walls extended sideways both toward the Verano basilica and the catacomb galleries in the north part of the hill, the cave chapel was confined to the area below the Honorian nave, its eastern limit roughly coinciding with the apex of the later apse *H* (fig. 68).

(c) Within the underground area, in a further change, a chancel screen was placed in front of the cataract grave with passage ways leading sideways towards that center (fig. 71). In a third change, the cave chapel was enlarged north and south into the area of the aisles of the West basilica. Its exact shape, both in the first and in the third phase, remain undetermined. Likewise, its height remains in some doubt. Given are its floor level, from  $-2.57$  to  $-2.33$  m, the level of the hill top, roughly  $+6.00$  m, and the level of the apex of the arches that from the aisles of the East basilica led into the underground area,  $+4.40$  m, that is, ca.  $6.80-7.00$  m above the floor of the area. Hence, this or a few centimeters more or less would be the approximate height of the cave chapel, leaving only one meter or slightly more for the thickness of its tufa ceiling. On the whole, however, the aspect of the underground area remains uncertain. Only its function as a cult center accommodating and channeling increasingly large crowds of faithful is obvious.

What, if any, changes took place around the tomb of Saint Lawrence is unclear. The sources limit themselves to referring to a new *baldacchino* on porphyry columns over the tomb<sup>1</sup>. It is permissible, however, to suggest that the original small sanctuary around his tomb was gradually enlarged into a sizeable cave chapel hollowed from the live rock.

ii. The area sub divo.

When discussing the walls *D* 1-6 it was pointed out that they apparently acted both as containing walls delimiting the underground area along its western boundary and as foundation for walls rising above the level of the hill. One of these upper walls, *D* 6, in *opus listatum* masonry has survived incorporated within the wall of the Honorian south aisle (pl. V B). Others, beyond the

(1) See above, p. 9, dig. 432-440.

south cliff of the hill could be traced in the constructions incorporated into the east face of the campanile and in those formerly adjoining it west and south.

If the wall *D1-6* on top of the hill indeed carried an upper wall, this wall would have skirted the site of the cataract-tomb in the underground area. Hence it might have formed the western boundary wall of an area under the open sky, focussed possibly on an altar placed above the cataract. After the building of the East basilica, and thus much later, the walls *I1* and *I2* would have been designed as the north and south walls respectively of this area and concomitantly as links to the East basilica (fig. 122).

The structures south of the hill cannot be reconstructed even in vague outlines. They might represent structures which afforded access both to the underground area (as no doubt they did) and to the area *sub divo* on top of the hill. In that latter case they could have possibly contained staircases to ascend the hill and to descend from there into the catacomb — the “*gradus ascensionis et descensionis*” of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

#### d) THE EAST BASILICA

##### I. General situation.

On the basis of the large parts preserved and of those established by the excavation of 1947-1949, a reconstruction of the East basilica can be easily presented. The lay-out, however, becomes intelligible only when viewed in relation both to the tomb of Saint Lawrence and to the secondary cult center focussed on the cataract grave of the unknown martyr (fig. 122).

The dedicatory inscription of Pelagius II and the letter of Gregory I (dig. 579-590 and 590-604) both suggest that the building of the East basilica was caused by the collapse of the hill over the tomb of Saint Lawrence. The space around the tomb inside the catacomb, apparently overly enlarged, had caved in and was to be replaced by a *basilica ad corpus*, a tomb church sheltering the shrine of the Saint. The architectural program, then, consisted in the creation around the shrine, of a safe, large, and well-lit space along the lines of a regular church building. At the same time this space, as demonstrated by the finds, had to be linked to the underground area extending westward in front of the cataract grave.

##### II. The apse.

Disregarding the raised XIII century chancel and its XIX century underpinning as well as the XIX century changes in fenestration, the nave of the East basilica and its enveloping aisles and galleries present themselves more or less as built in the VI century. To complete the original picture one mainly wants to visualize the apse *H* which from the triumphal arch opened in a semi-circle, its floor level with that of the nave (pls. II, VIIA; figs. 11, 52). Its wall rose as a perfect half cylinder covered up to 1.11 m from the floor with a marble revetment. It was pierced in the center by a *fenestella*, its sill only 0.72 m above the floor and obviously intended to permit a visitor to the apse to view the cataract grave to the west and possibly, vice versa, a visitor to the underground area to view the tomb of Saint Lawrence. Higher up, 1.24 m from the floor of the apse, larger windows opened on either side, possibly four, though only two can be definitely ascertained, one near either springing of the apse. If four, the width of these windows might have been roughly 1.40 m. Their height, limited by the maximum height of the underground area into which they opened, might have attained as much as 4.50 m, nearly six meters above the apse floor, but a height

of roughly 3 m is more likely. The level of the springing of the half-dome surmounting the apse, presumably set off by a cornice, is easily established: marked by the springing of what is now the triumphal arch (and was originally the beginning of the apse vault), it stands 7.50 m above the floor of the East basilica. The apex of the apse vault rises to a level of 12.40 m from the floor (fig. 122).

### III. Measurements and planning.

Terminated by the apse, the plan of the East basilica reveals its basic measurements and the focus of its design. Measurements apparently were based not on the Roman foot but on a Byzantine foot of roughly 317 mm, not surprising in a VI century construction in Rome. It seems that they

were taken in the clear, much in contrast to the procedure followed in the huge basilica to the south. The different approach may be due less to new concepts of space than to the fact that the plan was apparently laid out starting from the tomb of the Saint in the very center of the construction. In any event, the total clear length of the building, from the apex of the apse to the original inner face of the east wall in the east aisle (fig. 31) amounts to precisely 31.70m

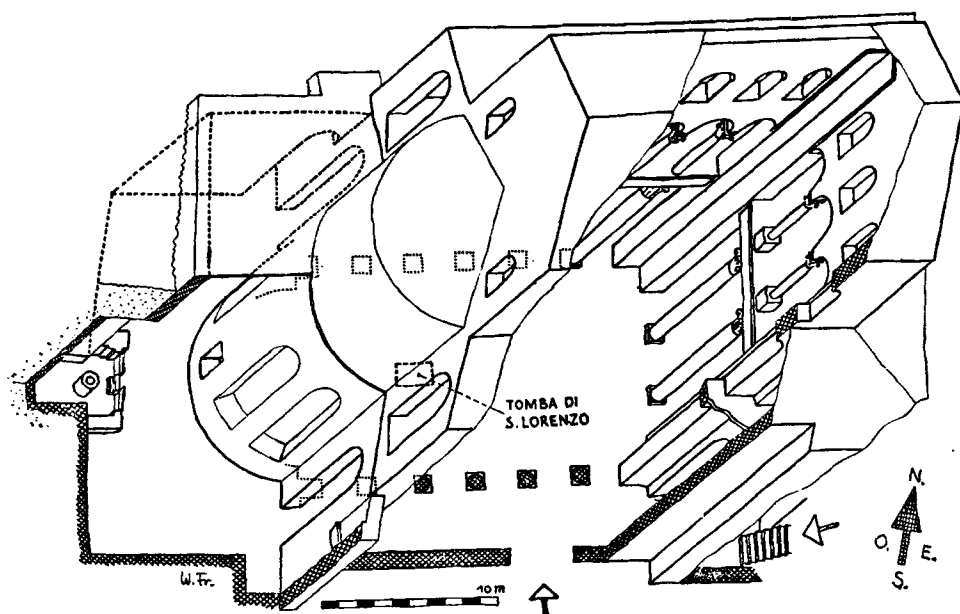


Fig. 122 — S. Lorenzo f.l.m. Reconstruction of East basilica and underground area c. 600 (Sketch W. Frankl).

100 Byz. ft., the clear width between the original inner faces of the north and south aisle walls respectively to 20.65 m, nearly  $66\frac{1}{3}$  Byz. feet (20.90 m). The depth of the apse, from chord to apex is 5.25 m, one sixth of 100, that is  $16\frac{1}{3}$  Byz. feet (5.28 m), the width of the nave 11.35 m, nearly 36 Byz. feet. Again, the length of the nave, starting at the chord of the apse is 20.85 m,  $66\frac{1}{3}$  Byz. feet, but in this measurement the thickness of the east wall of the nave is included. The height of the nave colonnade, of course, was given by that of the columns and the entablature, both spoils. The height, however, of the gallery zone and the clerestory totals 10.20 m, close to 32 Byz. feet (10.14 m) and the apex of the apse vaults rises nearly 40 Byz. feet above the floor level, 12.45 m as against 12.68 m (pls. II, V A, VI B).

All this seems to suggest that the plan was laid out from the inside, as it were, starting from a focus on the center axis of the structure. This focus is obviously the tomb of Saint Lawrence. The entire design was developed around it and developed primarily in terms of the ground plan. Hence, the measurements of nave, apse, and aisles result in round figures in the plan more clearly than in elevation; hence, the concentration of twelve precious columns on the ground floor; hence the treatment of the ground floor as a self-contained unit unconnected with the gallery floor without any stairs leading up. On the ground floor the tomb holds the crucial place: west of it curves the half round of the apse; north, south and east expands the nave, enveloped on three sides by the originally dark belt of the aisles (figs. 24, 25). This centralizing movement of aisles and columns

enveloping the nave on three sides is taken up in the galleries. It is reinforced by the windows of the clerestory which form a four-sided band continued by the two windows at either end of the absidal, now the triumphal arch. The centralized quality of the nave encircling the tomb could not be more strongly stressed. Even the display of the columns and capitals, spoils though they are in their majority, is focussed on the tomb and its background: the columns of green marble in the gallery, facing the tomb; the Victory-and-trophy capitals and the high ornamented dadoes marking the columns on either side right behind the tomb; finally, in the gallery zone, the corresponding columns with spirally fluted shafts and composite capitals. Singled out from the rest, these last columns preceding the opening of the apse, lead the eye on to the mosaic on the face of the absidal, now the triumphal arch, high above and behind the tomb; finally to whatever decoration, figural or other, was displayed in the half-dome of the apse.

Whether or not the tomb of the Saint was also the site of the altar remains an open question. It is, possible that the altar was placed close to the monument, adjoining it either west or east or that, indeed, the top of the monument served as altar. In any event, it is unlikely that the altar rose in the apse: its level, equal to that of the nave, makes such a position for the altar as improbable as the presence of the *fenestella* which suggests pilgrims crowding into the narrow space of the apse.

#### IV. Decoration and lighting.

The marble revetment of the apse, fragmentary though it is, and the mosaic on the face of the absidal arch, Christ enthroned and flanked by Peter and Paul, Lawrence and Stephen, Hippolytus and Pope Pelagius are the only remnants of the early Christian, and perhaps medieval decoration preserved<sup>1</sup>. Fragments of pavement mosaics, very different from one another in design and thus possibly marking individual tombs, were noted in the aisles by Vespignani (fig. 27, 47). The apse vault, too, must have borne a mosaic, but design and subject matter remain unknown. It may have incorporated along its bottom and divided possibly into three columns of four lines each,<sup>2</sup> the dedicatory inscription of Pelagius (known, one recalls, only from the Würzburg sylloge and placed wrongly in Vespignani's restoration above the mosaic of the triumphal arch on the XIII and XIX century brick strip). It is, however, equally possible that the original inscription ran above the apse windows below the springing of the half dome and its cornice. Above the inscription, filling the greater part of or (if the inscription ran below the cornice) the entire half dome, one would expect some figural decoration. Indeed, Duchesne has pointed out that the mosaic on the face of the triumphal arch, Christ flanked by saints, is a subject customarily reserved to an apse; hence, he concluded that a mosaic of greater importance (and, he surmised erroneously, of greater, Constantinian age) occupied the apse vault. The question of what this mosaic represented must be left open; possibly it was simply a jewelled cross, on a blue or golden ground.

The effect of the mosaics glimmering over the tomb and of the marble columns and the marble revetment forming its foil and encircling it, becomes intelligible only when seen in connection with the lighting of the East basilica. Daylight entered only through the clerestorey windows. Thus only the nave was well-lit, and it was only from there that aisles and galleries, both windowless,

(1) BALDASS, *op. cit.*, attributes only the figures of St. Lawrence and Pelagius to the original VI century mosaic; the head of St. Hippolytus he assigns to a restoration of the VII-IX centuries, the other figures to repairs about 1100.

(2) DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 157, note 9.



received indirect light. (What little light entered the south aisle and the galleries through their entrance openings may easily be discounted). They formed, as it were, dark bands enveloping the nave and contrasting with the four-sided band of windows higher up. Curtains in the intercolumniations, such as those donated in the VIII and IX centuries<sup>1</sup> would further increase the contrast between the dim outer zone of aisles and galleries and the lighted inner zone of the nave. This outer zone was continued on its fourth side by the still darker zone of the underground area behind the apse. Visible through the apse windows, whether two or four, this cave chapel would receive daylight only from these windows, their one function being just that (fig. 122). On the other hand, this area must have been lit by lamps day and night. Thus the contrast between the clear daylight in the nave, the dim light in aisles and galleries, and the flickering lamp light visible behind the apse must have been as remarkable as the integration of all these zones by artificial light during night services.

#### v. Entrances and site.

Only one entrance gave access from the outside to the ground floor of the East basilica, the huge arch in the flank of the south aisle. The two arches, one at the western end of either aisle, were primarily exits leading from the basilica into the underground area behind. On the other hand, the galleries had their own entrances. They were inaccessible one recalls, from the ground floor. Two, at the east end of the north and south galleries respectively, are well preserved; they led to the top of the hill enclosing the church from the west, above the tufa ceiling of the cave chapel underground. One would presume, that other entrances opened from the east gallery, either its center part or the corner bays, onto the eastern part of the hill.

These entrances, more than anything else, clarify the position of the East basilica in its relationship to the site and the pre-existing constructions (fig. 121). The large entrance arch in the south aisle, nearly 4 m wide, was obviously intended to admit large crowds of visitors coming from that direction. Indeed, its axis runs parallel to, and about five meters east of the facade of the huge basilica in the Verano plain. A plaza-like road in front of that facade, as it may be assumed to have existed, would have led straight towards the south entrance of the East basilica. The two structures thus formed a kind of double sanctuary; the huge building on the Verano not containing the venerated tomb of the Saint, but crowded by the graves of faithful and surrounded by their mausolea, and the smaller, but more precious East basilica, the shrine church sheltering the tomb of Saint Lawrence. Whether or not the two buildings were linked by a portico so that they really "hung together"<sup>2</sup>, must remain undetermined. But certainly the coupling into a joint sanctuary of the two churches, as independent architecturally as interdependent in their function, tallies with the descriptions given shortly after the building of the East basilica by the pilgrim guides<sup>3</sup>. One even tends to wonder whether the dedications of the two churches of this double sanctuary, as documented since the VIII century, the larger south church to the Virgin, the smaller north chapel to the martyr, Saint Lawrence, corresponds only by chance to the dedications customary in double cathedrals since the V century<sup>4</sup>.

(1) See above, pp. 12 f., dig. 772-795, 795-816, 847-855.

(2) See above, p. 12, dig. 772-795.

(3) See above, p. 11, dig. 625-638, 635-642, 648-682.

(4) R. KRAUTHEIMER, "Die Doppelkathedrale von Pavia" in: R. SALOMON, *Opicinus de Canistris*, (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, I), London 1936, pp. 323 ff.; A. DE CAPITANI D'ARZAGO, *Architettura dei secoli quarto e quinto in Alta Italia*, Milano (1944), pp. 94 ff.; J. HUBERT, "Les cathédrales doubles et l'histoire de la liturgie", *Atti del 1º Congresso internazionale di studi longobardi*, Spoleto 1952, pp. 167 ff.

On the other hand, this north church, the East basilica, was linked equally closely to the underground area inside the hill and behind its apse, the shrine of the unknown martyr in its cataract grave, and to the catacomb galleries extending north and east (fig. 122). The former was visible through the *fenestella* and the windows in the apse and accessible through the exits at the end of either aisle; thus, it formed an appendix to the East basilica, complementing its function, a large *retro sanctos*. The galleries of the catacomb were reached through exits in the north flanks of the East basilica and presumably of the underground area.

Normally, then, a pilgrim approaching the sanctuary from the city would walk through the covered portico coming from the *Porta Tiburtina*. He would reach the west end of the Verano basilica and enter through one of the openings in its ambulatory. Passing through the length of the church he might leave by the arcade in its east facade. On the plaza in front he might turn north and enter the East basilica through the south aisle. He would venerate the tomb and might afterwards pass into the underground area to offer his prayers at the cataract grave. Finally, he might visit the catacomb galleries and leave either by retracing his steps or by finding his way to one of the exits of the catacomb farther north or east (pl. II; fig. 121).

Access to and exit from the galleries, on the other hand, was entirely independent from this route. Visitors could reach them from the hill, either the Pincetto to the east or the hill to the west, without a long detour, but after entering, they could only look down on the tomb, not approach it. Thus, the galleries would accommodate either an overflow of pilgrims or such among the faithful who came to attend services rather than embark on a pilgrimage.

## VI. Exterior.

Embedded as it was into the hill, the East basilica was visible in its full height from the outside only where the entrance arch opened in its south flank. Otherwise its ground floor was hidden by the surrounding rock, certainly west, north and east, but probably also south, at least in large part. Only the gallery floor, the upper portion of the apse and its roof, and the clerestory of the nave and of the east gallery emerged from the rock, thus presenting to the casual visitor the silhouette of an ordinary basilica without galleries, perched on top of the hill.

### e) AFTER THE BUILDING OF THE EAST BASILICA

#### 1. First changes up to 800.

α) *The East basilica*. The raising of the apse floor by about 30 cm. and the laying in it of a pavement with a hexagonal pattern have little significance architecturally, but they suggest possibly that at this point an altar was placed in the apse.

β) *The underground area*. The underground area, likewise, can be easily visualized. Neither the reconstruction of a flagstone pavement, nor of the tufa piers that possibly supported its ceiling, nor of the expansion by chapels on either side, encounter any difficulty (fig. 122).

γ) *The area sub divo*. Of greater importance are the changes that affected the site extending on the hill above the underground area and behind the upper portions of the apse of the East basilica. The walls I 1 and I 2, indeed, beyond regularizing the side walls of the underground area, rose above the level of the hill. More important, they possibly linked the East basilica to the older

wall which, placed above the underground walls *D*<sub>1-6</sub>, presumably rose on top of the hill and terminated there an *area sub divo* focused, we assume, on an altar placed perpendicularly above the cataract-tomb. Also, the walls *I*<sub>1</sub> and *I*<sub>2</sub> seem to have carried roofs: either a single lean-to roof spanning the entire site and suggesting that the tufa ceiling of the underground area had collapsed, or the roofs of two porticoes extending west from the exits at the west end of either gallery. In either case, it becomes clear that the East basilica became the starting point for westward expansions.

δ) *Decoration*. The murals in the north chapel of the underground area (and possibly those in the niche of the south corner bay in the East basilica, fig. 48)<sup>1</sup> assist us in visualizing the complex further, dominated by the more somber colors of the fresco painting rather than by the glimmer of mosaics.

## II. Later changes.

The regularization of the underground area and, more important, its fusion with the East basilica, jointly with the westward expansion of the latter, become the guiding principles of all later changes prior to the building of the West basilica. Three successive states of the building can be easily reconstructed.

α) *Apse K*. The outstanding element in the first phase is the construction of the lower portions of apse *K*. Slightly later, four masonry piers were set up in the center of the underground area, rising from a new floor and connected by screens. Thus an enclosure was set off immediately adjoining the apex of the apse of the East basilica. The raising of the floor inside the apse, far above the level either of its nave or of the underground area, with stairs ascending from the nave to the apse and descending from there to the underground area, completes the picture (fig. 73). Apse *H* has been turned into a dominating factor of the design; below it lie, on one side the tomb of Saint Lawrence, on the other the enclosure inside the underground area. This latter, through the building of apse *K*, has taken on the features of a regular carolingian *retro-chapel*<sup>2</sup>.

β) *Hall crypt and upper chancel*. The substitution of a vaulted hall crypt for the underground area was accompanied by the building of an upper structure behind the apse *H* of the East basilica, extending west as far as and terminated by apse *K*. Two reconstructions are possible. Either the upper parts of apse *H* were razed — in that case the structure above the crypt formed a transept preceding apse *K* (WF) — or else apse *H* remained standing, in which case the structure behind it, including apse *K*, was a retrochoir (RK). In either case, but more in the former, the incorporation of the rear parts into the East basilica and its westward expansions become clear.

γ) *Apse O and tumulus*. A third state of the construction (fig. 85) is marked by the rebuilding of apse *K* in its upper portions, *O*<sub>12</sub>: the placing, in front, of a short chancel enclosing a *tumulus*, set vertically above the old cataract tomb *t*, and presumably an altar; the enlargement, possibly as an afterthought, of the *tumulus*, and the placing over it of the canopy donated in 1148 by abbot Hugo; finally, further east, the setting up on top of the remnants of the apse of the East basilica

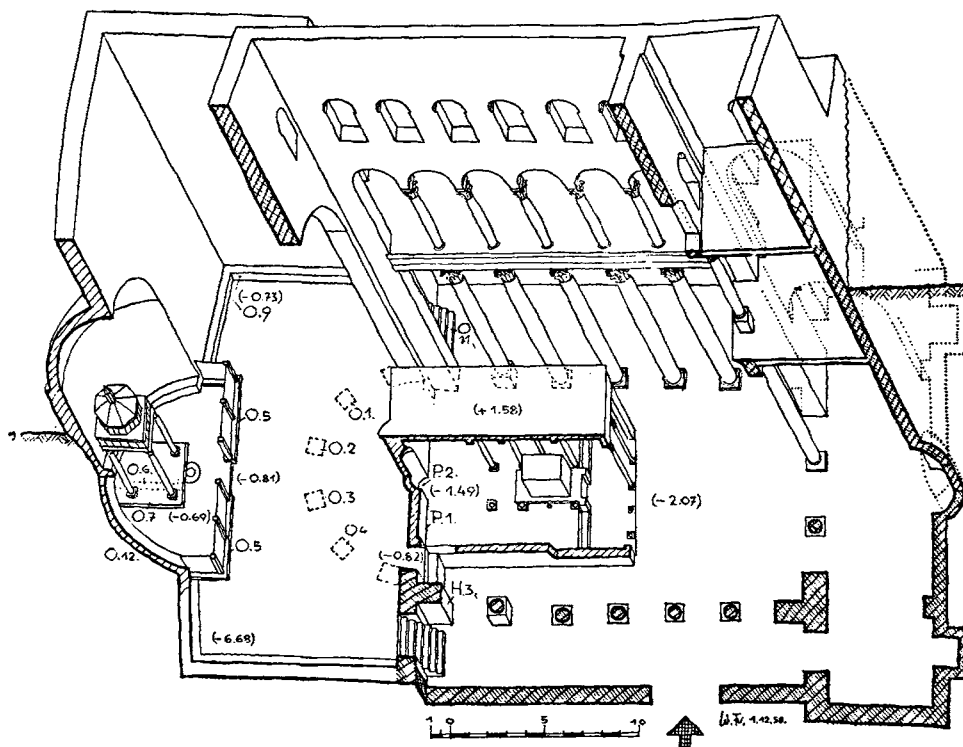
(1) See above, p. 62.

(2) See below, p. 144.

*H* of a screen of four piers, *O* 1-4. They may have carried five arches or else an architrave. If the upper portions of apse *H* had not been razed previously, these arches (or the architrave) may have still carried the original half dome. More likely this latter had been replaced by a half-conical timber roof, or else the piers surmounted by their arches or architrave may have stood free without supporting any superstructure.

In any case, the retrochoir or transept extending west of the East basilica had now become part and parcel of this latter. The screen of piers placed atop its former apse *H* opened into the western parts just as the arcade at the east end of the chevet opens into the ambulatory of a French Romanesque or Gothic church.

δ) *The last phase before the building of the West basilica* (fig. 123). The western retrochoir was even more closely fused with the East basilica when in a final operation the pier screen *O* 1-4 was



razed and, on the upper level, in front of apse *O* 12 and its short chancel, a long chancel was pushed forward, its access right under the absidal arch of Pelagius II and thus at the very top of the steps which from the East nave ascended to the higher level of the choir. Simultaneously, we think, the wall *P* 1-2 was set up at the foot of the arch of Pelagius II. It served a threefold purpose: as a retaining wall for the fill below the high choir; as support for stairs which on either side must have ascended to the higher level; finally, as witnesses the niche *P* 2 in its center, as a backdrop for the tomb of Saint Lawrence far west in the nave of the East basilica.

The tomb, indeed, at this point, must have undergone a thorough remodelling. Columns were set up along its flanks to carry a ceiling which would have projected eastward from the level of the high choir, forming a kind of columns baldachin. East of the tomb, on the level of the East basilica four slender columns may have formed a pergola. Only in a second building operation was the monument-block proper remodelled by surrounding it with a high socle and decorating it with mosaic inlay. This decoration was financed by Cencius Savelli.

We conclude this section with a descriptive reconstruction of the church at that time, that is about 1200, shortly before the West basilica was begun. The visitor, as a rule, would still approach the building from the south, branching off the Via Tiburtina and walking past the ruins of the Verano basilica. Entering the East basilica by the huge arch in its south flank, he gained its south aisle and from there its nave. Near the end of the nave rose the sarcophagus block of Saint Lawrence below the projecting columns baldacchin, to be decorated slightly later by Cencius Savelli. Its top served as an altar mensa or else it had an altar attached to it. Behind the monument a flight of steps ascended to the upper level of the high choir. Indeed, the last vestiges of the old apse *H* of the East basilica had disappeared with the removal of the pier screen *O* 1-4 which an earlier rebuilding had planted on its curve. Thus, what formerly had been a retrochoir or transept concealed by that screen, had become a regular high choir, visible from the nave. Concomitantly, the arch of Pelagius II, no longer the face of an apse, had become a triumphal arch separating the lower East nave from the upper choir. Set on that upper level, the visitor saw the new, long chancel and far back, the canopy of 1148, the altar beneath, and the terminating apse *O* 12 (fig. 123).

The co-existence of the two altars, the one on the tomb of Saint Lawrence, the other on the upper choir, reflects a dichotomy of cult centers which from the outset had marked the situation at

The floor of the transept, the remnants of the base *O* 6-*O* 7 and the steps *O* 11 ascending from the east nave were found *in situ* in 1947-49.

3. The wall *P* 1 projects with two pilasters towards the east nave. These pilasters could possibly indicate the position of the side walls of a crypt-like structure erected over the tomb of St. Lawrence. Such walls could have been either closed or open. They might have been opened either by windows, or they might have consisted of piers and columns surmounted by architraves or arches. The front wall towards the east nave may have been open and supported by the four slender columns shown in two of Vespignani's drawings (*Racc. Lanciani*, 31712 (fig. 26), 31780).

4. When the west nave was built and the chancel inserted into the east nave, the canopy of 1148 must have been removed and placed over the tomb of St. Lawrence. It is unlikely that this was done immediately. The crypt over the tomb is earlier than the canopy surmounting it; otherwise, the columns above would correspond to those underneath. Given the time lag, either 1) the crypt had been built before the raising of the chancel, the canopy having been placed over it at the time of the elevation, or 2) the crypt was built during the raising of the chancel, the decision to maintain the canopy being made after the crypt was finished.

5. Presuming that this reconstruction corresponds approximately to the situation prior to the building of the West church, the reasons for this new building campaign are as follows. The tomb of St. Lawrence and its sheltering crypt-like enclosure occupied half the east nave. This was suitable and normal as long as the East basilica served primarily to house the tomb. The idea of adding a transept may have arisen after the *basilica maior* on the Verano was no longer in use and Mass had to be celebrated in the East basilica, with the clergy occupying the transept, the worshippers the nave and the galleries.

When the crypt below the transept had collapsed and the new floor was laid at a lower level, clergy and worshippers were completely separated. At the same time the new liturgical requirements demanded the placing of the altar over the tomb of the Saint. Thus it was a brilliant and audacious idea to use the existing ceiling of the tomb as a starting point, placing the new chancel at that level and adding to the west a large new nave for the congregation. At the same time, the cataract and the well above were abandoned as a cult center.

The building of the new nave also made it easier to reach the church from the Via Tiburtina. This is a familiar argument, but it is probably worth repeating. (W F).

S. Lorenzo f.l.m. The catacomb, as early as the IV century had sheltered the tomb of Saint Lawrence and, distinct from it, the cataract-tomb of an unknown martyr in the L-chamber. In the VI and VII centuries this dichotomy had become apparent in the distinction of, on one hand the East basilica focussed on the tomb of Saint Lawrence, on the other the underground area to the west and, perhaps, the area *sub divo*, above on the hill. Around 1200, the same conflict still survives: the tomb-monument of Saint Lawrence at the end of the nave, claims a dominant position within the East church; but high above it, raised on the upper level, rise the canopy and its altar above the tumulus which in turn is placed vertically above the IV century cataract-tomb. Only the building of the West basilica eliminated this second cult center.

The construction of the West basilica was undoubtedly caused by the desire to normalize the situation. The church now became accessible directly from the Via Tiburtina, it had a regular nave and, through the insertion of a chancel into the East basilica, a regular chancel; and it had one single cult center, the tomb of Saint Lawrence, in its own crypt. The old dichotomy was finally done away with.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

Combining the results of the structural analysis of the extant buildings and the finds made during the various excavations extending from 1863 to 1957, the historical references to the buildings at S. Lorenzo should fall into place within an acceptable chronology.

The documents say nothing regarding the history of the site prior to Constantine, aside from the fact that Saint Lawrence suffered martyrdom in 258 during the persecution of Valerian and was buried in a catacomb on the Via Tiburtina. When this catacomb was first started, is uncertain; but it does not seem unreasonable to assign its beginnings with other cemeteries of the Roman community to the late II century. It may have been laid out on the estate of a Christian family. The estate, by 300 owned by one Cyriaca, was apparently confiscated under Diocletian, “... *possessio cuiusdam Cyriacae religiosae feminae quod fiscus occupaverat tempore persecutionis...*”, and returned by Constantine to the Christian community of the city<sup>1</sup>.

The sources become more explicit only with the IV century. By the middle of that century a cult center existed at the tomb of the Saint, as proved by the reference to his festival on August 10 in the *Depositio martyrum*. Based presumably on early IV century documents, the biography of Pope Sylvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* describes this cult center “on the Agro Verano” as composed of three distinct elements: the tomb of the Saint inside the catacomb; two flights of stairs, one ascending, the other descending to the tomb; finally, a basilica. The building of the latter and of the stairs as well as the decoration of the tomb, its enclosure with an apse, and the gift of two huge candlesticks *ante corpus*, are all attributed to Constantine. But obviously this statement of the VI century compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* need not be taken at face value.

Indeed the reliability of these historical data and their correspondence with the finds of recent years require some discussion. The compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis*, in attributing to Constantine church foundations and donations, no doubt based himself frequently on genuine documents preserved in the papal archives. However this did not prevent him from attributing to the first Christian emperor either slightly later buildings erected possibly by his sons or by other members of the imperial family or crediting him with constructions which he merely decorated or altered. Both possibilities must be envisaged with regard to the complex at San Lorenzo f.l.m.

(1) L. P. I, 182. Regarding the hypothesis of this restitution, see G. BOVINI, *La proprietà ecclesiastica e la condizione giuridica della Chiesa in età precostantiniana*, Milan 1949, pp. 90 ff.

Parts of the oldest catacomb on the site may have survived in the remnants of the *arenarium*-catacomb *g* 1-6. However it is not certain that this first system existed unaltered either by the time Saint Lawrence was buried in 258 or when Constantine after 314 made his donations and built the apse behind the tomb of the Saint. The system *A* 1-19, as one remembers, cuts across the older *arenarium*-catacomb and the observer is tempted to link to Constantine's building activity this lavish system, including as it does the L-chamber, the gallery *A* 4-15 and the room to the east, be it a small *cubiculum* or a large chamber extending to or possibly enclosing the tomb of the Saint. But the possibility should at least be considered that the *A*-system dates prior to Constantine, either before 314 or indeed before 258.

The dating of the *A*-system must rest on two criteria: its planning and the masonry technique. The planning at first glance suggests a Constantinian origin (RK). The layout is lavish in every respect, in size as well as in the handling of the walls set with deep niches, designed to hold huge lighting fixtures such as those described among Constantine's gifts. Everything suggests an affluent donor, either the Emperor or a member of his family; one would not expect such lavishness in a catacomb laid out by the Christian community prior to the Peace of the Church or indeed prior to 258. Also the *A*-system seems to be clearly oriented towards the tomb of Saint Lawrence, and this would appear to be another argument in favor of a date coinciding with the constructions which the *Liber Pontificalis* attributed to the Emperor. On the other hand (WF), monumentally planned constructions do occur in Roman catacombs sometimes as early as the III century: the "Capella Greca" complex in the Priscilla catacomb is one example, the burial chamber of the popes in the Callisto catacomb another. The orientation of the *A*-system towards the tomb of the Saint also could be explained at an early date: one might assume that it was laid out after 258 when the veneration of the martyr had already started, but still prior to Constantine; or else one might assume that the martyr was buried within the existing system *A* 1-19 which then would necessarily date even prior to 258.

The masonry technique equally leaves us in some doubt. The very regular *opus listatum* could suggest an early date (fig. 58). Tufa blocks like those in the *A*-system, cut with a saw rather than with a hammer, and low *moduli*, one tufa block, one brick and two mortar beds averaging 130 mm, mark structures dating perhaps as early as the first third of the III century: parts of the Villa dei Sette Bassi<sup>1</sup>; parts of the barracks of the *equites singulares* below San Giovanni in Laterano; parts of the Priscilla catacomb near the "Cappella Greca". Certainly the *opus listatum* of the *A*-system differs from the type used in the possibly late Constantinian foundation walls of the Lateran basilica, in the post-Constantinian foundations of the nave of Saint Peter's, in the upper walls of San Sebastiano and in those of the *Coemeterium Agnetis* where the tufa blocks are more irregular in shape, sometimes simply chunks and where the *moduli* tend to be slightly higher. On the other hand, the masonry of the *A*-system does not really correspond to early III century examples either. The tufa blocks are not quite as regular, the corners are as a rule rounded and not necessarily cut with a saw. On the whole the *opus listatum* of the *A*-system seems quite similar to that employed in the circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia and in the Maxentius basilica.

System *A* then might possibly be early Constantinian (RK) or it might antedate Constantine (WF). If an early Constantinian date be accepted, the layout with the L-chamber at its western end and the straight corridor leading towards the tomb of the Saint, might well connect with the work undertaken and the gifts deposited near the tomb by Constantine. Accepting an

(1) LUGLI, *Tecnica muraria...*, p. 652.

earlier date one would have to assume that at the time the *Liber Pontificalis* was compiled, tradition attributed to Constantine constructions laid out before his time and merely altered by him.

A Constantinian date for system *A* is further suggested by its slightly later enlargement through the galleries branching off northward, *B* 1-4. Their masonry technique (fig. 64) is reminiscent of that used near the mid-IV century in the foundation walls of the nave of Old St. Peter's, at S. Giovanni in Laterano and in similar structures<sup>1</sup>.

The original function of the L-chamber is *a priori* not clear. At the outset it did not contain any important tomb. Rather the impression is that it was a hall linked to the tomb of the Saint by means of the gallery *A* 4-15. Only in a second period — though still before the mid-IV century (if indeed the *Quintiana* epitaph dates from that time) — was it changed into a regular tomb chamber containing mensa tombs and sarcophagi, and finally into a secondary sanctuary by inserting into it tomb *t* and still slightly later the surmounting cataract. The identity of the venerated martyr remains so far unknown; but from the VII century on the tomb was apparently connected with the martyrs Abundius and Ireneus whose cubiculum was located "outside the basilica to the west"<sup>2</sup>.

The *basilica* which the *Liber Pontificalis* also attributes to the building activity of Constantine, remains nevertheless clearly distinct from these underground sanctuaries and their stairs of approach. Indeed, the VI century compiler of the biography of Sylvester appears to have known two distinct lists of donations, one deposited at the tomb "*ante locum in crypta*" or "*ante corpus*", the other apparently in the basilica. This second list begins with a new sentence "*Donum quod obtulit*": it lists thirty large chandeliers, far too many for the apse in the catacomb; and it contains a large number of sacred vessels, as they usually serve for celebrating Mass. Yet neither the *Liber Pontificalis* nor any other source indicate the location of this basilica or its exact relation to the catacomb. To be sure, the *Liber Pontificalis* states that it was built *supra arenarium cryptae*, and this has been interpreted to mean that it rose on top of that portion of the hill which still houses part of the catacomb; either to the east, perpendicularly over the site of the Pelagian basilica or else further west on the part of the hill which later gave way to the Honorian structure. Yet it must be remembered that the catacomb extends far, also southwest and south where its galleries have been encountered on the *piazzale* and on the Verano cemetery. Moreover the reading *supra arenarium cryptae*, above the sandpit of the catacomb, is not entirely certain; some manuscripts read *sub arenario cryptae*, and thus suggest that the basilica attributed to Constantine rose at the foot of the hill within which the catacomb extends. Indeed everything suggests that the basilica which the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Constantine should be identified with the large structure on the Verano south, at the foot of the catacomb hill. None of the sources prior to the VII century mention more than one basilica near the tomb of the Saint, and it is out of the question that a structure the size of the Verano building should have been passed over in silence. On the other hand, the masonry of the basilica on the Verano definitely suggests a IV century date. Hence we incline towards identifying the newly discovered Verano structure with the basilica which the compiler of the biography of Sylvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* attributed to Constantine, together with the systematization of the tomb of Saint Lawrence in the catacomb. To be sure this statement of the VI century compiler need not be taken *verbatim*: the lay-out in the catacomb, system *A* 1-19, might well be early Constantinian, while the building of and the donations to the basilica might date from the late

(1) DEICHMANN, "Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena", *Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.* 72 (1957), p. 95, takes up a doubt I used to have (KRAUTHEIMER-JOSI-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 1) but have no longer regarding the authenticity of the passage *L. P.* I, 181 f., which describes Constantine's building activity at the tomb of Saint Lawrence. He cautiously suggests the possibility that extensive work there took place only under Damasus or even under Sixtus III.

(2) See above, p. 11, dig. 625-638, 638-642.



years of his reign or even from that of his sons. In any event, the sources since the last third of the IV century suggest the existence near the tomb of Saint Lawrence of a basilica. In the first place, the *Vita S. Melaniae Junioris* in reporting events from the years 397-400, distinguishes as existing at that very time the martyrium of the Saint sheltering his tomb and his basilica. Again the inscription of the presbyter Leopardus about 400 *in basilica Laurentii circa chorum* speaks of the decoration of the walls and presumably the apse of a building already in existence. Coinciding with this, the site of the Verano structure and its immediate neighborhood has, since 1863, yielded large numbers of sarcophagi and of funeral and other inscriptions, dating from the latter IV through the V centuries and presumably coming from the Verano basilica<sup>1</sup>. Among them are a number of fragments in Philocalian lettering, a strong indication that in the last third of the IV century the structure was in use; that, in short, this is the *basilica maior* of the Lucillus Pelio and the later anonymous epitaph (fig. 91, 92), that is, the "huge basilica" in contrast to the small underground shrine of the saint.

The basilica, in any event, became a second focus on the site, rivaling the center inside the hill around the tomb. Hence a number of mausolea arose close to it, some independent, others opening from the walls of the huge structure; the building technique of these latter tallies with known constructions of the later IV and the V centuries.

Neither archaeological nor documentary evidence furnishes any clue regarding the date of the *porticus* which led from the city gate, the *porta Tiburtina*, to the sanctuary. To be sure, it is mentioned first in the VIII century<sup>2</sup>; but the parallels of the V century porticoes leading to St. Peter's and St. Paul's outside the walls, suggest a corresponding date also for the one at S. Lorenzo.

Tomb and basilica remain distinct in the documents throughout the one and one-half centuries from the pontificate of Sixtus III to that of Pelagius II: the basilica continues to be known to the *Liber Pontificalis* as "*basilica beati Laurenti*"<sup>3</sup>, in inscriptions as *basilica maior* or *maxior* (figs. 91, 92). It remains the only large church building mentioned on the site and the large number of lighting fixtures bestowed on it by Pope Hilarius testifies to its size. At the same time, some of the tomb chapels adjoining it or nearby, may have taken on a new function: the chapel of the Bishop Leo near the east end of the basilica was rededicated as the oratory of St. Stephen<sup>4</sup> whose cult from now on intertwines with that of Saint Lawrence. Further south, apparently at some greater distance but still "*iuxta basilicam sancti Laurenti*", rose at the end of the V century the church of Saint Agapit<sup>5</sup>.

The catacomb, during the V century, like the *basilica maior* and its neighborhood, grew ever more in importance. The immediate neighborhood of the tomb of Saint Lawrence between 418 and 468 became apparently a favorite papal burial ground<sup>6</sup>: three out of six popes who died during these decades were buried there. The tomb was redecorated at least twice and gifts were showered upon it and its altar<sup>7</sup>. Indeed by the late IV century or even earlier an altar had been placed over the tomb of the Saint, and this altar, its chancel screen and the tomb (*confessio*) were decorated by Sixtus with porphyry slabs and silver railings. The apse of the IV century still rose over the se railings<sup>8</sup>.

(1) See above, pp. 7 ff., digs. 366-384, 405, 406, V cent., 434, 464, 483; see also fig. 114.

(2) See above, p. 12, digs. 715-731, 772-795.

(3) See above, p. 9, digs. 461-468, 468-483.

(4) See above, pp. 7 ff., digs. after 384, 468-483, 772-795.

(5) See above, p. 9, dig. 483-492.

(6) See above, p. 8 f., digs. 418, 440, 468.

(7) See above, p. 9, digs. 432-440, 461-468, 496-498.

(8) See above, pp. 6, 9, digs. 314-335, 432-440.

Whether or not the area around the tomb had been enlarged meanwhile or was enlarged at that time, can obviously not be determined. That it was enlarged seems likely. After all, the area of and near the L-chamber, and of the gallery connecting that chamber and the tomb of Saint Lawrence underwent a series of alterations between its first construction and the building activity of Pelagius II in the late VI century. The insertion of tomb *t* and the surmounting cataract fall presumably still prior to the mid-IV century. Nothing so far permits us to date in its first phase the underground area, which replaces the L-chamber, either its terminating walls *D*<sub>1-6</sub> or, for that matter, the *area sub divo* which may have risen above that area. On the other hand, the walls *F*<sub>1-5</sub> which were later set up in the underground area to regulate the access to the tomb *t* and the cataract, may date after 500<sup>1</sup>. Hence the underground area (and the *area sub divo*) may both have been laid out some time in the V century. Its final enlargement, across the entire zone of the intermediate bays and eastward, can be assigned only the vaguest *terminus ante* or *ad*: the building of the East basilica under Pelagius II (579-590) presupposes either the existence or the simultaneous construction of this enlarged underground area. Whatever the respective dates, the successive changes prove that the area around tomb *t*, far to the west of the tomb of Saint Lawrence, in the course of the late IV, the V and VI centuries, developed into an ever more important underground sanctuary. They also suggest that similar alterations may have taken place around the principal cult center of the catacomb, the tomb of Saint Lawrence.

Indeed the V and VI centuries formed apparently a new climax in the cult of Saint Lawrence in Rome and, as a result, in the history of the construction near his tomb. Papal gifts of altar vessels to San Lorenzo are twice mentioned as equalling those made to St. Peter's and to St. Paul's outside the walls or to these two and to S. Maria Maggiore<sup>2</sup>. Whether these gifts to S. Lorenzo were intended for the altar of the basilica or the one at the tomb remains in doubt. But certainly from the time of Sixtus III until the VI and possibly the early VII centuries, the sanctuary on the Tiburtina ranked with those at the Vatican, on the Via Ostiensis and on the Esquiline. Apparently S. Lorenzo, like the martyria of St. Peter and St. Paul, was developing into one of the three or four great pilgrimage centers of Rome. Near the end of the century all three are endowed with hostels for the poor<sup>3</sup>. Possibly also in the interest of the pilgrims, turns of duty were established for the clergy at S. Lorenzo, Saint Paul's and Saint Peter's to take care of baptism and of the absolution of penitents, and baptismal vessels donated by Pope Hilarius<sup>4</sup>; but it is just as possible that these arrangements were to serve the needs of the suburban population in the vicinity. Indeed, some decades before, a monastery had been established near S. Lorenzo, along with a lavish pontifical manor house (*praetorium*).

Until the pontificate of Pelagius II, 579-590, the sanctuary on the Via Tiburtina consisted jointly of the large basilica on the Verano and of the underground areas inside the hill, one around the tomb of Saint Lawrence, the other in front of the cataract and the short western arm of the L-chamber. This situation changes with the building activity of Pelagius. His two dedicatory inscriptions, one along the rim of the triumphal arch, the other originally perhaps in the apse of the East basilica, leave no doubt that this basilica was erected by him. They also hint at the reasons which necessitated the new construction. For one, Pelagius' basilica eliminated the narrow approaches which so far had led to the venerated tomb, the *angustos aditus*, meaning the catacomb galleries and possibly an underground area. Secondly, it replaced them by a larger hall, a *largior aula*, capable of holding a sizeable congregation. Third, this hall was filled with light, instead of

(1) See above, p. 81.

(2) See above, pp. 9 f., digs. 432-440, 523-526.

(3) See above, p. 9, dig. 498-514.

(4) See above, p. 9, dig. 468-483.

being a hiding-place of darkness — and indeed not only is the Pelagius church flooded with light through windows in its clerestory, but two or four windows in its apse shed light into the underground area in front of the cataract. All this had been brought about by cutting the hill and creating below, *sub monte reciso*, a level surface, *planities*. At the same time this heavy work, *gravis moles*, had eliminated a grave threat apparently to the tomb of the Saint and its surroundings inside the hill. Pope Gregory's letter further clarifies what had happened<sup>1</sup>. The exact location of the tomb in Pelagius' time could no longer be established, and the workmen had to dig for it; presumably then, it was buried under a landslide. One would assume that part of the hill above the tomb had collapsed as a result of hollowing into it a large underground area, comparable to the one in front of the cataract. In order to save the tomb, that part of the hill was cut into and *sub monte reciso*, the new church was built on the level of the tomb, into the hill which, one recalls, until 1857, enclosed it east and north, while to the west it remained untouched until the West basilica was built in the XII and XIII centuries. Only to the south where the hill fell steep down towards the Verano and the *basilica maior*, was the ground level or nearly level with the floor of the Pelagius church. Hence it seems likely that the church was driven into the hill sideways, from the south. Only from this flank was its ground floor possibly directly accessible, while the galleries could be reached through the arches opening on to the west part of the hill and, perhaps through other entrances leading from the east hill into the east gallery.

The East basilica tallies with the tradition of other VI and VII century catacomb churches in Rome and the dedicatory inscription of Pelagius II, in conjunction with his mosaic on the triumphal arch leaves little room for doubt regarding the date of its construction under his pontificate, 579-590. True, the building contains a few *pentimenti*, additions and changes made while construction was in progress or shortly after it was completed. It also contains some elements of early rather than late VI century date. The capitals in the east gallery of the narthex certainly date from the second half of the V century<sup>2</sup> and the dadoes both in this gallery and under the two westernmost columns of the nave, while certainly VI century, need not be as late as the last quarter. It is even possible that the entire walls of the aisles, the galleries and apse *H*, together with the piers at either end of the upper and lower colonnades, belong to a first building period, while the walls of the clerestory and over the triumphal arch, with their lighter and less careful masonry were constructed later. The continuation of the clerestory walls on three sides of the narthex may possibly have been an afterthought. Thus the possibility arises that the building was begun before Pelagius II and only completed during his pontificate. But it is more likely that the entire structure was begun and completed, though perhaps with an interruption and somewhat hastily at his time. The use of a few V or early VI century among so many classical spoils is not to be wondered at.

The underground area behind the apse of the East basilica, needless to say, remained intact. But rather than being a secondary, independent focus of the catacomb system inside the hill, it was turned into a *retro sanctos* appended to the East basilica. Still, the cataract would seem to have retained the connotations of an independent cult center.

Indeed, it is shortly after Pelagius' building activity that the cult of Abundius and Irenaeus was ever more stressed at the sanctuary on the Tiburtina and one wonders whether per chance the name of St. Abundius, "who was thrown into a well..." was not attached to the cataract over tomb *t* which had meanwhile been turned into a well.

The sanctuary on the Tiburtina after the construction of the East basilica consisted thus of three main elements: the building on the Verano, that is the *basilica maior*; the new basilica of Pela-

(1) See above, pp. 10 f., dig. 594.

(2) See above, p. 53, note 2.

gius; finally, the underground area, that is, the *retro sanctos* behind and communicating with the apse of the East basilica. This is exactly the situation which is described by the pilgrim guides during the VII century and which, indeed, continued unchanged through at least the middle of the IX century. The VII century itineraries all coincide in describing two basilicas of Saint Lawrence on the Tiburtina, both large. But while the one where he rests is described as being "new and more beautiful", the other remains known as the *maior*<sup>1</sup>.

This distinction corresponds to the differences in decoration and size between the new East basilica of Pelagius II and the older basilica *maior* on the Verano. The *retro sanctos*, too, is possibly alluded to in at least one of these guides, "the small *cubiculum* (to the west) where Abundius and Herenius are laid to rest...". The co-existence of these three constructions, Pelagius' church, *basilica maior*, and *retro sanctos*, and of the various martyrs buried there and in the galleries of the catacomb was obviously bound to confuse the more naïve. Hence, one of the itineraries tries to explain the situation by suggesting that Saint Lawrence had originally been buried in the *basilica maior*, while other guides place into it, the "*altera ecclesia sursum*", the tombs of Cyriaca, Justinus, Crescentius and other martyrs. Confusion regarding the meaning of the *basilica maior* was indeed bound to arise at that point. Its original function as a huge graveyard and possibly funeral banquet basilica had been forgotten: *refrigeria*, long combatted by some church leaders, had gone out of fashion in the V century; tombs had completely filled the floor of the structure, thus apparently precluding further burials. On the other hand, the construction of the Pelagian East basilica robbed the basilica on the Verano of its privileged position as the only structure of the sanctuary complex where services could be held for large congregations. Hence, the attempts of the pilgrim guides to locate in the *maior* burial places of martyrs; hence also, possibly a certain neglect of the structure.

On the contrary, the *retro sanctos* behind the Pelagian apse retained or increased its importance. Though not supported by documents, alterations and redecorations continued, apparently, through the VII and at least the first half of the VIII century. The raising above its north and south tufa boundaries of masonry walls (I 1-2) resembling those of the East basilica might date from the early VII century as does, apparently, the long indecipherable inscription painted on the outside wall of apse H. Of the two layers of frescoes in the north chapel H 9 of the area only the second can be dated with greater accuracy. The crowned head of the first, lower layer recalls some of the murals in S. Maria Antiqua and thus would date from about 700. The upper layer, the work of the painter Crescentius, is close in style to the frescoes from the pontificate of Gregory III (731-741) in the annular crypt of the lower church of S. Crisogono.

By the early VIII century, indeed, interest must have been reawakened in the entire complex of buildings around S. Lorenzo. The first distinct reference to the nuns' congregation of S. Casiano, 708-715, is of lesser significance, since the convent may have been considerably older<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it is important to note the repairs which Gregory II (715-731) effected in the "church of S. Lorenzo", both on its roof and on the water main which fed the building since the early VI century. Pipes from this main were found, apparently, on the site of the Verano basilica<sup>3</sup>. Hence, the activity of Gregory II reported in the *Liber Pontificalis* apparently concerned the *basilica maior*, but he may just as well have been responsible for the second mural decoration of chapel H 9.

Beginning with Hadrian I, the complex of structures on the Tiburtina and the monasteries and

(1) See above, p. 11, digs. 635-638, 635-642, 648-682.

(2) FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 182 ff.

(3) See above, p. 10, dig. 523-526.

convents that serviced it, were again on the ascent. The period from the late VIII through the middle of the IX century, indeed, forms a third high point in the history of the site, after its second climax in the V century. The archaeological evidence is small, but the documents are numerous and explicit. The “*basilica maior beati Laurentii*”, specifically so termed, is being restored, apparently thoroughly (“*quae... isdem praesul construxerat*”) and its roof is renewed (“*tectum... qui distectus erat et trabes eius confracte, noviter fecit*”). It also receives two sets of sixty-five curtains each, apparently to fill its intercolumniations. More important, it is given a new function by being dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Simultaneously, the East basilica of Pelagius, now termed the “*basilica of Saint Lawrence where his body rests*” receives two sets of twenty or thirty curtains each<sup>1</sup>, aside from other textiles and from a golden relief attached to the tomb. Both basilicas are described as adjoining each other (“*basilica maior... qui aderat (or adhaeret) iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii... ubi eius sanctum corpus requiescit*” and “*basilicam sancti Laurentii ubi sanctum eius corpus quiescit adnexam basilicae maioris...*”)<sup>2</sup>.

Of greater importance is the remark that Hadrian repaired the East basilica hither and yonder “*ultra citroque*”. One would like to interpret it to refer to repairs both in the Pelagius church and in the *retro sanctos* and to attribute to Hadrian’s activity the building of apse *K* at the western end of the underground area. The use of the orthostate marble plaques, obviously taken from Roman buildings, in constructing that apse could possibly be likened to the frequent use in Hadrian I’s church buildings of travertine blocks removed from the Servian Wall. The comparison is too hazardous, however, to allow for determining the time when apse *K* was built. It seems safer to leave the date open.

No archaeological finds so far support the documentary evidence regarding repairs undertaken by Hadrian on the structures adjacent to the buildings of the sanctuary proper, such as the chapels of St. Stephen, formerly the mausoleum of bishop Leo, the church of St. Agapitus with its aisles and the portico extending from the city gate to the sanctuary complex. But this activity goes to confirm that the sanctuary was very much in the ascendancy. It apparently continues to flourish under Leo III and Gregory IV, as witness their donations. Like his predecessors, Leo IV made lavish donations: to the *basilica maior*, now the church of the Virgin Mary, he presented among other textiles and altar vessels, forty-five (or perhaps sixty-five) curtains<sup>3</sup>; to that of Saint Lawrence, that is the East basilica, twenty-four curtains “to hang between the large columns”, apparently those on either side of the nave. He also restored the portico in front of the former *basilica maior* “*porticum quae ante basilicam sanctae Dei genitricis consistit*”; given the site of the building on the Verano one is inclined to interpret this to refer to the portico which, coming from the city gate, terminated in front of the apse of the old *basilica maior*.

Documentary evidence regarding the complex of buildings on the Tiburtina after the middle of the IX century becomes increasingly rare. What little there is at that late date<sup>4</sup> — gifts of crosses and textiles, among them curtains for a ciborium, apparently of an altar — refers to only one church, the “*ecclesia (or basilica) beati Laurentii foris muros*”, apparently the East basilica. The *basilica maior*, from 772 to 855 known as the church of the Virgin Mary, is no longer mentioned. It need not have fallen suddenly into disuse; but one wonders whether the fire which damaged the one column base found *in situ* did occur at that time. In any event, as long as no contrary evidence turns up, the impression must prevail that after the middle of the IX century little importance was attached to the *basilica maior*.

(1) Twenty curtains would not fill the twice fifteen intercolumniations of its nave and one wonders whether the reading *XX* should perhaps be emendated into *XXX*.

(2) See above, p. 12, dig. 772-795.

(3) In view of the donation of 65 curtains by Hadrian I, it seems plausible to read also in the biography of Leo IV, *LXV* instead of *XLV*.

(4) See above, p. 13, digs. 855-858, 858-867.

On the contrary, the apse of the East basilica together with the adjoining *retrosanctos* continued to attract attention. Successive architectural changes bear evidence of the increasing stress placed on an ever closer connection between the apse of the East basilica and the underground area. The raising of the pavement in apse *H* to the level of the window sills and the building of stairs broken through its wall and descending into the underground area is the first of these changes. But it cannot be dated.

While later than apse *K* which may, but need not date from the late VIII century, it can be given only the vaguest *terminus post*. On the other hand, it can be assigned a safe *terminus ante* by the following building operations which must have started about 1100.

These next building operations comprise, to sum it up, the building in the underground area of the side walls *M* 1-2 north and south and the insertion into it of a vaulted crypt with a rich painted decoration; the building, after the collapse of the crypt, of a retrochoir or transept and apse, *O* 12, sheltering a *tumulus*, on the site of the underground area, but on the raised level of the apse of the East basilica; the enlargement of the *tumulus*; the setting up of a chevet of piers above the curve of the razed apse of the East basilica; finally, repairs in the east gallery of that basilica, including the substructures of its dividing arches. Technical, stylistic and documentary evidence jointly suggest that all these building operations, while no doubt successive, were concentrated in a period of roughly fifty years between the late XI and the middle of the XII centuries. The brick-tufa and travertine masonry of the side walls *M* 1-2 and of the repairs in the east gallery is frequently found in medieval constructions in Rome from at least the late XI through the late XII centuries: in the atrium of S. Clemente and in the foundations of the upper church, 1099-1128; in the blocking of the arcades of Sto. Stefano Rotondo, 1130-1143; at the same time, in the palace adjoining S. Maria in Cosmedin; finally, in the cloister of S. Lorenzo itself, 1189-1191. It is, in short, a customary type of masonry and might possibly date from the late XI century, but not much earlier. Similarly, the use of cane mats to cover the centering, as visible on the vault fragments from the crypt, was presumably customary for some time among masons in medieval Rome. Its appearance in the cloister of S. Lorenzo at the end of the XII century thus need not preclude an early XII or even late XI century date for the crypt. On the other hand, the mural decoration of the crypt recalling as it does the floral decoration of S. Croce in Gerusalemme<sup>1</sup>, points to a date not too far before the middle of the XII century. This date, however, can not be set too early either; for, of the two succeeding building operations, the construction of the retrochoir or transept with apse and *tumulus* and the enlargement of the *tumulus*, the latter dates presumably not after 1148 when the altar canopy was set up above. The setting-up of the chevet piers might possibly date somewhat later. In short, the four building operations may have rapidly succeeded one another.

The same quick succession of activities marks the remodeling of the building, shortly before and after 1200 by Honorius III, both prior to and after his election to the papacy and continuing, apparently, under his successors. Two projects follow each other. The first, dated after 1191 through the inscription of Cencius Cancellarius on the tomb of Saint Lawrence, comprises the remodeling of that tomb and the simultaneous destruction of the apse of the East basilica, *H*. It thus aimed, apparently, at extending the visible area of the East basilica uninterrupted to the western boundary of what had so far been a retrochoir and to turn its apse, *O* 12, into the main apse of Pelagius' building (fig. 123). This first was replaced by a more ambitious project when it was decided to raze the retrochoir and its apse and instead to build the present West basilica. The date

(1) WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, IV, pl. 250.

of this radical change in plan cannot be determined exactly. Any date between, say, 1195 and 1220 seems reasonable. Only this much is certain: the execution proceeded with several minor changes in the project, as apparent from the two sets of windows in the south aisle and reached a first termination with the addition of the west narthex to the completed facade. The date of the narthex is usually given as 1217, based on the representation in the frieze, of Honorius III and Pierre de Courtenay; but since the coronation of Pierre as Emperor of Constantinople was no doubt the most important event connected with the basilica under Honorius III, any date prior to the pope's death, 1226, seems reasonable for the building of the narthex. It is perhaps even worth considering a date shortly after Honorius' death. Certainly the termination of the eastern portions of his building program, the insertion of the chancel into Pelagius' nave were terminated much later, presumably only with the setting up of the choir screen, now the presbytery bench of the chancel, under Alexander IV, 1254.

The *basilica maior*, at the time of these building activities had long fallen into disuse. Its architraves and possibly its columns were pilfered for the construction of the nave of the West basilica. In fact, the decision to re-use these elements might explain some of the strange solutions which occur in this new construction particularly at the point where it was joined to the East basilica: the level, chosen arbitrarily 2.07 m above that of the East basilica; the difference in level between the springing of Pelagius' arch and the architrave of the West basilica; finally, the height assigned to the nave of that latter. The starting points of the design were apparently two: first, the decision to assign to the nave of the West basilica a roof level equal to that of the East basilica; second, the decision to re-use the columns of the *basilica maior*. Once these decisions were made, all the rest followed automatically.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

### 1. THE FOURTH CENTURY SANCTUARY

The IV century sanctuary on the Via Tiburtina consists of two elements, separate yet complementing each other: the underground shrine with its adjacent rooms and the *basilica maior*. Both singly and as a unit they fall into place within the picture of early Christian architecture in Rome as it has evolved in recent years. At the same time they are the most complete example so far known of their type.

(a) While the tomb chamber of Saint Lawrence and its precious furnishings can be envisaged only dimly from the few hints in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the L-chamber and the gallery of approach find their parallel in the more lavish tomb chambers of III and IV century catacombs. However, the lay-out as it can be reconstructed at S. Lorenzo appears to have been both more extensive in plan and more elegant in execution than any other underground sanctuary known so far.

(b) The *basilica maior* on the Verano with its aisles and ambulatory represents a building type on which attention has been focussed only recently. The plan resembles closely that of S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia <sup>1</sup>, of the huge building near Sta. Costanza, the so-called *coemeterium Agnetis* <sup>2</sup>, and of the church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro at Tor Pignattara, excavated in 1956 by

(1) See above, p. 118, note 1.

(2) *Ibid.*

Deichmann and von Tschira<sup>1</sup>. Considerably larger than S. Sebastiano, the basilica on the Verano approaches in size the one near S. Costanza. Thus it joins, as one more example, the group of basilicas with ambulatories, a type so far unknown or unheeded; also it adds some new features to our knowledge of the group. The system of supports, piers surmounted by arcades at S. Sebastiano, in the Verano basilica is formed by colonnades with architraves. (The type of supports both in the *coemeterium* Agnetis and in the basilica at Tor Pignattara remain unknown). Also the openings in the ambulatory wall of the Verano basilica are so far a unique element. But within the group, both these elements are apparently variations on a theme.

The basilica with ambulatory in the IV century is apparently a Roman type. The two Early Christian examples known so far outside Rome, Siaggu and the Asklepieion basilica in Miletus date from the V century. Within Rome, it is limited to churches *extra moenia* and linked to catacombs. Regarding its function a number of elements are apparent and become more so in the Verano basilica. For one, the tomb of the Saint or the comparable venerated spot is not contained within the basilica. It remains in the catacomb which extends either underneath the church (S. Sebastiano, SS. Marcellino e Pietro) or adjoining it (S. Agnese, Verano basilica). Second, the basilica is flanked by mausolea. Third, the floor of the basilica, both in the aisles and the nave, is occupied by densely crowded tombs. While the evidence has vanished completely at S. Sebastiano and largely in the structure at S. Costanza, the small portion of the latter building excavated by Valadier<sup>2</sup> showed a dense row of tombs; the finds on the Verano finally leave no doubt. The epitaphs of Lucillus Pelio and of the unknown (figs. 91, 92) confirm the burial function of the Verano structure<sup>3</sup>. All these buildings, then, were apparently, aside from their other functions, huge covered graveyards, *coemeteria cooperta*, badly needed as the galleries near the venerated tomb of the Saint in the catacomb were filling up. Indeed, the structure near S. Costanza was apparently known as the "... *coemeterium Agnetis*"<sup>4</sup>, just as the basilica at Tor Pignattara still in the VIII century was known as the *cimiterium beatorum Petri et Marcellini*<sup>5</sup>.

The proximity of the basilica to a martyr's tomb or a venerated spot suggests that one of its principal functions was to accommodate large crowds at the occasion of memorial services at the *dies natalis* of the martyr<sup>6</sup>. The character of such memorial services in the IV and early V centuries is far from being clarified. No doubt, they culminated in the celebration of the Eucharist<sup>7</sup>. But the funeral banquet prepared on, or close to a *mensa* dedicated to the martyr, seems to have been equally important<sup>8</sup>. This theory brings up the questions, whether *mensa* and altar in IV century terminology are synonymous, whether the altar rose in the cemetery basilica or over the tomb of the martyr, finally whether the *mensa* was necessarily set up over his tomb.

(1) DEICHMANN and TSCHIRA, "Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena...", *Jbch. Dtsch. Archaeol. Inst.* 72 (1957), pp. 44 ff., reaches us as we are reading the proof of this fascicule. In addition to the excavation report, the paper assembles the four churches that represent the type, and discusses its principal characteristics and its function against the background of the development of the martyr cult from the IV through the VI centuries.

(2) L. CANINA, *Supplemento all'opera dell'architetto Desgodetz sopra li edifizii antichi di Roma*, Rome 1843, II, pl. 8, reproduced above, vol. I, pl. III. 3.

(3) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*, p. 65, in discussing the basilica at Tor Pignattara designate the tombs which cover its entire floor as early medieval. The original floor of the building could nowhere be found, but the authors assume, rightly in our opinion, that these medieval tombs were preceded by Early Christian tombs. Regarding the entire group, we are inclined to emphasize more strongly than DEICHMANN its character as a cemetery and funeral banquet hall.

(4) *L. P.* I, 207.

(5) *L. P.* I, 500; see also DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

(6) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) AUGUSTINUS, *Ep.* 22 and 29; *sermo* 310 and 311 (*PL* 33, col. 90 f, 114 ff.; *PL* 38, col. 1412 ff.); PAULINUS, *poema* 27 (*PL* 61, col. 660 f.). See also F. VAN DER MEER, *Augustinus als Seelsorger*, Cologne 1953, pp. 487 ff.



Regarding the placing of the altar in the sanctuaries on the Verano, the *martyrium* in the catacomb and the huge basilica, the literary sources are ambiguous. The gifts of sacred vessels listed among the Constantinian donations for the basilica and the absence of such vessels from among the donations *ad corpus* would seem to suggest that the Eucharist was celebrated in the basilica. On the other hand, the *Vita S. Melaniae Junioris*, referring to the years 397-400, leaves no doubt that at the end of the IV century, an altar rose over the tomb of the saint in his *martyrium* inside the catacomb. The existence of this altar *ad corpus* is confirmed by the reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* to its remodelling under Sixtus III, 432-440. Hence, one might assume that in the early IV century an altar rose only in the basilica, while in the second half of the century a second altar was placed over his tomb. However, it is equally possible, that the altar in the catacomb existed from the outset<sup>1</sup> and that the vessels were donated to the basilica not to serve an altar proper, but what the IV century called the *mensa martyris*.

Indeed, one should remember that *mensa* and altar in IV century parlance are far from synonymous. While the altar, *altare*, serves only the celebration of Mass, *mensa* refers as well and perhaps primarily to the funeral banquet table placed over the tomb either of ordinary mortals or of a martyr. The writings of the Fathers and inscriptions from North Africa, North Italy and Istria<sup>3</sup> leave no doubt of this. The custom of such huge banquets in memory both of martyrs and ordinary mortals remained in vigor both in North Africa and in Rome to the end of the IV century<sup>4</sup>. The finds made at the Verano suggest, indeed, that the *coemeteria* basilicas of our group served also as funeral banquet halls; the sherds of cooking vessels scattered over the site lead us to weigh the possibility that *refrigeria* were partaken of by relations and friends at *mensae* rising over the graves inside the basilica.

The funeral banquet at the *mensa* of the martyr likewise was still customary at the end of the IV century. However, it was linked to the celebration of the Eucharist<sup>5</sup>. Hence it would require the same vessels as a regular altar, that is, the very vessels listed among the Constantinian donations to the Verano basilica. Indeed, beginning with the late IV century, the *mensa martyris* was turned into a regular altar, or replaced by one.

This raises the question of whether the *mensa martyris* in the IV century invariably rose over the tomb of the Saint. In IV century Rome, the huge crowds which would gather on the *dies natalis* of the great local martyrs could not attend either a funeral banquet in their memory or Mass in the narrow space of a *martyrium* inside the catacomb where perhaps originally a *mensa* and, since the late IV century, an altar rose over the tomb of the Saint, as known from the *Vita Melaniae*. Hence one wonders whether perhaps a "substitute *mensa*" was set up since Constantinian times in the adjoining huge basilica. The donation of sacred vessels to the basilica may, therefore, have been intended for this "substitute *mensa*" where the funeral banquet for the martyr was celebrated, culminating in the Eucharist.

From the writings of Saint Augustine, it appears that occasionally the building where the *mensa martyris* stood became known *pars pro toto* as his *mensa*<sup>6</sup>. The Eurialus epitaph from the Verano (fig. 89) may well be a case in point: he was buried "*ad me(n)sa beati marturis Laurenti* right

(1) The reference to *altaria* in the Damasus epigram "*Verbera carnificis...*" (dig. 366-384), is of no help in deciding the question, since the plural, purloined as it is from Virgil, is probably a poetic form; see FERRUA, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

(2) See on the contrary, DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

(3) E. DIEHL, *Inscriptiones Latinae Veteres Christianae*, passim

(4) See above, p. 141, note 8.

(5) AUGUSTINUS, sermo 310 (PL 38, col. 1413).

(6) AUGUSTINUS, *Enarratio in Ps. 38* (PL. 36, col. 412, note 2); *Enarratio in Ps. 80* (PL. 37, cols. 1036, 1047).

hand where one descends into the catacomb". Similarly, Lucillus Pelio (fig. 91) at roughly the same time had purchased his tomb "in the *basilica maior*, in the *mensa* and on the site of the *chancel*". In neither case is the term "*mensa*" likely to refer to the "substitute *mensa*" proper. Instead, it would seem to designate either part of the *basilica maior* or that building in its entirety. Hence the suggestion seems permissible that the term "*mensa beati Laurentii*" in both epitaphs refer either to the basilica because *refrigeria* were celebrated in it, both in honor of the Saint and in memory of those buried in its area; or else that it refers to the sanctuary where his *mensa* rose.

In any event, the joint appearance of the basilica with ambulatory on the Verano and of the tomb of the Saint in the adjoining catacomb throws new light on the problem of the huge and complex martyrs' shrines in IV century Early Christian architecture in Rome.

## 2. THE SIXTH CENTURY SANCTUARY

The building under Pelagius II of the East basilica into the catacomb similarly sheds light on the VI century concept of a martyr's sanctuary.

The basilica itself, like the similar buildings of S. Agnese and perhaps SS. Nereo and Achilleo in Domitilla, obviously represents a Byzantine type. The plan, with galleries surrounding the nave on three sides leaves no doubt regarding its origin in the eastern coastlands of the Mediterranean and the measurements, in Byzantine feet, furnish corroborative proof. On the other hand, the masons employed were undoubtedly Roman, as witness the native technique of construction. Indeed, the Byzantine character of the structure must be qualified. For one, the basilica with galleries disappears from Constantinople proper in the first decades of the VI century. It may have survived slightly longer in Greece, but it is only in border provinces, such as the northern Balkans, that it remains in continuous use after 550. In Rome, on the other hand, the type appears only after the middle and more frequently near the end of the VI and in the early VII century. Hence it could have reached Rome perhaps from Greece or from one of the farther distant Byzantine provinces, but not from Constantinople. Secondly, in Rome at that time the type is employed only within one specific situation: for the construction of a shrine church over a venerated tomb situated deep inside a hill on the lower level of a catacomb. For this task the basilica with galleries served admirably. The groundfloor was sunk or pushed sideways into the hill, level with the tomb of the Saint. Accessible as a rule by a staircase from the crest of the hill above, it would hold the bulk of the pilgrims come to visit the tomb; at S. Lorenzo it could be reached sideways from the foot of the hill, due to the exceptionally favourable situation. The galleries, level with and accessible from the crest of the hill, had no communication by stairways with the groundfloor. They would receive an overflow of pilgrims or such of the faithful as had come not so much to visit the tomb as to attend services.

All these are features which the East basilica of S. Lorenzo shares with the nearly contemporary catacomb churches of S. Agnese (625-638) and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in Domitilla (523-26). However, S. Lorenzo is marked by two more features which in its sister churches are either less prominent or entirely lacking. For one, it is linked to a *retro sanctos*, as is also the Domitilla church and, incidentally, the small catacomb sanctuaries of S. Ippolito, S. Ermete and S. Generosa, apparently a typical VI century feature; the lack of a *retro sanctos* at S. Agnese may be due to its later date. Yet, at S. Lorenzo the connection with the *retro sanctos* is achieved not by an insignificant perforation of the apse, as in these other buildings, but in a monumental design, by means both of a *fenestella* and of huge windows which admit light into the underground area. Secondly, the East basilica was coupled not only with this *retro sanctos*, but also with the *basilica maior* to the south. Thus the

two churches formed a double sanctuary as it were. At times one is tempted to compare this double sanctuary with the double cathedrals so frequent since the IV century in Upper Italy, Istria and Dalmatia. One even tends to wonder, whether the dedications of the two churches at S. Lorenzo, as documented since the VIII century, the longer south church to the Virgin, the smaller north church to the martyr, Saint Lawrence, corresponds only by chance to the dedications customary in these double cathedrals since the V century<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURY SANCTUARY

The most decisive of the later changes, prior to the high Middle Ages, at S. Lorenzo is possibly the construction of apse *K* at the western end of the *retro sanctos*. Regardless of its date, late VIII or possibly IX century, it transformed the underground area into a large chapel with its own apse (and presumably its own altar) attached to the apse of the East basilica. The design has no parallel among Roman churches of the period. But it is reminiscent of the often half-subterranean "post-absidal" chapels of Carolingian churches north of the Alps, such as St. Riquier at Centula (795), St. Emmeran at Regensburg (778), Corvey (822), Saint Denis (832). Given the close connections between Rome and these northern centers during the "Carolingian Renaissance", the resemblance is likely to be more than fortuitous.

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(1) See above, p. 126, note 4.

## S. LORENZO IN DAMASO

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl)

The origins of S. Lorenzo in Damaso are better documented than those of nearly any other fourth-century church in Rome<sup>1</sup>. Written testimony concerning the church as it stood throughout the Middle Ages, goes back as far as the seventh century, as do the records of its fourth-century dedicatory inscriptions. This evidence leaves little doubt that the original church, and buildings connected with it, occupied, either wholly or in part, the ground where the fifteenth-century Palazzo della Cancelleria now stands; an area bounded to the east by Piazza della Cancelleria, to the north by Corso Vittorio Emanuele, to the south-west by Via del Pellegrino, and to the west by a garden<sup>2</sup>. The name of the founder, pope Damasus (366-384), and the dedication to Saint Lawrence, are perpetuated in the present church, which occupies the northern third of the palace area; the remainder being taken up by the great courtyard and the wings of the palace which enclose it. Descriptions of the old church are as yet unknown. Visual evidence prior to 1509 is limited to two late fifteenth-century city maps<sup>3</sup>. These only show that the church was then a basilica, its axis running due west to a semicircular apse, while a campanile rose near the east end of the right hand aisle. Obviously, such evidence tells us nothing of the date of the structure, whether it was Early Christian or medieval; nor, for that matter, does it help us to locate, with precision, the site of the old church within the area now occupied by the palace. Finally, archaeological evidence, which might help us to recreate the original structure and its later additions, is extraordinarily scarce<sup>4</sup>.

The eighth- and ninth-century compilers of the *syllogai* of Verdun and Lorsch I saw a number of inscriptions in the church, concerning both its foundations and its annexes. A distych "*ad ecclesiam sancti Laurentii in Damaso quae alio nomine appellatur in prasino...*" recorded in the Verdun *sylloge*, states that pope Damasus dedicated his new church (*nova tecta*) to Saint Lawrence<sup>5</sup>. The compiler saw the inscription "*in illo throno*", in the apse. He adds that the church had two names: "*sancti Laurentii in Damaso*" and "*in prasino*"; that is, it was named after the pope who had founded or perhaps only restored it, and also after the Green Faction, whose stable or club house was

(1) Selected Bibliography: UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 221<sup>v</sup> ff.; G. B. BOVIO, *La pietà trionfante...*, Rome, 1739; ANT. FONSECA, *De basilica Sancti Laurentii in Damaso*, Fano, 1745; C. RUGGIERI, *Della Chiesa di S. Damaso e della Confessione...*, *Vat. lat.* 9035, cc. 115 ff.; FRANC. CANCELLIERI, *Memorie del culto di S. Lorenzo...*, *Della sua... Basilica presso il Teatro di Pompeo*, 1821, *Vat. lat.* 9172; IDEM, "Lettera a Carlo Fea sopra la pietra opistografe... sotto la mensa di S. Lorenzo in Damaso", *Effemeride letterarie*, Rome, IV (1821), 341 ff.; *Schedario Stevenson*, *Vat. lat.* 10553, cc. 44 ff.; ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Letters to E. Stevenson*, *IBID.*, cc. 48 ff., 54 ff., 60<sup>v</sup>, 61 f., 62<sup>v</sup>; IDEM, *Les Saints de la Messe*, p. 64 f., Pl. 335; C. PECORARI, *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome, 1900; H. GRABAR, "Zum ältesten Kultus des Martyrers Laurentius", *Zschr. f. Kathol. Theologie*, 27 (1903), 133 ff.; A. DE WAAL, "Die Titelkirchen S. Laurentii in Damaso und in Lucina", *R. Qu. Schr.*, XVII (1903), 75 ff.; E. LAVAGNINO, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria e la chiesa di San Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome, 1924; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 284; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 457, 1326; A. PRANDI, "Il luogo dell'antica basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso e l'itinerario di Einsideln", *Arch. Soc. Rom. Storia Patria*, 74 (1951), 161 ff.

Works dealing exclusively, either with the fifteenth-century church and its later remodellings, or with the Roman monuments discovered below and near the palace, will be referred to in later footnotes.

(2) The hypothesis that the old church and its annexes were located on the other side of Via del Pellegrino has been refuted by PRANDI, *op. cit.*

(3) Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, *lat.* 4802, and Florence, *Laurenziana*, *Red.* 77; see DE ROSSI, *Piante Iconografiche*, Pls. II, 1, and IV.

(4) The publication of the Early Christian material, found during repair work to the palace in 1937, was promised as early as 1951; see PRANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 161, note 1. We are still waiting for it.

(5) DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, p. 134, no. 5; FERRUA, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, p. 212, no. 58: "*Haec Damasus tibi Xpc̄ deus nova tecta dicavi Laurenti saepius martyris auxilio*".

nearby<sup>1</sup>. A longer inscription, “*in introitu ecclesiae*”, presumably on the interior of the nave façade, was more explicit regarding the interest taken by pope Damasus and the work done to the church, and possibly its annexes, during his pontificate. Preserved in the *syllogai* of Lorsch I and Verdun<sup>2</sup>, the inscription states that either Damasus himself, or his father, had risen in this place from exceptor to priest<sup>3</sup>; that Damasus had been priest of the church, or was living there, “... *hinc mihi provecto...*” when elected pope, and, finally, that after his elevation, he decided to build there a structure for the archives, and to add columns on either side, “... *archivis volui ... nova condere tecta || Addere praeterea dextra laevaue columnas...*”. The latter statement requires further elucidation.

While these two inscriptions were possibly, though not certainly, in mosaic, a third one, presumably also Damasian, was carved on an architrave, probably that of the main entrance, “*in limine superiori portae... sculptum*”<sup>4</sup>. Other inscriptions of the late fourth and the early fifth centuries, but not Damasian, in the church or its annexes, were known to the compilers of the early *syllogai*. One, presumably underneath a painting or mosaic depicting the saint’s martyrdom<sup>5</sup>; a second in the baptistry or on the font, “*ad fontem*”<sup>6</sup>; and a third within or close to an adjoining chapel, a “*domus religiosa... tecta devota*”<sup>7</sup>. This last one was erected by Attica, wife of Felix Magnus, possibly the correspondent of Symmachus<sup>8</sup>.

The foundation of the church by Damasus, or at least an extensive rebuilding by him, is confirmed in the signatures of the synods of 499 and 595. At the former, one presbyter signs himself as “*tit. Damasi*”, two as “*tit. sancti Laurenti*”, at the latter a single presbyter signs “*tit. Damasi*”<sup>9</sup>. Likewise, the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes the foundation of two churches to Damasus, one being his mausoleum on the Via Ardeatina, the other dedicated to Saint Lawrence, “near the theatre”, *scil.* that of Pompey<sup>10</sup>. The latter is presumably identical with the basilica inside the city, which was founded as a titulus, and endowed by the pope. The donations are quite rich and comprise altar vessels, lighting fixtures, two estates, some houses, and a bath near the basilica<sup>11</sup>. Subsequent references are remarkably scarce. Under Hadrian I there is a note of restorations to the roof and of the gift of two precious cloths; one for the altar, the other for the tomb of Damasus behind the altar “*post... altare ubi requiescit corpus sancti Damasi...*”<sup>12</sup>. Apparently, then, by the late eighth

(1) Remnants of the buildings of the *factio prasina* were uncovered in Vicolo del Pavone and below the so-called Piccola Farnesina; see ARMELLINI-CECCELLI, *Chiese*, p. 1326.

(2) DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Christ.*, II, p. 135, no. 7; p. 151, no. 23; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, p. 210, no. 57 (In the Verdun codex the epigram is badly mutilated, save for line 1):

“*Hinc pater exceptor lector levita sacerdos  
Creverat hinc meritis quoniam melioribus actis  
Hinc mihi provecto XPS cui summa potestas  
Sedes apostolicae voluit concedere honorem  
Archivis fateor volui nova condere tecta  
Addere praeterea dextra laevaue columnas  
Quae damasi teneant proprium per saecula nomen*”.

(3) The original wording of line 1 is doubtful. The codices read *pater* and this is accepted by both IHM, *Damasi epigrammata*, p. 58, no. 57, and FERRUA, *loc. cit.* However, DE ROSSI, *loc. cit.*, in my opinion, rightly thought that the reading *puer* would make better sense.

(4) DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 332, no. 5; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, p. 256, no. 74<sup>v</sup>. It is preserved only in Giovanni Dondi’s sylloge of 1375.

(5) DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 151, no. 24; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 33<sup>v</sup>, from Lorsch I.

(6) DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 135, no. 6, accepted the inscription as Damasian, while FERRUA, *op. cit.*, has excluded it. It is known only from the Verdun *sylloge*.

(7) Known from Lorsch I; DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 151, no. 25.

(8) PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie*, vol. 6, col. 2167.

(9) MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi*, XII, 414 f.; *Epistolae*, I, 367; see also KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, pp. 8 and 84 f.

The divergency among the signatures of the synod of 499 remains unexplained. Apparently, the titulus was known by the name of the founder as well as by that of the patron saint.

(10) LP, I, 212: “*Hic fecit basilicas duas: una beato Laurentio iuxta theatrum et alia Via Ardeatina ubi requiescit*”.

(11) LP, I, 212: “*Hic constituit titulum in urbe Roma basilicam quam ipse construxit ubi et donavit patenam argenteam... domus in circuitu basilicae... balnaeum iuxta titulum*”.

(12) LP, I, 500.

century, the remains of pope Damasus had been transferred to his church in the city. Indeed, this is confirmed by the heading of the epigram, "*Hinc pater...*" in the Lorsch *sylloge*, "*In ecclesia beati Laurentii martyris in qua requiescit sanctus Damasus papa*"<sup>1</sup>. Finally, a number of gifts, all surprisingly small, went to the church in the early ninth century. Under Leo III, who also repaired the roof<sup>2</sup>, the church received an altarcloth<sup>3</sup>, and a *corona* of silver weighing only five and a half pounds. Under Gregory IV another altar cloth was given. It appears that the importance of the church had considerably diminished.

As far as we can ascertain, no remnants of Early Christian constructions are preserved either in the walls of the Palazzo della Cancelleria or in the present church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (fig. 124). Both structures date from the building activities of Cardinal Raffaele Riario, which began in 1495 and ended in 1511. Today, the church suggests the Roman high Renaissance only in its basilical plan. All details have been altered in later restorations, and even the Renaissance plan has been largely obliterated. Repairs of an unknown extent, except for Vignola's new entrance portal to the church, were financed in the late sixteenth century by Cardinals Alessandro Farnese (1577), Peretti and Ludovisi<sup>4</sup>. Cardinal Farnese had the church decorated with frescoes by Giovanni de' Vecchi and Niccolo Pomarancio and had a coffered ceiling placed over the nave<sup>5</sup>. In a second remodelling in

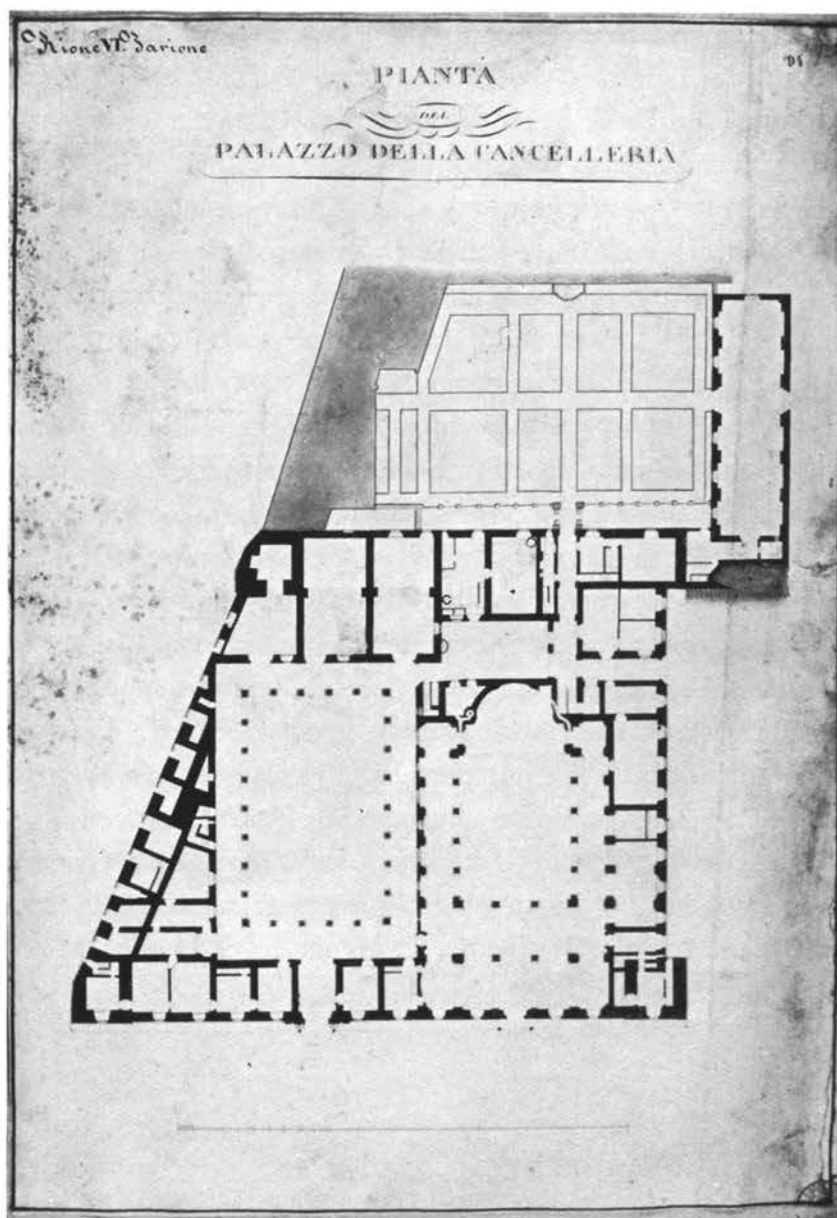


Fig. 124 — S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Anonymous, Plan of church and palace, ca. 1800 (*Racc. Lanciani*, XL, 100, 94)

1638, under Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the apse was enlarged and decorated with marble revetments and reliefs, and a new High Altar was built, possibly under Bernini's direction<sup>6</sup>. Another remodelling under Cardinal Ottoboni included repairs to the narthex in 1703 and the building

(1) See above, p. 2, note 2.

(2) *LP*, I, 28.

(3) *Ibid.*, 12.

(4) MICHELANGELO BORSI, *Ragguaglio distinto del ristauero... di S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome, 1821.

(5) UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 224, and NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, II, 1, p. 292.

(6) MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, p. 136, mentions the enlargement and decoration of the apse and the new High Altar "... apsidem universam dilatavit, parietes eius lucentibus pretiosisque lapidibus cooperuit, altareque nobilissimum in medio presbyterio locavit", as does GREGORIUS PORCIUS, *Fornix Laurentianae basilicae...*, Rome, 1640, *passim*. and NIBBY, *loc cit.*, who in 1838 still saw the painted decoration of the late sixteenth century in the nave. See also the *Stato temporale* of 1660, quoted by Armellini, in ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, p. 451.

of an open confessio in the chancel in 1737<sup>1</sup>. By 1798 the structure was, according to contemporary reports, "totally devastated" and its present aspect is due largely to two nineteenth-century restorations. In the first, begun by Joseph Valadier in 1807, and completed by G. Salvi in 1820, a cane vault was placed over the nave, the columns were transformed into piers, the aisles were vaulted, and large fan windows were introduced to illuminate the nave. At the same time the chancel was enlarged by blocking up the two arches closest to the apse<sup>2</sup>. In the second restoration, directed by Vespignani, 1868-1882, the baroque decoration of the apse, the High Altar, its baldachino and the cane vault were removed, a new *confessio* was built and a new coffered ceiling was placed over the nave<sup>3</sup>. Recent works in the palace and the church, beginning in 1937, and continued after a fire in 1939, have been limited to strengthening the structure and refurbishing details of the decoration.

The present church thus appearing to be no older than the end of the fifteenth century, the site of its Early Christian and medieval predecessor has been sought elsewhere: across Via del Pellegrino<sup>4</sup>; or in the area of the palace, but with its façade fronting Via del Pellegrino<sup>5</sup>; or in the area of the palace courtyard, facing Piazza della Cancelleria<sup>6</sup>. But these are unsupported speculations, as also is the reconstruction of the plan suggested by Rohault de Fleury. Nor are the inscriptions of pope Damasus of any great help in recreating the structures he erected. They only state that he ordered the construction of an archive building and added (*addere praeterea*) columns on either side of what was presumably a pre-existing structure<sup>7</sup>. The reference has been frequently explained as an allusion to porticoes, which surrounded or flanked the church, on the outside. The text leaves it uncertain whether the colonnades belonged to the archive building or to the church, but, given the location of the inscription (*in introitu basilicae*), it is probably the latter. However, we see no need to imagine external porticoes. To us it would seem just as reasonable to interpret the passage as a reference to the enlargement, by Damasus, of an earlier single-naved structure, converting it into a basilica by adding aisles "*dextra laevaue*". One might even suggest that the archives could have been housed in the aisles of the basilica. The addition of chapels slightly later, such as that of Attica, remains a literary reference<sup>8</sup>. Nor can Damasus' basilica be identified unqualifiedly with the church which is seen on the fifteenth-century maps; after all, many alterations are likely to take place during a period of more than a thousand years.

However, when repairs were being made in the palace between 1937 and 1940, a number of older constructions were uncovered, reaching from Roman Republican to Early Christian times, and later. The Roman structures, which were found below the garden and in the small courtyard to the West of the present church, have been published<sup>9</sup>. They include two long tufa walls, the bed of the Euripus canal and the tomb of one Aulus Irtius, all Republican. At a higher level some brick walls of unknown date and function were found. Other remnants of Roman, Early Christian and possibly medieval date, were seen in 1938-1939 in the area of the large courtyard and in one

(1) FONSECA, *op. cit.*, p. 197, and GIOV. INCISA DELLA ROCCHETTA, "La veduta settecentesca dell'interno di San Lorenzo in Damaso", *Boll. Musei Comunali di Roma*, I (1954), pp. 35 ff. See also PANCIROLI, *Roma sacra e moderna*, 1725, pp. 543 f., and TITI, *Studio di Pittura*, 1763, p. 122.

(2) BORSI, *op. cit.*; see also Bianchini's notes to the LP, MIGNE, *P. L.* 127, col. 78; NIBBY, *loc. cit.*, strangely enough, described the late sixteenth-century ceiling as still existing in 1838.

(3) *Triplice Omaggio alla Santità di Pio IX*, Rome, 1877, II, p. 45: "Con i disegni... dell'architetto Vespignani... demolita la cadente volta di camera canna... è stato ultimato il nuovo lacunare... e tutta decorata di stucchi e doratura la volta del presbitero...".

(4) LANCIANI, *Itin. Einiedl.*, col. 450. PECORARI, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.

(5) ARMELLINI-CECHELLI, *Chiese*, p. 458.

(6) ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Les Saints de la Messe*, IV, Pl. 355, and p. 64 f., quoting a letter from Enrico Stevenson; see also *Schedario Stevenson*, *Vat. lat.* 10553, f. 48 ss., 54 ss., 60<sup>v</sup>-64.

(7) See above, p. 146, note 2.

(8) See above p. 146, note 8.

(9) B. NOGARA, *Monumenti romani scoperti... nell'area... della Cancelleria (Quaderni di Studi Romani)*, Rome, 1941; H. MAGGI, *I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria (Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e d'Arte, VIII)*, Rome, 1945.

of the basement rooms of the palace, but they have not yet been reported, nor has it yet been pointed out that other remnants still survive in the basement below the present church.

The following observations, which W. Frankl was able to make in 1938, are necessarily cursory and the surveys sketchy. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to place them at the disposal of other scholars. All levels refer to a point  $\pm 0$ , on the threshold of the main portal of the palace.

1. Remains of Roman buildings were identified at two points: in the basement of the sixteenth-century church, below the south half of the nave (not shown on our drawings); and in two basement rooms which lie between the main portal of the palace and the south flank of the church. These remnants, belonging to several successive building periods, warrant careful study within the framework of second- and third-century Roman archeology. However, since our work is limited to Christian architecture, the description of these older remnants must be omitted from these pages.

2. A group of walls below ground level in the large courtyard of the palace, are the only remnants which may possibly be connected with the church of Damasus or its medieval successors (pls. IX, X).

a) Almost in line with the south wall of the covered way, which from the main portal leads into the courtyard of the palace, the right hand springing and curve of a small apse were discovered, its opening facing north. It was intact when first seen by Frankl, but the workmen had torn it down before he could measure it; the impressions of the bricks in the surrounding earth, however were sufficient to establish its floor level,  $-3.37$  m<sup>1</sup>. The diameter of the apse was 4.70 m. As for the character of the masonry, the bricks ranged in thickness from 3.2 to 4.2 cm., averaging 3.8 cm., the mortarbeds from 2.2 to 3.3 cm., averaging 2.8 cm., giving a modulus of five bricks and five mortarbeds in a height that is only slightly more than one Roman foot: a normal fourth-century proportion. The level of the apse was indicated by a marble floor, placed on a bed of *calcestruzzo*, which in turn rested on a possibly older brick pavement.

b) A wall, running west, had been built against the outer face of the right hand springing of the apse. Its brickwork was characterized by considerably higher mortarbeds, from 3.3 to 4.4 cm., resulting in a modulus of four bricks and four mortarbeds in a height of nearly one R. ft. A terracotta pipe crosses this wall at a distance of 1.50 m. from the springing of the apse (fig. 125).

3. The wall described in the preceding paragraph is not quite two meters long, after which its place is taken by a different wall, which stands in the same alignment. Running west, the latter could be traced for a distance of over 18 meters. The relationship between the long and the short walls is not clear; their junction was found to be patched on the



Fig. 125 — S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Remains of brick wall discovered in the palace courtyard (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) This corresponds with the level, established by Prandi (*op. cit.*, p. 166, note 1), of an Early Christian or early medieval street, below Corso Vittorio Emanuele. It also nearly corresponds with the level at which the Roman remnants in the basement rooms of the palace were razed (see also pl. X, section C'-D').



south face, and on the north face it is hidden by a shallow pilaster. The brickwork of the long wall is characterized by the red color of the bricks and by their regular size. They are 3.3 to 4.4 cm. high and the mortarbeds range from as little as 2.0 to as much as 3.7 cm. The resulting modulus of five bricks and five mortarbeds in slightly over one Roman foot resembles the modulus already noted in the small apse. The brickwork was perfectly preserved in the westernmost stretch of the long wall. In its eastern half it was interrupted by two large arches which had been inserted in the wall at a later stage (fig. 126). Each arch is formed of a double voussoir of short bricks, 27 to 28 cm. long, closely packed, and inserted into the original structure. The bricks are yellow, and the white mortar is laid in thin beds. At a



Fig. 126 — S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Brick wall with secondary arches found in the palace courtyard (Photo: Sansaini)

still later time the arches were walled up with a crude masonry, consisting of chunks of tufa and travertine. Two layers of plaster covered the walls: the first one apparently contemporary with the arches, since it continued unbroken on their intrados; and a second stratum, showing traces of red and yellow paint, which covered both the first layer and the blocking of the arches.

In line with the pilaster at the easternmost point of the long wall, and thus at a right angle to the latter, a wall was found running north (fig. 127). Only one piece of it was seen, at a distance roughly 4.50 m. from the pilaster.



Fig. 127 — S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Remains of brick wall with niche (Photo: Sansaini).

But this piece, 0.60 m. thick and 1.22 m. long, sufficed to show that the brickwork corresponds with that of the long wall, and that the two belong to the same building. The broken south end makes it obvious that the wall originally continued southwards, while its northward extension remains unexcavated. A niche was cut in its west face; it was 0.32 m. high and 0.40 m. wide, and its sill was 2.60 m. above the floor level established in the small apse. The interior of the niche was covered with red painted plaster, blackened by candle smoke. Remnants of the same layer of plaster were preserved to right and left of the niche; one piece retaining a fragment of geometric decoration, a white circle filled with red and surrounded by a yellow ground. It was not unlike the decoration of the second layer of painted plaster which covered the blocking of the arches in the long wall. On the east side of the wall a long slab of marble was found standing in the loose earth.

4. Lastly, Frankl noted a short flight of steps, approximately in the axis of the small apse, but 12 meters to the north, that is, near the north-east corner pier of the palace courtyard. Three steps were found, descending northward from a level of  $-1.28$  to  $-1.96$  m., the two bottom steps perhaps antedating the top step. It is possible that these steps formed part of the complex of buildings discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, but it seems more likely that they belong to the building of the palace.

The levels and the styles of masonry are the only guides we have for dating these constructions. The small apse, the long wall running west, including the pilaster at its east end, and the wall running north in line with that pilaster, seem to be similar in technique, and suggest a fourth-century date. They might well belong to a building erected by pope Damasus. The small stretch of wall inserted between the long wall and the small apse, may be interpreted by its thicker mortarbeds as a fifth-century repair. The inserts of arches and patchwork in the long wall are probably of twelfth-century date, while their blocking may date from as late as the fifteenth century. Given the level of these arches, apex  $-0.45$  m., one is inclined to think that the old floor-level,  $-3.57$  m., as preserved in the small apse, was that of the entire fourth-century church, and that it probably continued to be the level of nave and aisles up to the time when the arches were built into the south flank. It may be noted that the Roman structures to the north-east of the apse are cut down a little below this level. On the other hand, the floor-level would seem to have been considerably higher when the niche in the south-north wall was low enough to be blackened by candle smoke. Perhaps the blocking up of the arches in the east-west wall became necessary because of the raising of the level.

The following reconstruction is tentatively suggested. The small apse, too small to be the main apse of a large church, might be the terminating recess of a narthex, running north and south. The long wall might be the south flank of an aisle, and the pilaster at its east end could indicate the corner of the church façade. The Roman walls which are preserved beneath the nave of the present church may perhaps have been re-used as the outside wall of the north aisle. If so, the original church had an overall width of 25.10 m. The wall with the niche would then be part of the front wall of the nave. While persuasive, this reconstruction remains quite hypothetical, and the walls which were seen all too briefly in 1938-1939 may just as well have belonged to almost any other combination of buildings. If it could be proved that they are part of Damasus' basilica, the question would arise, whether the latter was constructed in its entirety by that pope, or whether he only remodelled a pre-existing single naved hall by adding aisles. Only the full publication of all observations made between 1937 and 1948, and further research based on such a publication, can hope to clarify the problem.

## S. LORENZO IN FONTE

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

As it appears today, S. Lorenzo in Fonte, in the Via Urbana, is a small church of seventeenth-century date<sup>1</sup>. Neither the restoration of the interior and the building of a new façade, some decades ago, nor the erection of a small clock-tower to the south, in 1734<sup>2</sup>, have essentially changed the aspect of the church, as it was redesigned in 1628-1629 and described in 1629 by Martinelli<sup>3</sup>. It is a single-naved, vaulted hall with a narrow chancel, and a sacristy to the right. To the left of the nave, in the entrance passage of the adjoining house, a staircase descends to a Roman well (Martinelli calls it a crypt), 18 m. east of the church and 5.50 m. below its floor level; traditionally the prison where Saint Lawrence lay in the custody of Saint Hippolytus<sup>4</sup> (pl. XI).

However, the existence of a church on the site is documented long before the *seicento*. Indeed, Martinelli's account conveys the impression that the present nave still preserves the walls of an older structure, to which, in 1628-1629, the chancel and the sacristy to the south were added. This older church is mentioned in 1461, 1470, 1492, 1555, and 1556<sup>5</sup>. In 1543 the expense of repairs was borne by Cardinal Juan Alvarez<sup>6</sup>. In 1450 Muffel visited "the prison where Saint Lawrence baptized Hippolytus...in a great hole like a cistern, which has a long entrance way... and a well-spring"<sup>7</sup>. If a church existed at that time (indeed, a church is noted as early as 1318<sup>8</sup> and 1320<sup>9</sup>) it may have been quite an insignificant building. The documentary evidence goes back no further, and the identification of S. Lorenzo in Fonte with either St. Hippolytus or Santa Maria in Fontana, both churches in the vicinity, has been convincingly refuted<sup>10</sup>. Nor does the reference to a *Memoria Sancti Hippolyti* in an inscription of about 400, have any bearing on S. Lorenzo in Fonte. The inscription, found in 1850 and now in the Lateran Museum, refers to buildings "... a memoria sancti martyris Ypolliti usque huc..." erected by the presbyter Ilicius, who was a contemporary of pope Siricius. But the tablet was found, not *in situ*, below Villa

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(1) Bibliography: N. MUFFEL, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CXXVIII)*, Tübingen, 1876, p. 53 f.; FRÀ SANTI, *Cose maravigliose*, 1588, p. 55v.; F. MARTINELLI, *Ecclesia S. Laurentii in Fonte de Vico Patricio illustrata*, Rome, 1629; BOSIO, *Roma sotterranea*, 1632, p. 584; ANONYMOUS, *Prospettiva della Grotta e Fonte di S. Lorenzo*, Rome, 1632; FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1653, pp. 372 ff.; P. S. BARTOLI, *Recueil des peintures antiques*, Paris, 1757, Pl. XXXIII and p. 31; NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, II, 1, pp. 295 ff.; DE ROSSI, "I monumenti del secolo IV spettanti alla chiesa di S. Pudenziana... Degli edifici esterni alla chiesa eretti a spese del prete Ilicio", *B.A.C.*, ser. i, V (1867), pp. 57 f.; *B.A.C.*, ser. iii, II (1877), p. 16; *IBID.*, ser. iv, I (1882), p. 16; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 263 ff.; CECHELLI, *Studi e documenti sulla Roma sacra* (Miscellanea, R. Deputazione di Storia Patria), Rome, 1938, pp. 279 ff.; KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome", *A.J.A.*, XLIII (1939), pp. 388 ff., esp. p. 394 f.; ARMELLINI-CECHELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 279, 1327.

(2) The date is inscribed on the clock-tower.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. XI f.

(4) *Loc. cit.*: "Ingressum ex marmore tiburtino non angustum nec inelegantem habet... spatium interius mediocre, totum concameratum cum unica tantum Ara maiori... in Presbyterio simili concameratione tecto...: supra praecipuum ostium... chorum musicis... accomodum: dextrorsum in ingressu Ecclesiae Sacrarium: ad Altaris digniorem partem descensum per angustos gradus in Cryptam: parietes tectorii operis: pavementum lateritium marmoreis lineis intextum...".

TITI, *Nuovo Studio...*, Rome, 1686, p. 244 seems to have been the first to mention Domenico Castelli as the architect of the church, but it is not included in the *Prospetti e Pianta di tutti gli edifici eretti... di Urbano VIII disegnati da Domenico Castello*, *Vat. lat.* 4409.

(5) HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 59, 69, 83, 96, 286 ff.

(6) MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. XXIX; the date 1543 is given, for example, by FRANZINI, *loc. cit.*

(7) MUFFEL, *loc. cit.*: "Item zu sand Lorentzen im Kerker do er gefangen ist gelegen und sand Yppolitus taufft hat ist gar in einem bilden loch als ein zistern und hat ein langen eingangk... und ist ein prun entsprungen...".

(8) HÜLSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

(9) *IBID.*, p. 32, no. 162.

(10) HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 263, 268; CECHELLI, *Studi e documenti*, *loc. cit.*; ARMELLINI-CECHELLI, *Chiese*, p. 1327.

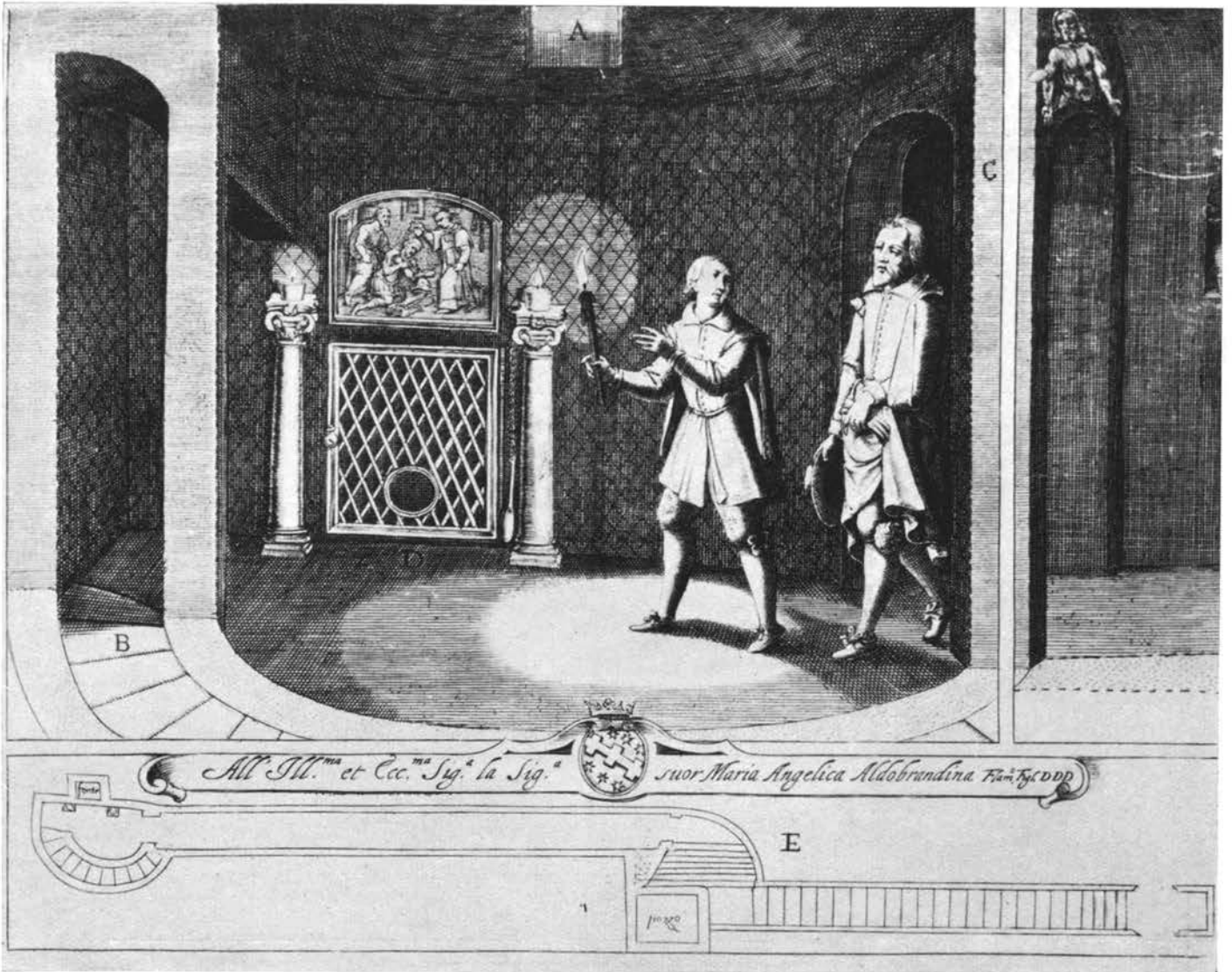


Fig. 128 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. Anonymous, Sectional view of the well house, 1632.

Gaetani on the Esquiline, between Via Merulana and the church of S. Vito, and thus a good ten minutes walk from S. Lorenzo in Fonte<sup>1</sup>. In all likelihood it was brought there from the catacomb of S. Ippolito on the Via Tiburtina.

Although we have no documentary evidence for a church building at S. Lorenzo in Fonte before the fourteenth century, the archeological evidence leaves no doubt that, by the eighth or ninth century, a cult center existed on the site. This evidence consists, first, of the Roman well-house behind the church and the corridor by which it is approached and, second, of some remnants of walls which are preserved below the seventeenth-century church floor.

The well-house, known as the prison of Saint Lawrence since the fifteenth century, and possibly earlier, lies behind the apse of the church, nearly on its axis. In form it is three-quarters of a cylinder, the north wall being flat. A spiral staircase winds upwards, following the exterior of the curved wall. It is built of *opus reticulatum* with quoins of small tufa blocks. Before 1950, when the present low concrete ceiling was inserted, the well chamber rose to a height of 2.50 m. and was topped by a shallow dome, in the center of which was the opening of the narrow upper well shaft. An opening near the floor in the flat north wall is framed by a sixteenth-century relief, depicting Christ flanked by two angels. Two old illustrations, one a pamphlet of 1632, the other a drawing

(1) DE ROSSI, *opp. cit.*, B.A.C., V (1867), pp. 57 ff., XV (1877), p. 18, and XX (1882), p. 18. A copy of the inscription is now built into the wall above the stairs which descend to the Roman well-house; see below, p. 155.

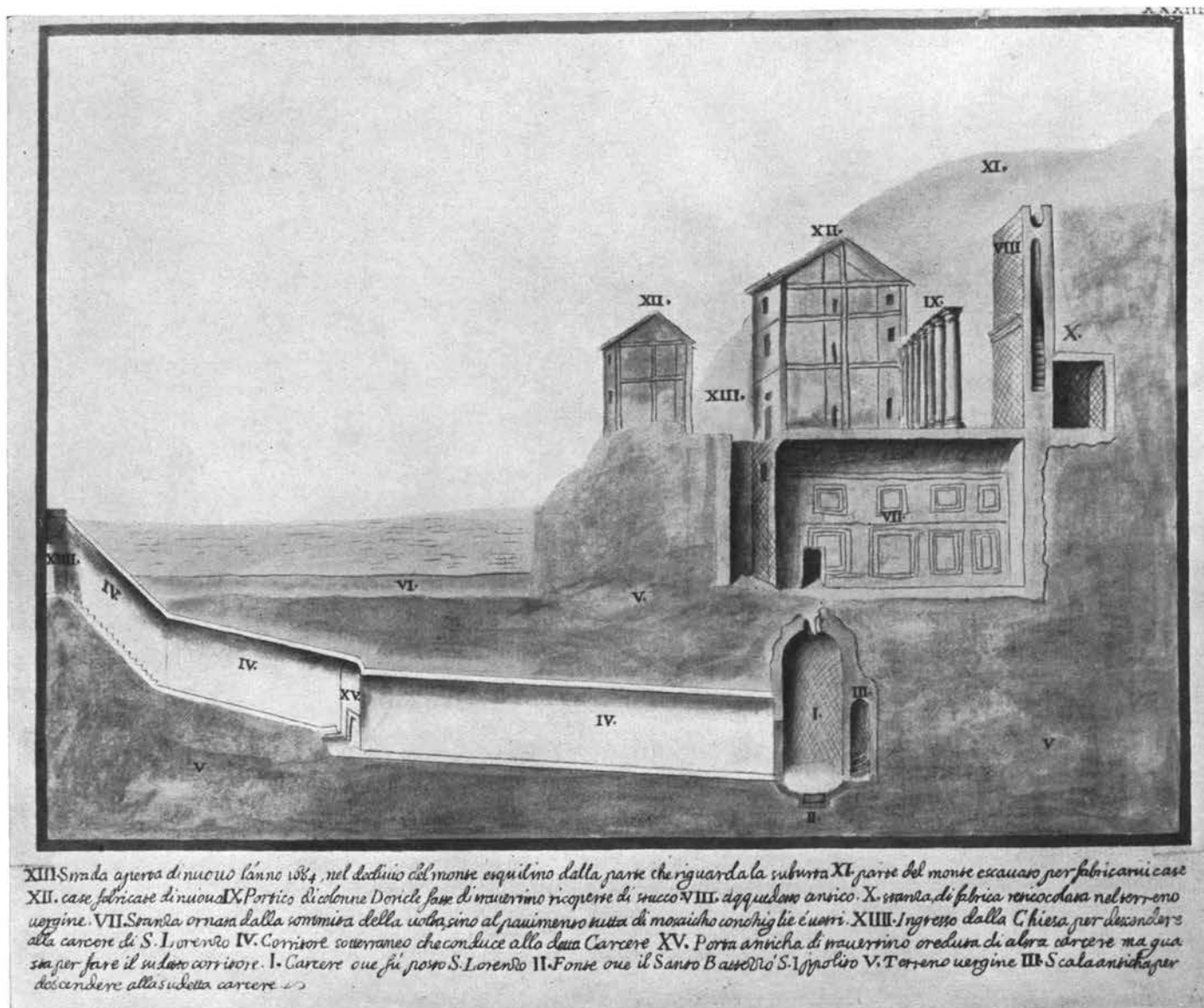


Fig. 129 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. P. S. Bartoli, Cross section of the well-house and adjacent buildings.

executed in 1684 by P. S. Bartoli and published in 1754, render the well-house almost as it is at present<sup>1</sup> (figs. 128, 129). Both these seventeenth-century illustrations show the passage, which leads from the church to the well-house, nearly in its present form; the pamphlet of 1632 in plan, Bartoli in section. Bartoli's drawing also depicts the building complex to which the well-house originally belonged; a Roman terrace house on the north slope of the Oppian hill, excavated in 1684, high above what is now Via Cavour.

Sometime during the early Middle Ages the well-house, apparently, became known as the prison of Saint Lawrence where, according to legend, he was held in the custody of Saint Hippolytus. As a result, it seems, a corridor was built, leading to it in a slightly wavering line from the place where the apse of the seventeenth-century church now stands. The corridor, 2.25 m. high and from 1.25-1.50 m. wide, is barrel vaulted (fig. 130). Its floor is now level, from the entrance to the well-house except for a short drop about half way along, made in 1950 to allow an underground railway to pass overhead. However, Bartoli's engraving shows that the corridor floor originally sloped down to

(1) ANONYMOUS, *Prospettiva*, *op. cit.*; BARTOLI, *loc. cit.* Bartoli's drawing has been reproduced without its explanatory legend by LANCIANI, *Ruins*, fig. 149; by F. NOACK and K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1936, Pl. 56; by KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, (1939), fig. 4.

the well-house, the floor of which was then apparently lower. The masonry of the corridor walls is hidden under a heavy coat of plaster, but one or two cracks show that it is of brick. Four small round-headed niches of irregular shape, cut in the walls, recall the lamp niches which are found in eighth- and ninth-century crypts in Roman churches. However, the corridor (and probably the stairs descending to it) seem to have been remodelled in 1629, as we learn from the anonymous pamphlet of 1632, "*corritore accomodo nuouamente per lo quale... si discende agiatamente...*".

The door through which the corridor is entered at its western end has jambs and lintel built of large, well-hewn travertine blocks, the jambs showing mortice holes for the hinges of a heavy door<sup>1</sup>. Northwards, the travertine blocks continue, forming the lower courses of a wall which separates the corridor from the descending stairs, in the house which adjoins the church. Both doorway and wall stand oblique to the axis of the church and of the corridor. The upper part of the wall consists of brickwork which is certainly medieval, but there is not enough of it to suggest a more precise date. The eighth century is possible.

The vaulted staircase which descends to this entrance from the house next to the church, runs parallel to the church wall in its upper part. At the bottom it curves inward to meet the corridor entrance. Both the pamphlet of 1632 and Bartoli's drawing, depict the descending tunnel more or less in its present state. To be precise, Bartoli renders the stairs differently, starting with a steep stair of fifteen high steps, followed by a long ramp, with only three steps at the bottom, in the inward curve. However, he was wrong in this, for the 1632 pamphlet shows the stairs as they are today, with only minor divergencies: twenty-five (in reality twenty-three) steps at the top and nine in the curve at the bottom. Hence we conclude that the stairs were laid out in 1629.

Two seventeenth-century burial vaults, which exist below the floor of the church, enclose remnants of earlier constructions, some of which seem to be part of an ecclesiastical building. The vaults are lined up along the axis of the church; the first, *A*, near the middle of the nave, the second, *B*, at the entrance to the chancel. Contrary to our earlier belief<sup>2</sup>, the vaults are 4.50 m.

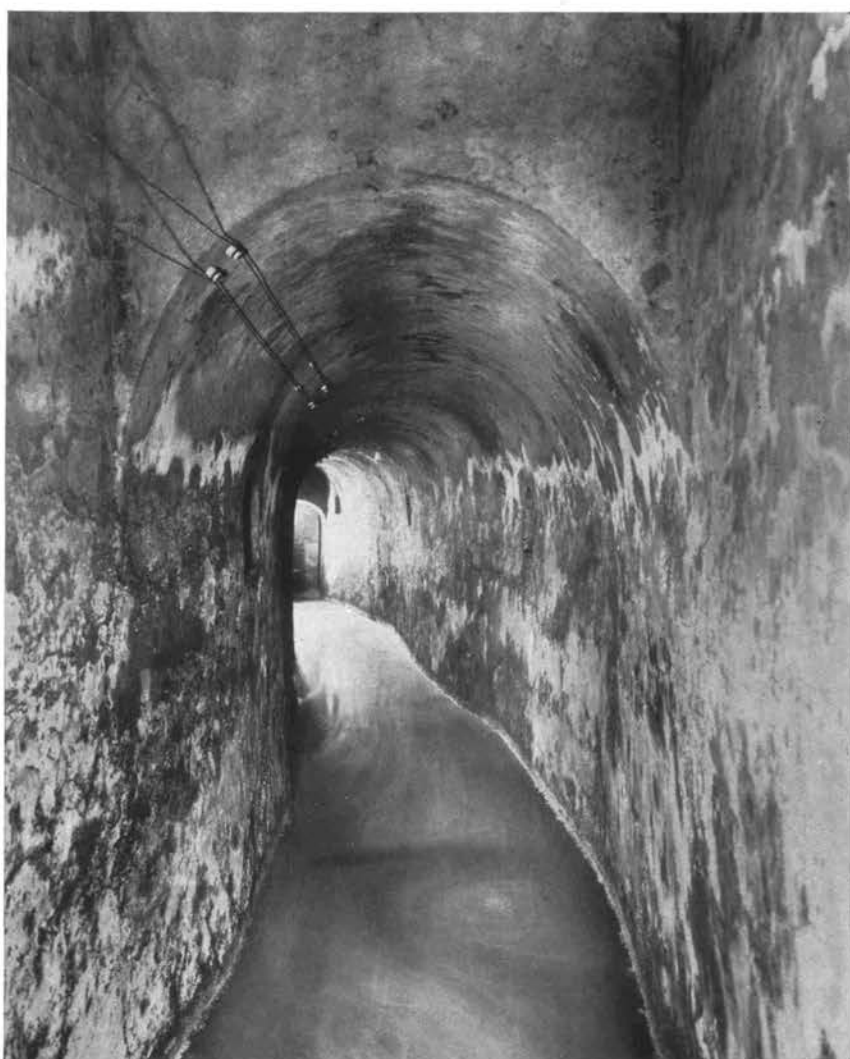


Fig. 130 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. Corridor leading to well-house (Photo: Sansaini)

(1) The legend on Bartoli's drawing ("*Porta antica di travertino creduta di altro carcere ma guasta per fare il sudetto corritore*"), suggests the possibility that the door was altered in 1629 (fig. 129).

(2) KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

distant from each other and never communicated. Moreover, their levels differ widely: vault *A*, albeit deeply filled with earth, has its present floor about 3.75 m. below the nave pavement, while the level of vault *B* is only — 2.20 m. (pl. XI).

The oldest features seen inside vault *A* consist of two piers, which project from the north and south walls of the burial vault under its seventeenth-century west wall. While the north pier disappears into the end wall of the burial chamber, the south pier is separated from that wall by a short gap, in which the tufa foundations of the south wall of the present church appear. The projecting tongues of these Roman piers, 0.68 m. thick, are broken off and show the concrete core faced with brick on either side. Since they line up, the two piers may have formed a continuous wall, but it is more likely that they were separate, and connected by an arch. The brickwork suggests a third-century date: the bricks ranging from 29 to 43 mm. in thickness, and the mortarbeds from 19 to 28 mm., averaging 36 and 22 mm. respectively. The modulus is thus five bricks and five mortarbeds to one Roman foot.

A narrow gap, filled by a vertical mass of concrete, identical with that of the seventeenth-century vault of the burial chamber, separates the northern Roman pier from a brick wall of very different type, running west and east. In this wall the bricks, nearly all broken, differ in color and thickness and are interspersed with fragments of marble, including at least one very sizeable piece. After continuing eastwards for roughly 3.50 m., the wall is cut off by another vertical mass of seventeenth-century concrete.

This wall finds its counterpart near the eastern end of the south wall of the burial vault. There, a wall of very similar make, though lacking the marble fragments, encloses a small niche, the curved

wall and half dome of which are built of tufa concrete, while the voussoir bricks of its fascia are short and irregular. For one meter above the apex of the niche, the wall continues in brickwork. Here, the bricks range from 30 to 35 mm. in thickness and the mortarbeds from 16 to 22 mm.; thus, averaging 32 and 22 mm. respectively, with a modulus of five bricks and five mortarbeds to 27 cm. Higher up, the wall-face continues in a construction of irregular tufa blocks, and it is on this wall that the remains of a fresco, perhaps of ninth-century date, has survived, showing the lower part of a male personage in ecclesiastical robes (fig. 131).

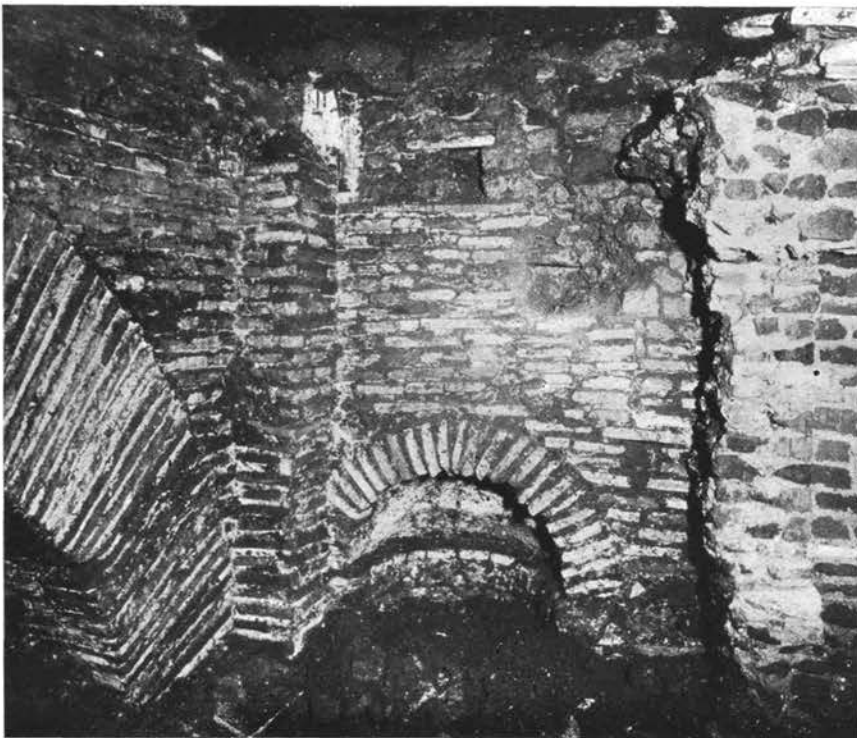


Fig. 131 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. South-east corner of burial vault *A* (Photo: Sansaini).

the wall with the niche disappears behind a short length of later east-west wall, which is built of tufa, except for a few brick courses and a few crude brackets, which jut out near the top. The handling of the mortar, with short vertical trowel strokes, suggests a fifteenth-century date for this later addition. To the east, on the other hand, the wall with the niche and the fresco are covered by the right hand abutment of an arch, which crosses the entire width of the seventeenth-

century burial vault and forms its visible eastern end. The left hand abutment of the same arch continues behind the vertical mass of the seventeenth-century tufa pier, which terminates the south wall of the chamber (fig. 132).

The arch, spanning 3.20 m. and 0.65 m. thick, is formed mainly of *bipedales*, 0.62 m. long, although occasionally a voussoir consists of two smaller bricks. The mortar joints are carefully worked. In contrast, the bricks in the spandrels and above the arch are quite small and the mortar-beds are far less carefully handled: the bricks range in thickness from 35 to 42 mm., the mortar from 25 to 35 mm.; whence the modulus of five bricks and five mortar-beds is as high as 33.5 cm. Arch and upper wall on the east face show the same masonry as on the west.

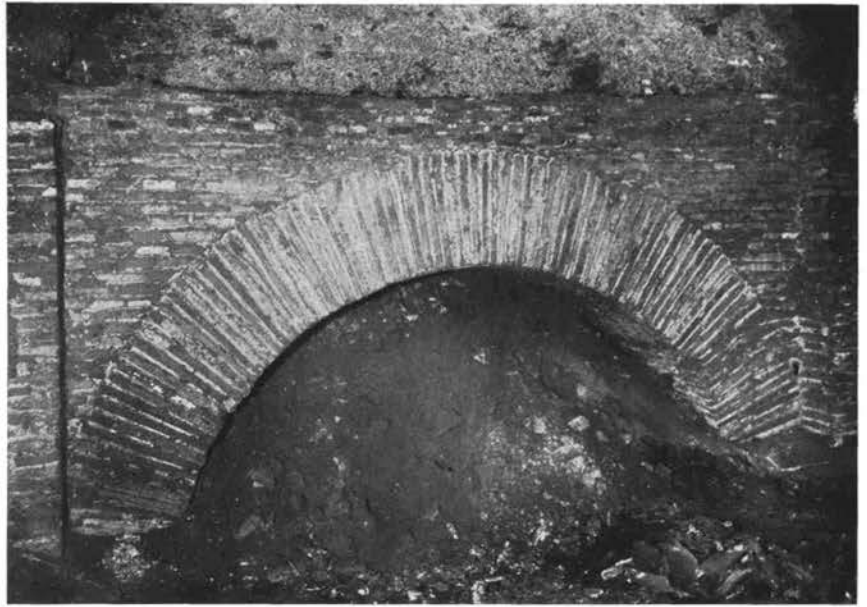


Fig. 132 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. Arch at east end of burial vault *A* (Photo: Sansaini).

Such brickwork, including the use of *bipedales*, is not uncommon in thirteenth-century buildings in Rome; for instance, the narthex of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Burial vault *B* is more easily described. Its west wall, including the staircase which descends from the chancel, is of nineteenth-century date in its upper part. Its curved east wall belongs entirely to the seventeenth century. Older remnants are as follows. At the very bottom of the west wall a series of short brick projections appear, framing large beam holes. Above the beam holes, the remains of a concrete floor are preserved all along the wall, continuing at the foot of the south wall of the chamber. The floor must originally have been supported on wooden beams (fig. 133). Hence, the visible remnants appear to comprise the uppermost part of the lower floor, and the bottom part of the upper floor of a two-storied building. The wall of the upper floor forms the western portion of the south wall of the burial vault. Its masonry, an irregular mixture of small bricks and tufa stones, resembles certain walls at S. Maria in Cosmedin, thus suggesting a late eighth-century date. A bench of similar masonry rises from the pavement in front of the south wall. Both wall and bench are covered with stucco plaster and, although the bench has sagged about 10 cm., are no doubt contemporary.



Fig. 133 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. Burial vault *B*, northern part of west wall (Photo: Krautheimer).

At a later time, a new pavement was placed in the room, level with the top of the bench and bordered to the west by a new wall. This new wall oversails the beam holes and the intervening brick projections of the first period, and is built against the south wall with its bench. Its brickwork



is characterized by horizontal coursing and by the profusion of very smooth mortar which is smeared over the edges of the bricks. Although it has none of the characteristic trowel-lines, it yet resembles *falsa cortina* masonry in other respects, and thus suggests a high medieval date, possibly twelfth or thirteenth century.

Still later, a staircase was built against the medieval west wall, parallel with the north wall of the burial vault. On the south side, its masonry of tufa and brick is marked



Fig. 134 — S. Lorenzo in Fonte. North side of burial vault *B* with remains of earlier staircase (Photo: Sansaini).

by the short vertical trowel strokes which are characteristic of fifteenth-century masonry in Rome. The steps contained in this construction apparently started at a higher level and led down to a level below that of the burial vault. It is tempting to interpret it as a medieval descent to the travertine-built doorway, which leads to the well-house (fig. 134).

Another late medieval remnant survives in the wall of the sacristy, which projects from the right flank

of the nave. Built into the outside face of its east wall we note two arches supporting an upper wall. The brickwork suggests a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date.

Thus three separate elements still surviving at S. Lorenzo in Fonte can be assigned to an early medieval date.

1. The corridor through which the well-house is approached may be tentatively assigned, on the basis of its lamp niches, to a *possible* date of origin in the eighth or ninth century. The brick and travertine wall at the entrance might be contemporary.

2. The two walls which run east and west in burial vault *A* have eighth-century brickwork, and the southern one has in it a niche and a fragment of a mural which is of indeterminate, but certainly early medieval date. No doubt the room which those walls flanked was an oratory. In size it was not altogether insignificant, for originally it must have extended beyond the area of burial vault *A*, both east and west. Proof of this is seen in the former existence of at least two subdividing and strengthening diaphragm arches. The one to the east has survived, while fragments of the other are built into the seventeenth-century west wall of the burial chamber. The length of the extension westward and eastward remains in doubt, but to the east the oratory must have terminated before it reached the area of the walls which are now enclosed in burial vault *B*.

3. The oldest of those walls in vault *B*, to the south and west, including the bench on the south side, show again what appears to be eighth-century brickwork. The room to which they belonged was the upper floor of a building, whose ground floor might well have been level with the corridor through which the well-house is approached. Indeed, the wall which separates the corridor from the present stairs may be the east wall of that ground floor room.

Hence, one might deduce an arrangement, in which the oratory seen in vault *A*, the house seen in *B*, and the corridor, would all have followed one another in sequence from west to east. But this remains conjectural. Only this much is certain, that eighth- and ninth-century remnants have survived in the two burial vaults and in the corridor, and that all these features are linked together in the veneration of a traditional *locus sanctus* in the well-house.

## S. LORENZO IN LUCINA

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## a) DESCRIPTIONS

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IDEM, *Schedario*, *Barb. Lat.* 2161, c. 12, 113<sup>v</sup> ff.

PESARINI, *Schedario*, *Vat. Lat.* 13128, c. 295 ff., transcribing, *inter alia*, *Barb. Lat.* 2161, c. 113<sup>v</sup> ff.

## b) ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1472 ANONYMOUS, View from Northwest, pen and ink drawing; STROZZI map, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante Icnografiche*, Pl. IV).
- 1588 FRÀ SANTI, Façade, woodcut; FRÀ SANTI, *op. cit.*, p. 29<sup>v</sup>.
- 1593 A. TEMPESTA, View, woodcut; TEMPESTA, Map of Rome, republished, without changes, 1606.
- 1630 A. ECLISSI, Fresco in apse, watercolor; Windsor, Royal Library, Coll. DAL POZZO, *Mosaici Antichi*, I, f. 13, no. 8940 (C. R. MOREY, *op. cit.*, Pl. I).
- 1631-1641 ANONYMOUS, Plan of church and convent, pen and watercolor; Rome, Arch. di Stato, Mappe e disegni, cart. 85, no. 508 (fig. 136)<sup>1</sup>.
- 1662 ANONYMOUS, Plan of Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina, including front part of church, and elevation of church façade and adjoining buildings, pen and watercolor; Vatican Library, *Chig.* P VII, 13, f. 31 (Fig. 140).
- 1666 ANONYMOUS, Plan, views and sections of Arco di Portogallo, pen and watercolor; *ibid.*, f. 32 (fig. 137).
- 1702 D'AQUINO, Views of interior and façade, engravings; D'AQUINO, *op. cit.*, Pls. 1, 2.
- XVIII cent. ANONYMOUS, Plan of church, painting; Rome, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, altar painting, first chapel, right side.
- XVIII cent. ANONYMOUS, Plans of convent, pen and watercolour; Rome, Arch. di Stato, Mappe e disegni, cart. 86, no. 511.
- 1817 G. B. CIPRIANI, View of façade, engraving; CIPRIANI, *Degli edifici antichi e moderni di Roma*, Rome, 1817, Vol. 2, not numbered.
- Ca. 1826 ANONYMOUS, Plan of church and neighbouring buildings, and elevation of shop-fronts along Via S. Lorenzo in Lucina, pen and watercolour; Rome, Pal. Venezia, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, *Racc. Lanciani*, vol. 52, c. 144
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- Ca. 1855 AUDÉOUD, Part of façade and campanile, photo; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vb 142<sup>v</sup> (34), f. 22.
- Ca. 1922 ANONYMOUS, Upper part of façade, pen and ink; Rome, Associazione dei cultori di architettura (ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, p. 357, bottom).
- Prior to 1927 ALINARI, Façade, photo; Alinari, no. 38320.

## C. — DATES

- 366 A faction of the clergy and the people of Rome meet *in Lucinis*, presumably later called the titulus Lucinae, to elect Damasus pope “... *in Lucinis Damasum sibi episcopum... expostulant...*” (*Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum...*, ed. O. GUENTHER, CSEL, 35, Vienna, 1895, p. 2). Epitaph of a presbyter TITVL. LUCI..., “tituli Lucinae”, found in the cemetery surrounding the church of S. Valentino, Rome. (O. MARUCCHI, *Il cimitero e la basilica di S. Valentino*, Rome, 1890, p. 98)<sup>2</sup>.

(1) The date is implied in the description of the adjoining palace as *Palazzo dell'Ill.mo Sign. abate Peretti*. Hence the plan (with a flap and obviously prepared as a project for alterations in the convent) dates after the death of both Card. Aless. Peretti, 1623, and his brother, Prince Michele Peretti, 1631, and before the elevation in 1642 of Michele's son, the abate Francesco Peretti, to the Cardinalate.

(2) I cannot quite follow Father Mohlberg when he argues, *op. cit.*, p. 267, that the *titulus Lucinae* mentioned in this epitaph may have been a “non-ecclesiastical edifice”.

- 432 — 440 Sixtus III, with imperial permission, builds a church in honour of Saint Lawrence “*fecit... basilicam sancto Laurentio quod Valentinianus Augustus concessit*” (LP, I, 235)<sup>1</sup>.
- 499 Signatures at the synod of that year of two presbyters “*tituli Lucinae*” (MGH *Auctores antiquissimi*, XII, 410 ff.; see KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, pp. 8, 80 f).
- 595 Signatures at the synod of that year of one presbyter “*tituli sancti Laurentii*” (MGH, *Epistulae*, I, 366 f.; see KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*).
- 450 — 600 A station “*ad sanctum Laurentium martyrem*”, presumably S. Lorenzo in Lucina, seems to appear in Sacramentaries composed at that period, and reflected in the eighth-century Frankish version of the Gelasianum (MOHLBERG, *op. cit.*).
- 590 — 604 Reference to the “*titulus beati Laurenti martyris qui appellatur Lucinae*” (*Registrum Gregorii*, ed. MGH, *Epist.*, I, 101 (lib. II. 2); see KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, p. 81).
- 684 — 85 Benedict II undertakes repair works in the church of Saint Lawrence, “*qui appellatur Lucinae*” and donates an altar cloth “*in titulo suprascripto*” (LP, I, 363).
- 687 — 701 Donation by Sergius I of four silver arches “*in basilicam sancti Laurenti martyris qui appellatur titulus Lucinae*” (LP, I, 367).
- 772 — 795 Hadrian I repairs, rebuilds, and redecorates a number of churches about to collapse from old age, together with their aisles “*in omnibus una cum porticibus earum nimio decore*”, among them “*titulum beati Laurentii martyris qui appellatur Lucine*” (LP, I, 507).
- 783 Sarcophagus of the deacon Paulus found among other eighth-century tombs adjoining the east flank of the narthex (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*).
- End of VIII cent. Referred to in the Itinerarium Einsidlense as “*sci Laurentii in Lucina*” (*Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 442).
- 795 — 816 Assault on Leo III during the Collect in the church of Saint Lawrence “*quae appellatur Lucinae*” (LP, II, 4). Donations by the pope “*in titulo beati Laurenti in Lucina*” of a precious textile and a small silver corona (*Ibid.*, II, 12, 20).
- 827 — 44 Gregory IV donates a precious textile “*in basilica beati Laurentii in Lucinae*” (*Ibid.*, II, 78).
- 844 — 847 }  
858 — 867 } The Tiber floods the church “*beati Laurenti quae appellatur Lucinae*” (*Ibid.*, II, 92, 153).
- Ca. 990 Mentioned in the Itinerary of Sigericus under “*ad Sanctum Laurentium in craticula*” (PESCI, *op. cit.*; see also ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, I, p. 107 f.).
- 1084 The soldiers of Robert Guiscard are reported to have nearly destroyed and almost reduced to nothing the quarter where S. Lorenzo in Lucina is situated: “*Immo ipse cum suis totam regionem illam in qua aeclesiae sancti Silvestri et sancti Laurentii in Lucina site sunt penitus destruxit et fere ad nichilum redegit...*” (LP, II, 290).
- 1112 Dedication of High Altar, possibly in the course of rebuilding the church, and deposition of numerous relics: the grill (*craticula*) of Saint Lawrence, transferred by Pascal II from an old altar, apparently in the church (inscription on stone cathedra in apse, GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, p. 56; see also “Benedict inscription”, now in narthex, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, V, 117); relics of Pontianus and his fellow martyrs, brought from Aquatraversa by one Benedict, presbyter of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and of Gordian and other martyrs, brought by the same from the Via Ardeatina (“Benedict inscription”, now in narthex, FORCELLA, V, 118); of the popes Cornelius, Stephen and Dionysius and other martyrs, apparently from S. Callisto (inscription, now in narthex, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, V, 117).<sup>2</sup>
- 1118 — 1119 Transfer to the High Altar by Benedict of relics of Saints Sempronius and other martyrs from the Via Latina (“Benedict inscription”, *loc. cit.*).
- 1130 Anacletus II, dedicates the church on May 25, and deposits relics of Alexander and

(1) PESARINI, *op. cit.*, was the first to refer the passage to S. Lorenzo in Lucina rather than to S. Lorenzo f.l.m. He was followed in this view by MOHLBERG, *op. cit.*, and KRAUTHEIMER, 1934; FERRUA, *op. cit.*, disagrees with this thesis on the ground that the pope represented on the twelfth century apse “mosaic” was Sixtus II rather than Sixtus III. The argument, in my opinion, carries little conviction.

(2) Some confusion prevails regarding the exact date of these transfers: the inscription of Benedict mentions that the relics from Aquatraversa were brought October 15, 1112, and deposited upon orders of Paschal II in the High Altar “*in sepulchro sub craticula*”; on the other hand, the cathedra inscription dates the transfer of the craticula by Paschal January 27, 1112, but places the consecration of the altar January 24, 1112. This last contradiction has already been pointed out by GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, p. 56, note 1; but he mistakenly referred the dedication of January 24 to a secondary altar (*Ibid.*, p. 53, note 3). In any event, it must be borne in mind that the Benedict inscription was carved only in 1118-1119. Is it not likely that the date October 25, 1112, should be corrected into October 25, 1111?

- other martyrs in the High Altar, in addition to those previously deposited there (Inscription in narthex, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, V, 119).
- 1196 Reconsecration of the church by pope Celestin III “CVM TANTA SOLLEPNITATE ET GLORIA QVANTA HACTENVVS NEC RECOGNITA NEC VISA FVIT”, and recognition of relics deposited 1130 in High Altar (Inscription in narthex, formerly near High Altar, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, V, 119; see also UGONIO, *op. cit.* c. 187, BOSIO, *Roma sotterranea*, 1632, p. 415, and GUIZZARDO, *op. cit.*, p. 12, as mentioned below, dig. 1675).
- 1427 The Cardinal's palace and the church are repaired by Cardinal Jean de Roche-Taille, “RUPE DE SCISSA JOANNES... ISTE DOMUM QUASI COLLAPSAM ET PRESTRATA RUINAE FUNDAMENTA VIDENS... TEMPLUM DOMUMQUE CADENTEM CUNCTA NOVARIS REPARAT...” (Inscription, lost but quoted by MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 138, and, after him, by PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, p. 417, and by FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, V, 120).
- 1463 Church thoroughly repaired by Cardinal Calandrini, “*da Filippo Calandrino da' fondamenti fu ristorata co'l Palazzo unito...*” (PANCIOLOLI, *op. cit.*, 1625, p. 435; see also A. Fulvio, as quoted by F. NARDINI, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1665, ed. 1771, p. 944: “... *in Capella nova Capellanorum fuit olim basis illa nominatissima et horologium superioribus annis effossum quod habebat septem gradus circum et lineas distinctas metallo maurato... et in angulo quatturo venti... ex opere musivo...*”). Part of the dial of the *horologium Augusti* was found in digging the foundations for the Cardinal's new chapel of Saints Philip and James, now the sacristy (Fr. ALBERTINI, *De mirabilibus veteris et novae urbis Romae*, Rome, 1510, f. 29 v., 30, quoted by LANCIANI, *Scavi*, I, 169).
- 1596 (1598?)<sup>1</sup> By order of Cardinal Dezza, the floor of the church is raised 1.60 m., up to street level, and supported on vaults. “... *strato ad altitudinem palmorum fere septem elato fornicibus constructis...*” (P. RESTA, *Memoria*, quoted by GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, p. 59, note 3). “... *Hora uguagliata al piano della strada, calandosi prima nell'entrare...*” (PANCIOLOLI, *op. cit.*, 1600, p. 418). “... *Ed il 1596 il Cardinale Inico d'Alvalos d'Aragona facendo innalzare il pavimento al piano della strada...*” (*Idem*, ed. 1625, p. 435).
- 1606 The church, at the instance of the title Cardinal, Alessandro Peretti (PANCIOLOLI, *op. cit.*, 1625, p. 436; GUIZZARDI, *op. cit.*, p. 9), is given in charge to the Chierici Regolari Minori. (P. M. FELINI, *Trattato nuovo...*, 1625, p. 72). The High Altar is removed from the apse and the floors of the church and the narthex are brought to the same level; “... *hanno scostato dalla Tribuna d'altare maggiore acciò si facesse il choro; agguagliarono al pavimento... il piano del portico...*” (PANCIOLOLI, *loc. cit.*).
- 1616 — 1647 Building and decoration of four chapels along the left flank, and of the first chapel to the right (See below, p. 19, note 8; and also FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, V, 129).
- 1650 Under the generalate of Padre Raffaele d'Aversa, and following the designs of Cosimo Fansaga, the nave is remodelled by raising its upper walls, building, though not yet decorating, the missing chapels to the right, constructing a new ceiling with three paintings, and decorating the upper walls with the gilded stucco figures of the saints whose relics are contained in the High Altar, “... *evecto fastigio sacellis dispositis sanctorum simulacris expressis quorum corpora reliquiasque recondit laqueari demum super inducto...*”. (Inscription, formerly on the main door. FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, V 130, quoting Nibby, *loc. cit.*<sup>2</sup>. Also “... *Questa chiesa è stata ultimamente quasi rifatta tutta sotto il Generalato di P. Raffaele Aversa...*”, F. FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1668, pp. 113 f., and “... *vi aggiunsero il bel soffitto e diversi stucchi dorati rappresentanti l'effigie de' Santo...* (whose relics are kept in the church) ...”, N. ROISECCO, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1765, II, pp. 163 ff.; also “... *si è cominciato dalli stuccatori uno cornicione seu cimarone di farsi intorno alla chiesa sotto le fenestre et sopra le capella conforme al disegno del Cavalier Cosimo Napoletano Architetto...*”, Rome, *Archivio di Stato*, Corporazioni religiose maschili, filza 1446, Diario dal 1639 al 1651, p. 212)<sup>3</sup>.

(1) GROSSI-GONDI, quoting Resta, gives the date 1598, Panciroli 1596.

(2) Forcella quotes the inscription not from the original, but from Nibby, giving its location as “sopra la porta”. Nibby however, says “sulla porta al interno”. Thus it may possibly have been on the door leaf, and have disappeared during the nineteenth-century restorations.

(3) Other passages in the diary (pp. 218, 220) refer to the artists engaged in painting two of the canvases for the ceiling, Viviano Spadarino, Neapolitano, and Giacomo Piccioni (?), Romano; see also TRI, *Nuovo Studio*, Rome, 1686, p. 335, “... *La pittura in mezzo alla soffitta con la Resurrettione di Cristo, è di Maometto Greuter...; le altre sono dello Spadarino e del Piccione, che si riconoscono alla maniera...*”.

- 1663 — 1664 Decoration of Fonseca chapel, the fourth to the right, by G. L. Bernini (F. FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, p. 104; R. WITTKOWER, *Bernini*, London, 1955, p. 236).
- 1670 (?) Decoration by C. Rainaldi of chapel of St. Anthony, the Nunez Chapel, *i.e.*, the second to the right (E. HEMPEL, *Carlo Rainaldi*, Rome, n. d., p. 15).
- 1675 High Altar designed by C. Rainaldi. In opening the old altar, three lead tablets are found, one bearing inscription of Celestinus III, May 26, 1196 (*Ibid.*, p. 12).
- 1721 Baptistery, designed by Giuseppe Sardi, installed at northeast corner of nave (TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture... in Roma*, Rome, 1763, p. 369).
- 1858 Restoration directed by Andrea Busiri; removal of seventeenth-century decoration from nave and façade, addition of two chapels: “*La chiesa... girata all'intorno da otto capelle, due nuove e acquistò...; le pareti guasto e malconcie furono pianate...*” (*Triplice Omaggio...*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21 f.). Paintings in nave by Bompiani “... nell'1858 fu... nuovamente restaurata e decorata di pitture a fresco... opere di Roberto Bompiani...” (A. NIBBY, *Itinerario di Roma*, Rome, 1870, p. 12; see also, *Triplice Omaggio*, *loc. cit.*); new ceiling in nave, inscribed MDCCLVIII.
- 1902 (?) Restoration of campanile (Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, *Pratiche*, 2 c, 1166, May 21, 1902).
- 1915 Repairs of pavement in front of altar (Soprintendenza, *Pratiche*, *loc. cit.*, March 12, 1915), finding of architrave with interlace work (Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, Archivio Fotografico, no. 6537).
- 1918 Repairs in nave (*Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1918).
- 1927 — 1928 Restoration of narthex and façade; removal of rooms inserted into narthex (A. TERENZIO, *op. cit.*)<sup>1</sup>.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Lorenzo in Lucina (pls. XII, XIII) lies in the northern part of the *Campus Martius*, in an area rich in Roman monuments<sup>2</sup>. The main axis of the church is parallel to Via del Corso, the Via Lata of Roman and medieval times, and 60 meters to the East of it. Its front, turned roughly north, faces Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The apse projects southwards in the direction of the street of the same name, but it is separated from it by the southwest wing of Palazzo Fiano. The long east side of the church flanks the courtyard of this palace<sup>3</sup>. Encased in a late nineteenth-century shell, the palace occupies the site, and apparently still encloses parts of the old Palazzo di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which was the residence of the title cardinals of the church until the early seventeenth century. Begun 1281-1287 by Cardinal Hugh of Evesham<sup>4</sup>, it was remodelled by a succession of title cardinals, beginning in 1427 and continuing throughout the fifteenth and into the early sixteenth century. By then it had become a vast agglomeration of incongruous structures, including three towers, at the north-west, north-east and south-east corners of the area, and a long

(1) Preliminary discussions regarding this restoration had been going on since 1922; see Soprintendenza, *Pratiche*, *loc. cit.*

(2) For the aspect of the church and the adjoining buildings before 1662, see the maps of Bufalini (1551), Cartaro (1576), and, more particularly, Tempesta (1593 and 1606), Maggi-Maupin-Losi (1625), and the survey preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Rome, cart. 85, no. 508 (1631-1641). For the period from 1662 to 1748, see the maps of Falda (1667) and Nolli (1748) and the surveys in the Vatican Library, Chigi, P VII, 13, f. 31 and 32 (1662), and Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Pal. Venezia, Rome, *Racc. Lanciani*, XI, vol. 52, no. 144 (1748?).

(3) Regarding the complex problem of ownership of the palace from the eighteenth through the nineteenth century, see REUMONT, “Il palazzo Fiano di Roma”, *Arch. Soc. Rom. St. Patria*, VII (1884), pp. 349 ff., and R. LANCIANI, “Miscellanea topographica”, *Bull. Com.*, 1891, pp. 18 ff. Its history still needs clarification.

The east wing is first shown on Tempesta's map of 1593, the south-west wing on the map of Maggi-Maupin-Losi, 1625; Falda's map of 1667 shows all three wings fully enclosing the courtyard, marked as Palazzo Ludovisi. But the present east wing was built only in 1884.

(4) FL. BRONDO, and PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, p. 417, refer only to “an English Cardinal”, but Ugonio, *Stazioni* 187<sup>v</sup>, gives the name, Ugo, presumably Hugh of Evesham; see REUMONT, *op. cit.*

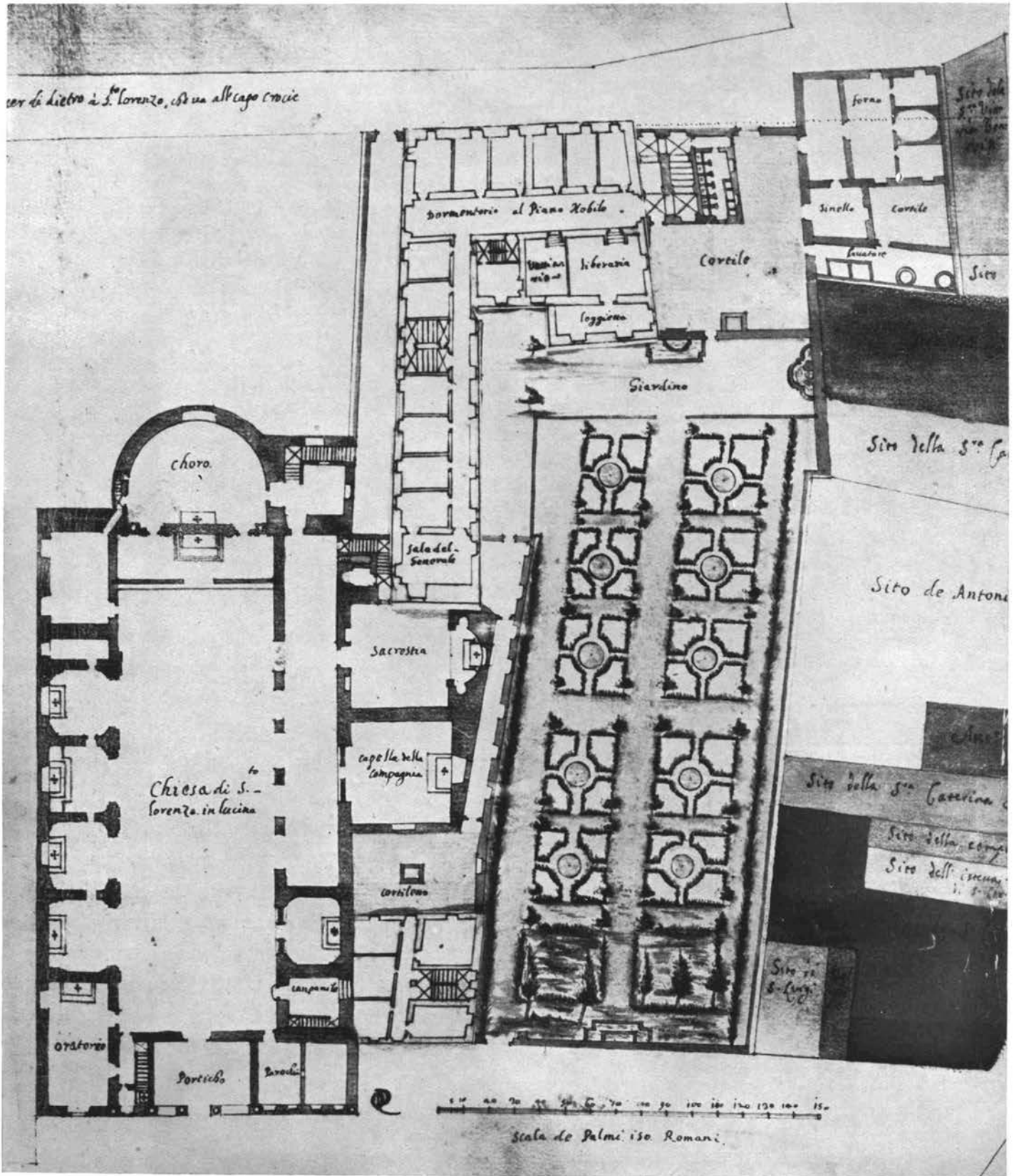


Fig 135 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Anonymous, plan of church and convent, 1631-41 (Rome, Arch. di Stato).





changed. Indeed, as late as 1662 a medieval or fifteenth-century tower of the old palace rose at the south-east corner, near the Corso. Until that time a Roman triumphal arch, perhaps erected by Hadrian, adjoined the east wall of the tower and spanned Via Lata; only then was it removed so that the street could be widened (fig. 136)<sup>1</sup>. Since the palace was the residence of the Portuguese ambassador during the sixteenth century, the arch became known as the *Arco di Portogallo*<sup>2</sup>. Below the south-west wing of the palace, and in the corresponding corner of its courtyard, parts of the *Ara Pacis* came to light in 1859 and 1903. To the west of the church, in the seventeenth century and probably long before, stood a number of individual buildings including, nearest to its flank, since the early seventeenth century<sup>3</sup>, the convent and garden of the *Chierici Regolari Minori* (fig. 135). After 1603 the latter community took charge of the church. Apparently in 1748, all



Fig. 137 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Façade (Photo: Anderson).

sandro Donati, writing in 1638, says that "*Michael Perettus... Venafri princeps (aedes) munifice aedificans egressus earumque parte absoluta, aliam morte praeventus imperfectam reliquit...*" (*Roma vetus*, ed. Amsterdam, 1695, p. 321).

(1) PLATNER-ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary*, p. 33, who like most scholars since NARDINI (*Roma antica*, Rome, ed. 1771, p. 989 f.) and NIBBY (*Roma nel 1838*, I, 1, pp. 471 ff.) attribute the arch to Marcus Aurelius, instead of the sixteenth-century attribution to Domitian. The fifteenth-century designation was *Arco Tripoli* or *Tropholi* or *Trophaei*. Present opinion varies "between the time of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius and the fourth or fifth centuries", see. E. NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, London, 1961, p. 83.

(2) NIBBY, *loc. cit.*

(3) Survey of 1631-1641, Arch. di Stato, cart. 85, no. 508 (fig. 135).

these structures were encased in a new shell, with a row of shops along Via in Lucina, a charming portal leading to the sacristy of the church adjoining it, and a new façade towards Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina, all still extant. In building the south-east corner projection of this shell, now 3 Piazza del Parlamento, the obelisk of the famous sundial of the Campus Martius, the *horologium Augusti*, and its base were excavated<sup>1</sup>. The bronze markings of the dial had been seen as early as 1463 when under Cardinal Calandrini the foundations were laid for the chapel of SS. Philip and James<sup>2</sup>. This chapel, later used as sacristy, projects from the present west flank of the church, far into the area of the convent buildings (fig. 135), on the very site of the present seventeenth-century sacristy.

Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina, to the north of the church, had more or less its present shape as early as 1551, when Bufalini published his map.

The church is preceded by a narthex, its floor roughly level with the piazza, its front wide open (fig. 137). Its roof is supported by six columns and two piers, one at either end, crowned by an entablature. The twelfth-century character of the narthex was restored in 1927-1928<sup>3</sup>. The façade of the nave rises above the sloping roof of the narthex. Surmounted by a triangular gable with mouldings of seventeenth century date, it opens at clerestorey level in two rectangular windows, flanking an oculus in the center. The windows existed as early as 1588; at that time the oculus was filled with a wheel tracery, presumably of fifteenth century date (fig. 138). Apparently in the remodelling of 1650, the flanking windows were enclosed in profiled stucco frames (fig. 139), but these were removed from the rectangular windows in 1927-1928<sup>4</sup>. To the right of the façade rises the campanile, five storeys high from the clerestorey level. Each of its two lower floors has two single openings, while the three upper storeys have pairs of double openings<sup>5</sup>. Its present state dates from two restorations. In 1858 a small terminating belfry presumably set up in 1650 (fig. 140), was removed<sup>6</sup>, while the openings of the four upper storeys were unblocked in 1902<sup>7</sup>.

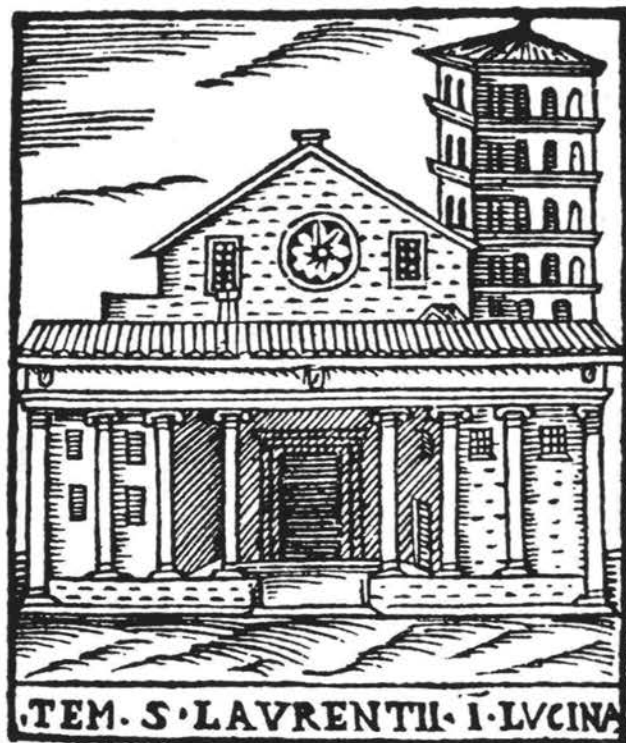


Fig. 138 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina.  
Frà Santi, façade, 1588.

(1) E. NASH, "Rom, Obelisk und Circus", *Röm Mitt.*, 64 (1957), 232 ff., esp. fig. 1 and p. 237. The obelisk was known as early as 1510 (F. ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 237 f., 29, 30: "... in loco ubi nunc est domus nova capellae apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi in ecclesia S. Laur. in Lucina fuit basia nominatissima urbis non longe a qua est obeliscus aemiseputus"; see, on the contrary, the note in the Coner Sketchbook, f. 69, TH. ASHBY, *Papers British School*, II (1904), p. 40: "rep(er)to fuit a(n)no D. 1512 in campo martio". It was seen again in 1594, as mentioned by FL. VACCA, *Memorie*, no. 45 (in NARDINI, *Roma antica*, Rome, ed. 1773, IV, p. xxiii f.). See also A. M. BANDINI, *De obelisco Caesaris Augusti*, Rome, 1750.

(2) ALBERTINI, as quoted in the previous note. See also N. ROISECCO, *Roma antica e moderna*, II, 1765, p. 171 f. ("... linee di bronzo incstrate... supra lastroni di marmo alcune delle quali a memoria che si trovassero nel cavare i fondamenti della... Sagrestia..."); MORONI, *Dizionario...*, XLVIII, 185 ("... nello scavare i fondamenti... della Capella del Cardinal Calandrini..."); finally, F. CANCELLIERI, *Il Marcato (di)... Piazza Navona*, Rome, 1811, p. 170, note 2 ("... Cappella la quale per ordine di Clemente VIII fu convertita in Sagrestia...").

(3) A. TRENZIO, *loc. cit.*

(4) Baroque pediments placed above the rectangular windows, presumably in 1650, were removed prior to 1855; cf. Cipriani's view and Audéoud's photograph (fig. 141).

(5) SERAFINI, *Torri Campanarie*, p. 213.

(6) It appears for the first time in the survey of 1662 (Chig. P. VII. 13, f. 31; our fig. 139), for the last time in Audéoud's photograph of c. 1855.

(7) MAGNI, *loc. cit.*

Only one door leads from the narthex into the church, while a smaller door opens into the ground floor of the campanile. Both nave and campanile are level with the floor of the narthex. The nave is 54.10 m. long, including chancel and apse, and 13.25 m. wide (pl. XII, fig. 141). It is flanked on either side by five rectangular chapels; the first space on the left is occupied by a bap-

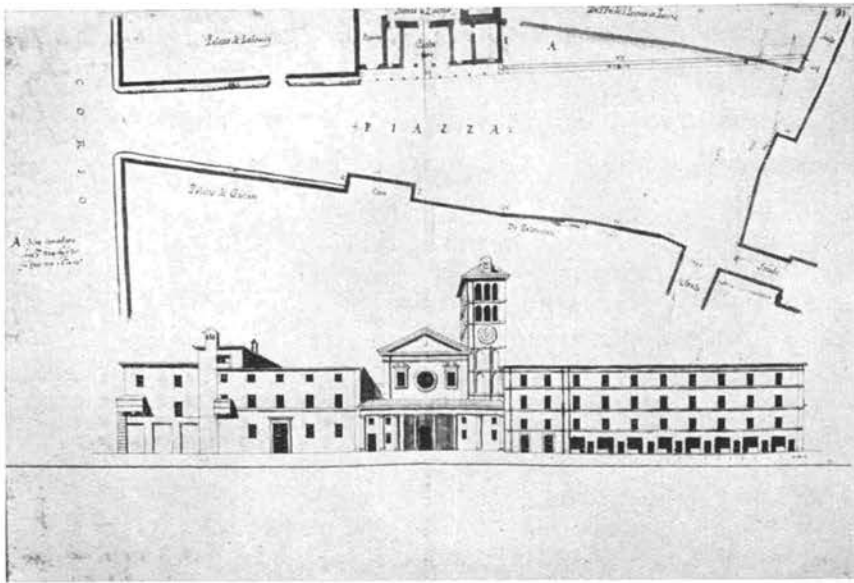


Fig. 139 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Anonymous, façade and adjacent buildings, 1662 (Vatican Library).



Fig. 140 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Campanile prior to 1855, Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Photo: J. Audéoud)

tistry, the one on the right by the campanile. The total width of the church, including the chapels, is 24.75 m. Smaller end chapels project southwards, parallel with the axis of the nave, from the fifth chapel on either side. Five rectangular windows, one above each of the arched chapel openings, admit light into the nave. The coffered ceiling of the nave dates from 1858. The High Altar, built in 1675<sup>1</sup>, stands under a triumphal arch, which rests on two projecting piers and terminates the nave. Behind the arch, the curve of the semicircular apse extends to a total depth

of 9.50 m. It is vaulted with a half-dome and has three rectangular windows, resembling those of the nave, in the upper part of its wall. A shallow niche, hollowed into the apse wall at its apex, shelters the stone *cathedra* which bears the inscription of Paschal II, dated 1112<sup>2</sup>. Midway between throne and triumphal arch, stands the old high altar of the same date<sup>3</sup>. To the left of the chancel, a small staircase leads up from a dark side room to a choir loft. To the right of the chancel, there is a chamber of irregular shape at the end of the row of the chapels which flank the west side of the nave. At present it is merely a passage, connecting the chancel and the small end chapel with a *cul-de-sac*, which opens southwards into Via S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Originally, however, it must have belonged to the church itself; and a small apse of early date projects from its south wall into the adjoining courtyard.

Viewed from outside, the eaves of the chancel and apse are seen to be nearly three meters lower than the eaves of the nave roof (pl. XII). Of greater significance is the observation that, below

(1) See above, p. 163, digest 1675.

(2) See above, p. 161 dig. 1112, and GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, p. 56

(3) See preceding note.

the level of the rectangular windows, that is to say, roughly five meters above the level of the nave floor, the apse wall is set back on the outside, by more than a meter; its upper part being that much thinner than the part which stands below.

## E. — ANALYSIS

### I. RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE

As it presents itself today, the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina seems to consist of two incongruous parts: on the one hand, a narthex and campanile of high medieval date; on the other, a nave of nineteenth-century design terminated by a high baroque altar and flanked by seventeenth-century chapels. To a large extent, this impression is the result of a series of remodellings, which extend from the late fifteenth through the early twentieth century.

a) The latest of these operations restored its original medieval aspect to the narthex (fig. 137)<sup>1</sup>. To do this, a number of incongruous walls were removed from the façade and interior of the portico, which, from the late sixteenth century if not earlier, had had its end bays partitioned off to make, on the left side, a small chamber and staircase, to the right, a parish office (figs. 135, 138)<sup>2</sup>. During this operation a column was discovered, and isolated, on the east flank of the narthex. Unfortunately, the restoration destroyed the graceful eighteenth-century balustrade which formerly stood on top of the portico entablature. Likewise, the seventeenth-century stucco frames were removed from the flanking rectangular windows of the upper façade.

b) The remodelling of 1858 was far more thorough. In it the nave received its painted marble and figure decorations and its coffered ceiling (fig. 141)<sup>3</sup>. At the same time the sixth chapel on either side of the nave, and the adjoining end chapels, were built (pl. XII). Those on the east side took the place of a narrow space, which formerly adjoined the fifth chapel and a long chamber to the South of it; those to the West replaced part of the convent buildings (fig. 135)<sup>4</sup>. The baptistry chapel, the first to the left, was created in 1721 in the southern



Fig. 141 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Interior (Photo: Alinari).

(1) TERENCE, *loc. cit.*

(2) The walls appear on all views, beginning with Frà Santi, 1588, while the interior division is shown on the plan of the *Archivio di Stato* of 1631-1641, and on the survey of 1662, *Chig.* P. VII. 13, f. 31.

(3) See above, p. 163, dig. 1858.

(4) Surveys *Arch. di Stato*, cart. 85, no. 508, and *Racc. Lanciani* vol. 52, c. 144.

half of an oratory which, from before 1588, as Frà Santi's woodcut shows, also occupied half of the left hand end of the narthex.

c) The dull remodelling of 1858 did away with the baroque decoration which the nave had received in 1650. Of this, only a very summary interior view has survived<sup>1</sup> but an inscription, formerly above the door, and the guidebooks from 1668 until 1850, convey a fair idea of it. A splendid ceiling was decorated in its

center with a painting of the Resurrection by Maomet Gruyter, and with others at either end by Spadarino and Piccioni. Gilded stucco figures of saints and stucco ornaments decorated the walls, presumably between the windows<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, it would seem, the windows on the façade received their stucco frames and surmounting pediments, known to us from Cipriani's engraving, and the little belfry was added to the campanile. These disappeared in 1927-28 and 1858 respectively<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, the five rectangular windows which now light the nave must be assigned to the remodelling of 1650. Indeed, it was only possible to make them after the clerestorey walls had



Fig. 142 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina.  
East clerestorey from the south (Photo: Krautheimer).

been raised in height by nearly three meters, using a poor rubble masonry which is characteristic of seventeenth-century building in Rome (it is clearly visible in both upper walls), and after a set of four earlier rectangular windows at a lower level had been blocked up (Pls. XII, XIII, fig. 142). A corresponding project to raise the walls of the chancel is attested by the indented ends of the raised portions of the nave walls, but it was apparently abandoned. In any event, the raising of the nave wall seems to be the *evectum fastigium* referred to in the inscription of 1650<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, the reference in that inscription to the laying out of chapels (*capellis dispositis*) must be taken with a grain of salt, since the great majority of those to the left, and the first of those to the right, date between 1616 and 1640<sup>5</sup>. Thus, it would seem that the claim made in the inscription of

(1) D'AQUINO, *op. cit.*, Pl. I.

(2) See above, p. 162, dig. 1650.

(3) See above, p. 163, digests 1858 and 1927-1928.

(4) A drawing in the Uffizi, Gab. dei Disegni, *loc. cit.* Dis. arch., 2797a, shows the seventeenth-century decoration of an arch, marked "S. Lorenzo in Lucina". It may be the project for the decoration of the triumphal arch.

(5) The first chapel to the left (not counting the Baptistry), the Pasqualeoni chapel, may be dated roughly 1616-1618 by its three paintings from Carlo Saraceni's last years. The second, the Sirtoli chapel, redecorated in 1732, was founded prior to 1641 and first decorated that year (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, V, 129). The third, remodelled in 1940, still contains its original altar paintings by Alessandro Turchi († 1648). The fourth, the Alaleoni chapel, was consecrated a first time in 1578 and again in 1624, a date confirmed by the decoration, including Vouet's paintings (W. CRELLY, *Simon Vouet*, New Haven, 1962).

The first chapel to the right, wholly redecorated in 1858, originally had ceiling paintings by G. B. Speranza († 1640) and Tommaso Suini († 1635) and an altarpiece by Tommaso Salini († 1625) who used a drawing by Baglioni (G. BAGLIONI, *Vite dei pittori*, Rome, 1743,

1650 refers only to the building of the remaining three chapels on the right side of the nave; and these chapels did indeed receive their decorations and altarpieces shortly after 1650<sup>1</sup>. The survey of 1631-1641 shows only the chapels along the left flank, and the first chapel on the right.

d) Thus the building of the chapels apparently started a decade after the Chierici Regolari Minori took possession of the church and the convent, in 1606. At the same time, the High Altar was moved from the apse to the place under the triumphal arch where it still stands<sup>2</sup>, though remodelled in 1675. But as early as 1596 or 1598 the floor of the church was raised roughly seven palmi (1.57 m.), and supported on vaults, thus bringing it to the level of the street and protecting the building from the inundations of the Tiber<sup>3</sup>.

Traces of a set of four rectangular windows, all blocked up, show in each of the clerestorey walls, at a level 1.80 m. below the five similar windows which replaced them in 1650 (pls. XII, XIII). Two more windows of the former set have left their traces in the upper walls of the chancel. The shape and size of all these windows suggest a date in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

When these later remodellings are set aside, the structure reveals itself as an Early Christian basilica, built on top of the remnants of a Roman construction, and rebuilt and added to at least twice in the early and the high Middle Ages.

## 2. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

The remnants of the medieval church which still survive are the narthex, large parts of both clerestorey walls, and the entire campanile. The picture is complemented by the description of the building given by Ugonio, and by the survey plan of 1631-1641. The latter shows, as still extant, four rectangular piers of the right hand arcade of the nave. All these elements are of high medieval date, but they do not all belong to the same building period. The campanile is certainly later than the clerestorey walls.

### a) THE NARTHEX

The six columns in front of the narthex stand on a low parapet wall, 0.40 m. high above the floor (fig. 137). Plinths, bases and shafts, all different in size and design, are apparently Roman spoils. The Ionic capitals, on the other hand, seem to be of twelfth-century workmanship. As was customary in Rome from the fifth through the twelfth centuries, they are adjusted to the differing heights of the shafts by shorter or longer necks. The piers at either end are surmounted by roughly-hewn Corinthian pilaster capitals. The brickwork of these piers, at present covered by a thick coat of plaster, was visible in 1938; the bricks were from 3.7 to 5 cm. high, averaging 4.1 cm., the mortarbeds ranged from 1.4 to 2.2 cm., averaging 1.9 cm.; thus five bricks and five mortarbeds formed a modulus of 1 R. ft. During the restoration work of 1927-28 it became apparent that the pier at the left, or east end of the porch was a corner pier. Its southward termination has been marked in the new plaster coat. The column uncovered in the east wall of the narthex has its base level with the floor; its capital is medieval Ionic. Hence, the narthex was open at one end as well as to the front. The entablature

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pp. 173, 241 ff.). The painting, at present on the altar, has always been taken to be the Salini original. Only HUETTER-LAVAGNINO, *op. cit.*, p. 37 have doubted the attribution; indeed, the eighteenth-century appearance of the painting, the inclusion in it of a plan of the church with all its chapels and, finally, the omission in Baglioni's reference of the figure of Saint Lucina, cause some wonder. Could the painting, now on the altar, have been substituted in the eighteenth century for Salini's original? However, if, as it seems, a Salini painting originally decorated this altar, the chapel would still date from before 1625.

(1) The second chapel (again not counting the space occupied by the campanile) belonging to the Nunez family and dedicated to Saint Anthony, was designed by Carlo Rainaldi; the *terminus ante quem* is October, 1659, when Jan Miel, who executed the paintings, left Rome. The third was redecorated in 1740 as a tomb chapel for Cardinal Gio. Ant. Davia. Its original decoration would seem to have been executed in the early seventeenth century (paintings by Avanzino Nuzi, † 1629, and Orazio Borgianni, † 1616; see TITI, *Nuovo Studio di pittura*, Rome, 1686, pp. 395 ff.); but since the chapel is not yet shown on the survey of 1631-1641, the paintings must have been transferred later. Finally, the fourth, the Fonseca chapel, contains, in addition to Bernini's bust of Dr. Gabriele Fonseca (1668-1675) (R. WITTKOWER, *Bernini*, London, 1955, p. 30), paintings by Girolamo Cortese, dated 1664 (E. W. WATERHOUSE, *Baroque painting in Rome*, London, 1937, pp. 56, 71) and was founded perhaps as early as 1662.

(2) PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 436.

(3) RESTA, *Memorie*, as quoted by GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, p. 59, attributed the work to Cardinal Deza and to the year 1598. PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 435, dates it 1596 and attributes it to Cardinal Inico d'Avalos. See also PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 417.

above the front columns, consists of architrave, frieze and cornice, all of simple design. Inspection in 1927-28 revealed that some of the architrave blocks are the quartered pieces of a column shaft<sup>1</sup>. The frieze has seven flat relieving arches of brick, one over each intercolumniation. The cornice is decorated with the usual row of marble corbel stones.

The soffit of the entablature, in the two eastern bays, still bears traces of the sixteenth-century wall which was removed in 1927-8.

#### b) THE NAVE AND CAMPANILE

Large portions of a medieval clerestorey have survived in both upper walls of the nave (Pl. XII, XIII, fig. 142). Below the rubble masonry, which was added in 1650 to raise these walls by more than three meters to their present height, they extend for nearly the whole length of nave and chancel. The medieval masonry also appears in the right hand wall of the chancel, where it surrounds the walled-up window of 1650. Only the southern end of the nave wall on the right side, and the northern end on the left side, date from an earlier period. In both places the jamb and the springing of a window arch are seen, but the openings of these windows have been blocked with the medieval brickwork which composes the rest of the clerestorey.

Each of the medieval clerestorey walls, not counting the right hand upper wall of the chancel, was pierced by ten narrow arched windows. Four of these are still clearly outlined in the right hand, and five in the left hand clerestorey. They vary in width from 0.93 to 1.02 m. and are 2.40 m. high. The first window in the right hand clerestorey wall starts 4.10 m. from the corner of the façade, while the last one is 2.20 m. from the southern end of the wall. The first nine windows in the right hand clerestorey (counting from the façade) and all ten in the left hand clerestorey, are framed by a blind arcade which has round arches resting on pilasters, their springing marked by a cornice of two projecting brick courses. The span of these arches measures roughly three meters and the width of the pilasters is 0.90 m. Pilasters and archivolts stand out 0.10 m. from the plane of the wall. Above the apex of the blind arcades, the medieval wall continues for another 0.80 m., to a height of 13.00 m. above the present nave floor level.

The masonry of these medieval portions of the clerestorey is brick, homogeneous in size and varying in color from light to dark red. The bricks average three centimeters in height; they vary in length from 25 to 30 cm. The mortar is grey, mixed with a considerable amount of black lava fragments. The joints are from 2.0 to 2.5 cm. high. Four bricks and four mortarbeds thus measure one *palmò romano*, 0.22 m.; six bricks and five mortarbeds measure one Roman foot; nine and one-half bricks and nine mortarbeds measure 50 cm. The mortar is smoothly smeared around the bricks and occasionally levelled in against the top of the brick below with a sharp stroke of the trowel.

The same brickwork appears in the upper walls of the chancel and, apparently, in the upper part of the façade. A survey drawing, made in 1920, when the façade was stripped of its plaster coat, shows among other things a window of roughly the same proportions as the medieval windows in the clerestorey walls<sup>2</sup>. However, neither the façade nor the chancel walls were articulated by blind arcades; nor do the chancel walls show any traces of medieval windows.

The campanile represents a second medieval period of construction. Its walls were built against the northern end of the western, or right hand clerestorey wall. The south wall of the campanile cuts through the northernmost medieval clerestorey window on that side, while its north wall stands in line with the church façade. The lower floors of the tower are closed, except for two doors, one opening from the narthex, another (dated 1940) opening into the nave. At clerestorey level there is a storey with two large blind arches on each face. Above this there is a storey with two wide openings, and finally, there are three storeys with two twin openings on each of the four sides (fig. 137).

The brickwork of the campanile is similar to that of the clerestorey walls; it differs primarily in the slightly diminished thickness of the mortarbeds, which average two centimeters (hence six bricks and six mortarbeds per R. ft., or 10:10 per 50 cm). It also differs in having richer profiles, decorated with sawtooth brickwork on cornice and impost.

Several windows of the medieval clerestorey were walled up, possibly when the campanile was built.

While we are discussing the medieval features of the church, the twelfth-century altar must not be omitted. Its front is well preserved, hidden behind the High Altar of 1675. Decorated with a mosaic of porphyry and serpentino arranged in a diamond and star pattern, it is pierced by a large fenestella<sup>3</sup>. The stone *cathe-dra* in the apse, obviously contemporary, is dated by its inscription, 1112<sup>4</sup>.

(1) TERNIZIO, *loc. cit.*

(2) ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, drawing on p. 357.

(3) GROSSI-GONDI, *loc. cit.*, p. 61

(4) *Ibid.*; see also above, p. 161, dig. 1112.

## 3. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

Elements of an Early Christian church survive below the present floor of the nave and the chapels on either side. They are also preserved in the upper walls of the building at a number of points between the façade and the apse. Since the latter are more easily discernible, we start our discussion with them.

At the beginning of the left hand clerestorey wall and at the far end of the right hand wall we see remains of the clerestoreys of an earlier building, embedded in the medieval brick masonry. In the right hand, or western wall, these remnants are: *a*) a brick pier surmounted by *opus listatum* masonry, the whole rising to the same height as the later medieval clerestorey wall, + 13.00 m.; *b*) the jamb of a window, not less than 2.60 m. high, which terminates the pier, 1.60 m. from the south corner of the nave; *c*) the arch of this window, formed of *bipedales*, 0.59 m. long, set to a radius of 1.58 m. (fig. 143). Since the arch is set back, as customary, a few centimeters from the supporting pier, the window originally would have been roughly 3.10 m. wide<sup>1</sup>. Since the window sill is missing, the original height of the window cannot be ascertained. Its opening is blocked by the brickwork of the medieval clerestorey, and a small medieval window has taken the



Fig. 143 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. South end of west clerestorey, remains of Early Christian window arch (Photo: Sansaini).

place of the earlier one. Of the corresponding window at the beginning of the left hand, or eastern clerestorey wall, far less is preserved; but there too, at a distance of only 1.00 m. from the façade corner, the right hand jamb is clearly seen in its upper part (fig. 144). A fragment of the surmounting arch is also seen, together with the brickwork of the spandrel which, in the top part of the wall, gives way to *opus listatum*. It appears from a drawing, done when the stucco coat of the façade was temporarily removed, that the *opus listatum* masonry extended nearly as far as the middle of the façade. Another small patch of *opus listatum* masonry shows in a break of the plaster revetment near the south end of the left hand clerestorey, below window level (Plate XIII).

The brickwork of the window piers shows features characteristic of Early Christian, and specifically fifth-century, building technique in Rome. Bricks range from 2.5 to 3.8 cm. in height, and are up to 55 cm. in length; mortarbeds are 3 to 4.5 cm. and even 5 cm. thick; giving a proportion of four bricks and mortarbeds per Roman foot, or seven bricks and six mortarbeds in 50 cm. The

(1) A short perpendicular break, seen in 1938, 2.05 m. north of the right hand jamb of the window, is unlikely to be the left hand window jamb, as we then thought (KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 389). Possibly it belongs to a beam-hole in the original *opus listatum*, for one of the roof beams of the west aisle.





Fig. 144. — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. North end of east clerestorey (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 145 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. *Opus listatum* in the east wall of chancel (Photo: Sansaini).

mortar is pinkish-grey in color, and is mixed with a large proportion of broken brick. In the *opus listatum*, somewhat irregularly, one, three and four brick courses alternate with the *tuffelli* courses.

Other parts of this Early Christian structure survive in the left hand, or eastern wall of the chancel, in the eastern springing of the triumphal arch, in the lower portions of the apse wall and in the small side room which adjoins the chancel on the west side.

The upper part of the chancel wall on the left, or east side consists entirely of *opus listatum* masonry, of similar build and with the same thick mortar joints as is seen at the top of the north east and south east corners of the clerestorey (fig. 145). At its south end the chancel wall continues, without a break, into the curve of the apse; at its northern end it meets the masonry of the triumphal arch. The arch itself is formed of large *bipedales*, over 80 cm. long. In width and texture the mortarbeds of the triumphal arch are exactly like those observed in the window arches of the original clerestorey. The arch springs from a marble block, which in turn rests on a huge impost block of travertine, well profiled and no doubt originally surmounting a column (fig. 146). The diameter of the triumphal arch is 12.10 m., and its apex would have risen 11.95 m. above the present sixteenth-century level of the nave.

Similar *opus listatum* masonry, but with regularly alternating courses of brick and *tuffelli*, was found on the outside of the main apse, near its right hand, western springing (fig. 147). It appears again in the north wall of the side room to the west of the chancel, in the eastern half of an area of wall which was uncovered in 1938. (The western half of this area is of earlier date, presumably late Roman) <sup>1</sup>. Finally, two walls of the same type as that as that seen in the original clerestorey, were found in this side room, both forming part of the western chancel wall. One, apparently the outer face of that wall, and built of the same *opus listatum*, was uncovered in the left hand side of the passage which leads into the side room from the southernmost chapel on the western side of the nave

(1) See below, p. 179.



Fig. 146 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Entablature and springing of triumphal arch, east side, seen from the South (Photo: Sansaini).

(fig. 148). The other showed in the right hand, or southern jamb of the passage by which the side room communicates with the chancel. Part of the original chancel wall, it was sliced through when the passage was made, and shows the thickness of that wall, 0.85 m., exposing both the core of the wall and the bricks which formed its inner face (fig. 149). The smooth face of the brick wall to the left in the photograph belongs to a later building period, when an inner lining was inserted in apse and chancel<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 147 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. *Opus listatum* of apse wall, near right hand shoulder (Photo: Sansaini).

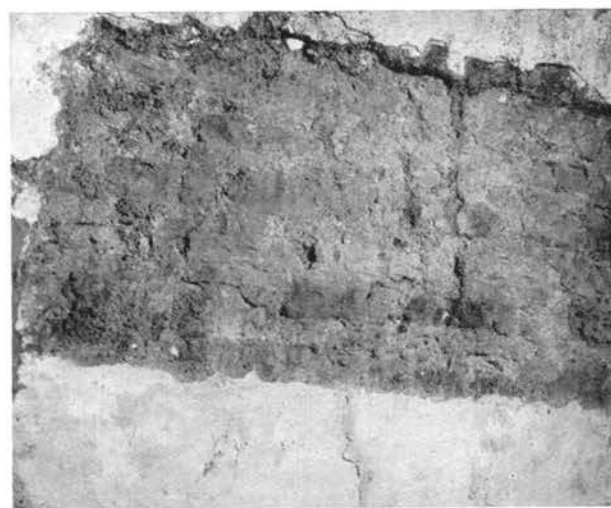


Fig. 148 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Exterior of chancel wall, west side (Photo: Sansaini).



Fig. 149 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Right, core and internal brick face of original chancel wall. Left, secondary inner lining (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) See below, p. 177.

The foundation walls for the nave supports in this Early Christian church, were identified at three points: *a*) below the entrance to the first chapel on the west side; *b*) along the front of the fifth and sixth chapels on the east side; *c*) below the north-east corner of the nave (pl. XII). The masonry of these foundation walls is largely *opus listatum*; only the corners are built in brick, apparently to give them greater strength.

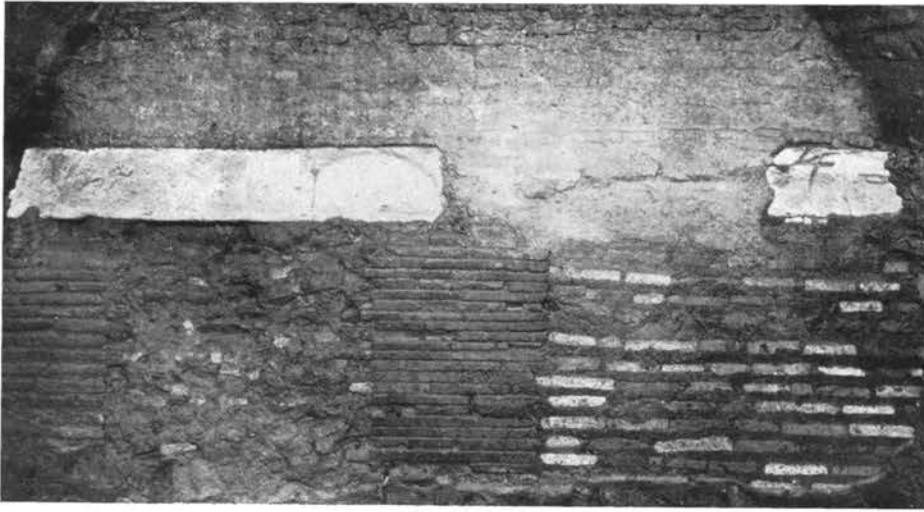


Fig. 150 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Foundations of north wall. Threshold stones of center and eastern doorways (Photo: Sansaini).

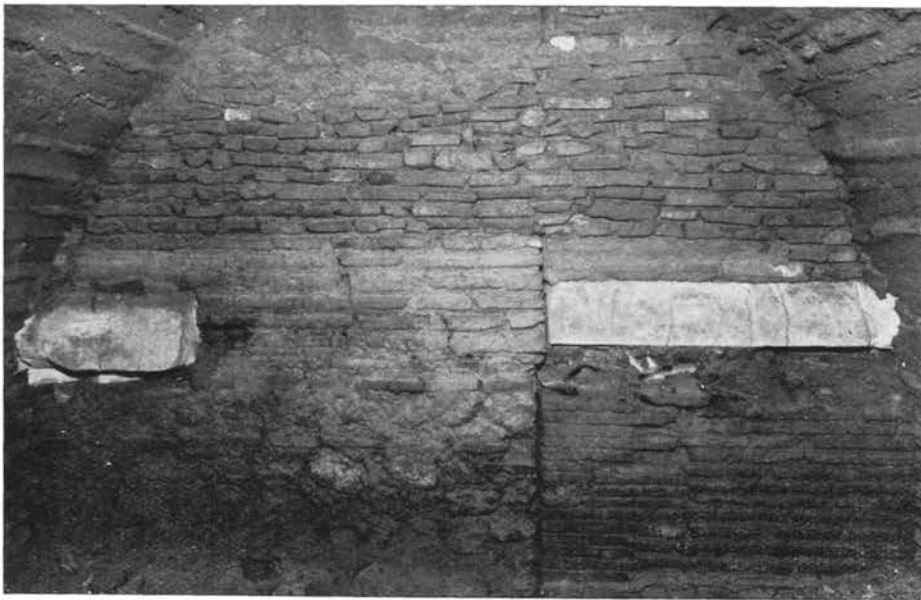


Fig. 151 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Threshold stones of center and western doorway (Photo: Sansaini).

brickwork, which rises to an indefinite level. The eastern threshold stone rests on a brick wall, interrupted by a single course of *tufelli*. At the western end, the brickwork does not rise above the bed of the stone; but at its eastern end, Early Christian brickwork continues as far as the corner of the nave, rising to a higher level (fig. 152).

Lastly, traces of Early Christian masonry were seen in the exterior walls of three side chapels; the fifth to the left and the first and second to the right, thus disclosing the breadth of the original aisles. The piece found in the second chapel to the right has brickwork like that of the window piers in the clerestorey walls, though with thinner mortarbeds, ranging from 3.0 to 3.8 cm. Hidden

Traces of the entrances to the Early Christian church are visible inside a series of twelfth-century tomb vaults near the north end of the nave. They consist of three threshold stones of marble, 1.60 m. below the present nave floor (figs. 150, 151, 152). The one to the East is 1.75 m. long and the one in the center is 3.15 m. long. Only the eastern end of the western threshold could be traced. The distance between the lateral and the central thresholds is 1.10 m.; the distance from the eastern threshold to the foundation wall of the nave supports on the east side measures 2.20 m. While the center threshold stone sits wholly on the pier of an earlier Roman building<sup>1</sup>, the two lateral thresholds are placed on Early Christian foundations. The one to the West has beneath it a masonry consisting of big chunks of stone, capped by

(1) See below, p. 178.

behind a pilaster of medieval masonry, it is built against a very small fragment of an even earlier brick wall, perhaps dating from the fourth century.

A first rebuilding of this Early Christian church primarily affected the chancel. In it both apse and chancel were reinforced, by inserting linings against the inner face of their walls. The thickness and the character of this masonry, above floor level, can be established in the opening which leads into the chancel from the side room (fig. 149). The supplementary wall is seen there, against the original thin chancel wall. It is 1.30 m. thick and is built of brickwork with rather thick mortarbeds. The courses waver and the mortar is mixed with fragments of black stone in contrast to the deep red brick fragments of the original construction.

The foundations of the lining wall are visible in the seventeenth-century crypt which extends below the chancel and apse (fig. 153). All around it, and at the eastern and western ends of its north wall, where the piers of the triumphal arch stand, the walls of the crypt are built of huge blocks of stone, apparently in second use<sup>1</sup>. Intermingled with them are pieces of marble, a fragment of a *cippus*, and a few marble column drums. It is a type of masonry frequently found in the foundations of Roman churches of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Possibly at the same time, a side room with a small apse projecting southward was built against the southern end wall of the

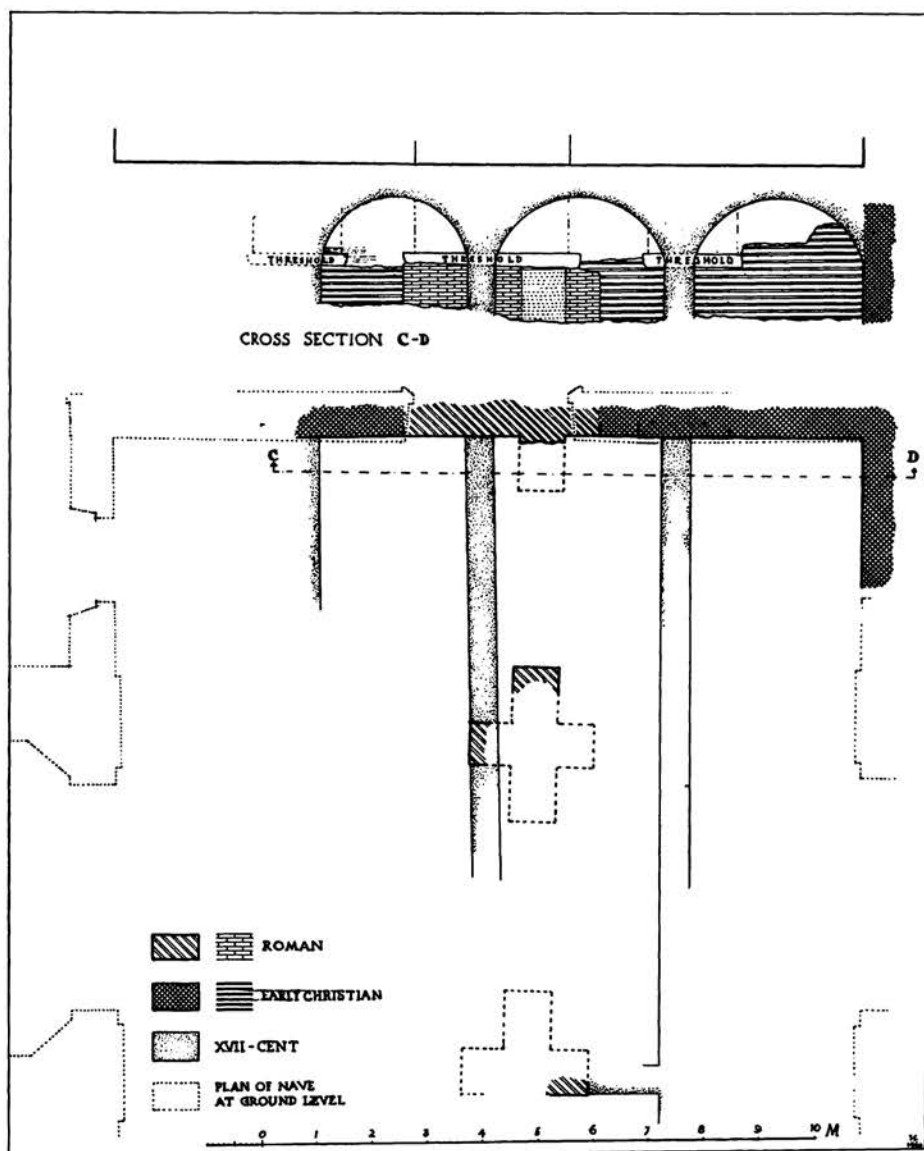


Fig. 152 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Plan and cross section of vaults below nave floor, north end.



Fig. 153 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Foundations of inner lining wall of the apse (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) They resemble the blocks of the republican fortifications of Rome, the so-called Servian wall. See below, p. 183.

western, or right hand aisle of the Early Christian church. A passage was cut through the west wall of the chancel to establish communication between the chancel and the side room. Part of the brickwork of the small apse was uncovered in 1938 (fig. 154). It seems to resemble the brickwork which forms the inner lining of the chancel above floor level. The courses undulate and



Fig. 154 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Exterior brick face of lateral apse (Photo: Sansaini).

the joints are very wide; five bricks and five mortarbeds occupying a modulus of one Roman foot (9 bricks and 8 mortarbeds per 50 cm.); the bricks range from 2.8 to 4.2 cm., the mortarbeds from 1.6 to 3.2 cm., averaging 3.4 and 2.3 cm. respectively.

A lintel, decorated with interlace sculpture, was found in the church in 1912 and is now displayed in the narthex. Its fascia is 1.68 m. long and its total length, including the lugs at either end, is 2.67 m. The interlace might be of eighth or ninth century date (fig. 155).

A number of tombs "of barbarian times" came to light in 1903, in the courtyard of Palazzo Fiano<sup>1</sup>, at levels ranging from four to six meters below street level. Another group of tombs of eighth-century date was uncovered in 1872-1873

close to the east flank of the narthex. Among them was the sarcophagus of a certain deacon Paulus, who died in 783<sup>2</sup>. The level at which these graves were found is unknown.



Fig. 155 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Eighth or ninth-century lintel stone (Photo: Corbett).

### 3. ROMAN AND LATE ROMAN STRUCTURES

Remnants of a large Roman building of second-century date have survived inside the seventeenth-century tomb vaults, below the front part of the nave (fig. 152). Part of what appears to be the wall of a room, or possibly the façade of this building, was used as the foundation of the center doorway of the Early Christian nave. A brick wall, 3.60 m. long, extends from below the western end of the threshold stone to a point some ten centimeters beyond its eastern end (figs. 151, 152). A broken-off pier projected southward from it, 60 cm. from the east end of the wall. The thickness of the pier, 0.85 m., is clearly visible, but its length can only be guessed. At the eastern and western ends of the wall, the bricks, deep red and averaging 3.3 cm. in height, have mortarbeds averaging only 0.34 cm. high, resulting in a modulus of eight bricks and mortarbeds per Roman foot, or 14 : 14 per half meter. In the middle stretch of the wall the mortarbeds are much thicker, averaging 2.4 cm., to give a modulus of five bricks and mortarbeds per Roman foot. The technique is well known in the late second century A.D. It served to strengthen corners and jambs while admitting a somewhat looser brickwork in between. It looks as if the surviving piece of wall has the jamb of an opening at either end. Such openings might have led either into an adjoining room or into the street. The broken pier on the inside of the wall shows that a room lay to the South.

Measured from center to center, 3.25 m. south from the broken pier, two arms of a cross-shaped pier are recognizable, one projecting north and corresponding to the broken pier, the other projecting west (fig. 152). The former, 0.85 m. thick and 1.00 m. long, is built of closely coursed "corner" brickwork, while the latter, 0.75 m. thick and 0.85 m. long, is built of the more loosely packed second type. The arms to East and South

(1) PASQUI, *loc. cit.*

(2) DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, *Bull. Com.*, 1872-1873, pp. 45 ff.

have to be presumed. Still farther south, the eastern arm of another cross-pier survives, spaced as before. It is 0.60 m. long, thus matching the corresponding sector of wall in the façade; the thickness was not measurable.

Small fragments of late Roman, presumably fourth-century, structures were identifiable in two places along the west flank of the building.

In the outer wall, between the first and second chapels on the west side of the nave, a brick wall of fourth-century character was noted by Frankl. It clearly antedates the fragment of Early Christian *opus listatum*, adjacent to it. The bricks range in thickness from 3.2 to 3.8 cm., and the mortarbeds from 3.0 to 4.0 cm., giving averages of 3.5 and 3.6 respectively. The modulus of four bricks and mortarbeds amounts to 26.4 cm., somewhat less than one Roman foot; seven bricks and seven mortarbeds average 50 cm.

Roughly in the same alignment, a second fragment of similar character came to light in the north wall

of the room which lies on the west side of the chancel (fig. 156). This fragment too has survived because an Early Christian *opus listatum* wall was built against it<sup>1</sup>. Sliced through when the side room was extended westward, the fourth-century wall shows a concrete core, faced on the east side with brickwork, covered with a thick coat of painted plaster. The modulus of bricks and mortar cannot be established, but the thickness of the mortar is discernible; it is equal to the height of the bricks. Obviously, it is the inner face of a wall which ran due north and south. Its outer face seems to have been in line with the small fragment seen in the outer wall of the second chapel, but the distance between the two fragments, 30 m., makes it impossible to establish the connection with certainty.



Fig. 156 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina. North wall of room to west of chancel. Right, fragment of brick wall. Center, *opus listatum* (Photo: Sansaini).

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### a) ROMAN AND LATE ROMAN BUILDINGS

The Roman remnants found below the front part of the nave must have belonged to a hall which was divided at least into two, and possibly three, or even four aisles (fig. 152). The cross-shaped piers would have carried arches, springing in four directions, and forming a series of groin-vaulted bays. The north wall, pierced by at least two entrances, one for each of the two aisles, may have led either to an adjoining room further north, below the present narthex, or else it may have been the facade of the building; in which case it fronted a street which branched off the Via Lata. The building could have been a portico, parallel to Via Lata, but it might equally well have been the ground floor of a commercial building, such as the one which adjoins the church of S. Martino ai Monti, the so-called Titulus Equitii.

It is tempting to view the two fragments of late Roman brick wall, found along the western flank of the church and near the western edge of the side room off the chancel, as part of one and the same long wall. However, they are far too small to allow any reconstruction of the building or buildings, of which they formed part.

### b) THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The measurements and over-all plan of the Early Christian structure are given by the surviving elements: a) the foundation walls of nave and aisles and the bottom part of the nave façade; b) the two windows and their piers in the upper nave wall, one at the beginning of the eastern,

(1) See above, p. 174.

the other at the end of the western clerestorey; *c*) the eastern springing of the triumphal arch; *d*) the left wall of the chancel and the wall of the apse, rising to a height of over eight, and nearly five meters respectively; *e*) the terminating, southern wall of the right hand aisle and parts of its outer wall (pls. XII, XIII). Evidently the building was a basilica, its nave rising high above two flanking aisles. The original floor level is given by the door sills of the façade, 1.60 m. below the seventeenth-century floor. The length of the nave, including the thickness of the façade wall and the triumphal arch was 43.84 m., nearly 150 R. ft.; its width from axis to axis of the foundation walls, 14.75 m., exactly 50 R. ft.; its clear width, 13.25 m., or 45 R. ft. The total width of aisles and nave was 24.75 m. clear, and from axis to axis of the outer walls 25.50 m., roughly 85 R. ft. The nave walls, from the original floor level, at -1.60 m., to the eaves line, which was presumably a little higher than the top of the *opus listatum* in the clerestorey walls, were over 14.50 m; probably 50 R. ft.

Twenty windows, ten in each clerestorey, shed light into the nave. Given their probable width, about 3.10 m., and the length of the clerestorey walls, 41.40 m., the nine separating window piers must have been roughly 0.90 m. wide, or 3 R. ft. The level of the window sills, and hence the exact height of the windows, remains undetermined <sup>1</sup>.

The triumphal arch, resting on two columns surmounted by capitals and impost blocks, led from the nave into the apse (pl. XIII). Its apex was 13.55 m., or 45 1/2 R. ft., above the level of the original nave floor. The apse was laid out on a semicircle with an interior radius of 6.80 m., or 23 R. ft., but it is strongly stilted so as to attain a total depth of 11.00 m. from the triumphal arch to its apex. The front part of the apse thus forms a chancel.

The internal length of the church, from the façade to the apex of the apse was 53.80 m., or 181 R. ft.; including the thickness of the walls, its length was 186 R. ft. The aisles ended at the line of the triumphal arch.

The façade of the nave seems to have had three doorways; a larger one, presumably 10 R. ft. wide, between brick jambs, flanked by two narrower ones, each with a clear width of 5 R. ft. There is no trace of a window in the portion of the original façade which seems to survive <sup>2</sup>.

This leaves a number of questions unanswered. While the original nave presumably had nine supports on either side, corresponding with the nine window piers above, their type remains in doubt. They might, conceivably, have been piers surmounted by arches, as was the case in the Romanesque church which succeeded the Early Christian building, and as we find in the Early Christian church of S. Sebastiano. But the likelihood is that the supports were columns, as in all fifth-century churches in Rome. If so, given the spacing of the windows, which are nearly four meters apart, lintels would be impossible, and the columns can only have supported an arcade, as at S. Sabina or S. Pietro in Vincoli I and II. Whether or not the aisles had windows remains unknown, and it is uncertain whether the aisles originally had doors at the north end. Finally, we have no basis on which to reconstruct the decoration of the church; its paintings, mosaics, stuccoes, and the type of capitals (assuming that its upper walls rested on columns) are all unknown.

No doubt nave and aisles were covered by open timber roofs. Moreover, the extraordinary thinness of the apse wall, only 70 cm., makes it extremely doubtful whether it could have carried a concrete vault. It is far more likely to have had a wooden roof, perhaps concealed by a false half-dome constructed, possibly, from hollow tubes or cane.

(1) KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 389, were mistaken in deducing 13 windows.

(2) ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, II, p. 357.

## c) THE FIRST REMODELLING

A first remodelling affected the Early Christian building in three respects.

The strengthening of the apse wall, from 0.70 m. to more than two meters in thickness, made it possible to erect a concrete vault. At the same time this lining narrowed the space of apse and chancel, and must have formed a wall behind each column of the triumphal arch, as seen from the nave.

A side room, terminated by a small apse, was added to the right hand side of the chancel and main apse. It communicates with the latter through a passage, over two meters wide. It seems to have been a sacristy, or possibly a baptistry. Whether another passage led to the west aisle remains in doubt, and the existence of a corresponding room on the left hand side of the chancel is entirely conjectural.

The architrave of a door, carved with interlace work, was found inside the church in 1912. Its length, 1.68 m. between the lugs (0.36 and 0.63 m. respectively) might have fitted one of the flanking doors in the nave façade, the thresholds of which are 1.75 m. long.

## d) THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

A reconstruction of the medieval church may be based on the surviving elements; that is, the two clerestorey walls, which are nearly entire, and the narthex. To these we may add documentary evidence, which consists of the survey plan of 1631-1641, Del Sodo's brief remark "*una bella chiesa con tre navate et una tribuna,*" and Ugonio's extensive description: "*... la nave di mezzo grande innalzata sopra pilastri e archi di mattoni con le doi ali minori dalle bande... in capo... alcuni gradini per arrivare all'altar maggiore. Dietro l'altare si vede per vestigio del Presbiterio la sedia di marmo e sopra essa la Tribuna*". The medieval church apparently retained the Early Christian level, which was not changed until the end of the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>. According to Ugonio, the supports of the nave were piers; nine in number, as appears from the survey plan, and rectangular in shape. This form, together with the surmounting arches, suggests that the Early Christian church was rebuilt, nearly in its entirety, in the high middle ages; and the hypothesis is confirmed by the proportions of the clerestorey windows, by the blind arcades which frame them, and by the brick technique of the upper walls. The same rebuilding program seems to have given us the façade of the present church, at least in its upper parts, and the narthex which leans against the façade. The plan of the narthex, open on the sides as well as in front, and its seven Ionic capitals are all characteristic of high medieval design.

When Ugonio described the church in 1588 he still saw the remnants of a pavement "*... intarsiato tutto di pietre di diversi colori...*"<sup>2</sup> apparently of twelfth-century date. Moreover, he saw very ancient paintings in the apse, "*pitture antichissime*", including a garland on the triumphal arch, "*larco di essa Tribuna... dipinto... dell'istesso modo che l'arco grande della nave principale di S. M.a Maggiore...*" and in its middle a ✠, "*... il medesimo segno che là nel mezzo di esso arco in questo modo...*"<sup>3</sup>. On this basis Ugonio attributed the entire decoration of the church to the pontificate of Sixtus III. The painting, which survived in the half-dome of the apse until 1650, is preserved in a copy by Eclissi at Windsor, first published by Morey<sup>4</sup>. It showed Christ flanked by SS. Peter, Paul, Lawrence, Stephen, Lucina and Sixtus (fig. 157). The latter was not pope Sixtus III, as Ugonio and Morey thought, but his canonized predecessor, Sixtus II<sup>5</sup>. Details and style, as far as Eclissi's drawing allow for judgment, are clearly high medieval and, as Morey points out, both garland and ✠ are typical of the Roman twelfth-century renaissance of Early Christian motifs. In any event, *terminus post quem* is given by the location of the painting, on a vault which cannot be earlier than the eighth-century inner lining of the apse wall.

The high altar and the stone *cathedra* of the twelfth-century church are still preserved, though not *in situ*<sup>6</sup>.

(1) See above; p. 162, dig. 1596.

(2) UGONIO; *Stazioni*, c. 187.

(3) UGONIO; *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2161, c; 114.

(4) MOREY, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

(5) FERRUA, *loc. cit.*

(6) GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, *passim*.





Fig. 157 — S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

Antonio Eclissi, ca. 1640, watercolour representation of apse paintings (Windsor, Royal Library).

The narthex seems to belong to the building period in the early twelfth century, when the nave was remodelled. It stands at the present street level, which is 1.57 m. above the original and medieval levels of the nave. The floor was made level with the present nave pavement in 1606<sup>1</sup>, but we do not know what other changes of level were necessitated by this adjustment.

The campanile, which occupied the first bay of the right hand aisle in the medieval church, belongs to a somewhat later building period. It is built against the wall of the clerestory and blocks its first window.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

Beyond any doubt the *titulus in Lucinis* existed in 366, when the faction of Damasus assembled there to elect him pope. It is more than likely, not to say certain, that this titulus occupied the site of the present church: the transformation of *in Lucinis* to *titulus Lucinae* by 400 (dig. ca. 400) and the continued coupling of the *ecclesia* or *basilica beati Laurenti* with the *titulus Lucinae* is obvious enough. It is possible that the second-century structures found below the nave, or the fourth-century walls ascertained in the right flank of the chapels, or both, had some connection with this titulus. However, no documentary or archeological evidence indicates when the second-century structures became a Christian community center or titulus, nor do we know why they were enlarged in the fourth century, if that is what happened.

The remains of the Early Christian church, on the other hand, in plan as well as in building technique, point to a date in the first half of the fifth century. The proportions of nave and aisles, the height of the nave nearly equalling its clear width, the thick mortarbeds of the brickwork, the reddish hue of the mortar, mixed as it is with numerous brick particles, the use of brickwork

(1) PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625 ed., p. 435 f.

in heavily loaded parts, and *opus listatum* in the other parts of the structure: all these factors find their parallel in Roman churches from S. Vitale (401-417) to S. Maria Maggiore (432-440).

We therefore propose to revert to the thesis first proposed by Pesarini, and to link the building of S. Lorenzo in Lucina with the often debated passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which attributes to Sixtus III the erection of a church in honor of Saint Lawrence " *quod Valentinianus Augustus concessit*". Father Ferrua's objections notwithstanding<sup>1</sup>, imperial permission was needed for building this church, because its rear part and right hand aisle occupied public property; *i. e.*, part of the dial of the nearby *horologium Augusti*.

Hence the documentary and archeological evidence seem to coincide, and justify the attribution of the Early Christian basilica of S. Lorenzo in Lucina to the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-440).

The remodelling of this first church can be assigned a date between 772 and 795, again on the basis of both archeological and documentary evidence.

The foundation wall of the apse lining consists of huge peperino blocks, reminiscent of those used in the Servian Wall, intermingled with column drums, *stelae* and the like. This building technique is frequently found in the foundations of Roman churches erected between 750 and the end of the ninth century. Moreover, the brickwork of the rising walls, irregular and wavering, points to a date during the "Carolingian renaissance", as also does the interlace door architrave, now preserved in the narthex<sup>2</sup>. A passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* suggests a more precise date. Hadrian I (772-795) restored and redecorated the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which had nearly collapsed, together with its aisles (*porticus*)<sup>3</sup>. The early medieval graves, found to the east of the narthex and in the courtyard of Palazzo Fiano, correspond with this dating<sup>4</sup>. However, the assertion that the old church had nearly collapsed need not be taken literally; the repairs seem to have been quite limited in scope.

The fifth-century basilica, thus restored in the eighth century, apparently suffered serious damage in 1084, when the Normans of Robert Guiscard ravaged the entire quarter of the Campo Marzo<sup>5</sup>. As a rule one is inclined to mistrust medieval reports of churches being destroyed by looting soldiers, but in this particular case the building really does seem to have been badly damaged. In any event, in the following decades it was rebuilt almost in its entirety; as witnessed by the consecration of the High Altar and of a second altar in 1112, by the transfer of more relics in 1118-1119, and finally by the consecration of the church itself in 1130 by Anacletus II<sup>6</sup>. The building technique of the clerestorey walls, their brickwork, the type of mortar, the proportions of the windows, and finally the blind arcades, combine to indicate a date in the early twelfth century.

The campanile is so similar in technique to the clerestorey walls that one hesitates to view it as a construction eighty years later in date. However, our knowledge of the development of masonry technique in medieval Rome is as yet so limited, that it is probably best to accept the date generally proposed for the campanile, and to link it with the reconsecration of the church in 1196<sup>7</sup>.

(1) PESARINI, *loc. cit.*; FERRUA, *loc. cit.*

(2) See above, p. 173.

(3) See above, p. 161, dig. 772-795.

(4) See above, p. 161, dig. 783 and p. 178.

(5) See above, p. 161, dig. 1084.

(6) See above, p. 161, digs. 1112, 1118-1119, 1130.

(7) See above, p. 162, dig. 1196.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

In masonry technique, over-all proportions, and details such as the windows, the original church fits perfectly into the group of Christian basilicas which became standard in Rome in the first half of the fifth century. In fact, the proportions of S. Lorenzo in Lucina coincide almost exactly with those of S. Vitale (401-417)<sup>1</sup>; in both churches the nave is 150 R. ft. long and 50 R. ft. wide. One gets the impression that, time and again, a standard plan was being used for parish churches. In only one main feature does S. Lorenzo in Lucina differ substantially from its sister buildings: the stilted apse is unique among fifth-century Roman churches. As early as the fourth century the *basilica urbana* at Salona was apparently provided with a chancel in front of the apse, but unlike the continuous curve at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the Salona chancel was separated from the apse by setbacks at the apse shoulders.

The remodelling of the late eighth century added a minor apse to the side-room which lay on the west side of the main apse; no extraordinary feature in the picture of Roman architecture about 800.

The twelfth-century rebuilding, on the other hand, shows one remarkable element: the blind arcades which frame the clerestory windows. Unknown elsewhere in Rome, it is a common feature in twelfth-century Ravenna. S. Agata, S. Giovanni Evangelista, and S. Spirito in Ravenna, were all rebuilt in the twelfth century<sup>2</sup>, and all have the same blind arches. So too does the abbey church at Pomposa (1112); whence it may seem that influences from Ravenna were felt in the rebuilding of S. Lorenzo in Lucina which took place after 1084.

(1) G. MATTHIAE, "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora", *Boll. d'Arte*, XLII (1957), pp. 107 ff.

(2) G. GEROLA, "Il quadriportico di S. Agata", *Felix Ravenna*, N. S., IV (1934), pp. 85 ff.; IDEM, *L'architettura deuterobizantina in Ravenna*, Ravenna, 1921, pp. 68 ff.

## S. LORENZO IN PANISPERNA

(R. Krautheimer)

Documentary evidence makes it seem highly probable that the church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna<sup>1</sup> occupies the site of the basilica S. Laurentii in Formosum. The latter disappears from the list of Roman churches at the very time when S. Lorenzo in Panisperna first appears in the early versions of the *Mirabilia*, ca. 1030<sup>2</sup>. Since the “*ecclesia martyris quae ponitur Formonsis*” or “*laurentii in formonso ubi assatus est*” or simply “*sci laurentii in formonso*” was well known to the author of the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*<sup>3</sup>, and was restored under Hadrian I, 772-795<sup>4</sup>, it must have been an Early Christian or, at latest, a seventh-century oratory. The only two papal gifts it ever received, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, were both presented by Leo III. One, a small textile, the other a lighting fixture (*canistrum*), weighing only two pounds seven ounces,<sup>5</sup> are among the smallest of Leo III's generous donations to Roman churches. It would thus seem that S. Lorenzo in Formonso was an insignificant oratory even in Carolingian times. However, it was then, and throughout the Middle Ages, constantly referred to as the site of Saint Lawrence's martyrdom, “where he was roasted”, *ubi assatus est*<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, archaeological evidence for an Early Christian structure on the site is completely unknown. The present church, single naved, flanked by chapels and continued by a long nuns' choir, dates from 1565-1574, and was consecrated in 1577. It has been maintained that the present church was preceded by a larger one consisting of a nave and two aisles<sup>7</sup>, but no evidence in support of this thesis has been offered, nor is any date proposed for the earlier building. On the contrary, Ugonio seems to suggest that until 1565 the church was small and single-naved, and that the side chapels were added in the late sixteenth century<sup>8</sup>. Ugonio also reports an altar dedicated by Boniface VIII in 1300<sup>9</sup>, which he saw in an underground vault beneath the high altar.

The only early structures found on the site of the church are Roman. A mosaic pavement exists, below the wall which leads from the street to the atrium, 2.66 m. below street level; and a number of rooms lie below the substructures of the nuns' choir, their walls combining brick and reticulate, and therefore presumably of early second-century date, their floors paved with mosaic. It thus seems possible that the original oratory of S. Lorenzo in Formonso was established in a room which once formed part of a Roman building. This hypothesis is supported by a passage in the *Mirabilia*, “... *in panisperna palatium Tiberinum ubi Decio et Valerianus recesserunt mortuo beato Laurentio...*”<sup>10</sup> and by a corresponding remark of Flavio Biondo's about 1447, “... *al monasterio di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna fu edificato nelle terme de Olimpiade...*”<sup>11</sup>.

(1) Bibliography: BIONDO, *Roma ristaurata* (1447), ed. Venice, 1543, c. 28<sup>v</sup>; FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae* (1517), ed. E. BULLETTI (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, 2), Rome, 1931, p. 206; UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 74 ff.; ANDREA DA ROCCA DI PAPA, *Memorie Storiche... di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna*, Rome, 1893; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 292 f.; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 249 ff.

(2) HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*

(3) LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 442; see also HÜLSEN, “*La pianta di Roma dell'Anonimo Einsidlense*”, *Diss. Pont. Accad.*, IX (1907), pp. 393, 401, 402, 404.

(4) *LP*, I, 507.

(5) *LP*, II, 20.

(6) See above, note 3, and URLICHS, *Codex Urbis Romae topographicus*, Würzburg, 1871, pp. 94, 131.

(7) ANDREA DA ROCCA DI PAPA, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

(8) UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 76: “*E picciola chiesa ma con alcune cappellette a nuovo modello politamente acconcia... l'anno 1574... e circa i medesimi tempi riconsacrata...*”.

(9) *IBID.*, “*Ha sotto una chiesoletta sotterranea dove si vede un'altare che al tempo di... Bonifatio VIII... nel 1300... a di 23 di luglio fu a S. Lorenzo dedicato come è quivi in una pietra notato...*”; FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Roma, 1653, p. 372, “... *Bonifacio VIII per una inscriptione... nella cappella sotto l'altar maggiore...*”.

(10) URLICHS, *Codex topographicus*, p. 94.

(11) BIONDO, *loc. cit.*; repeated by FRA MARIANO, *loc. cit.*, and later guide books.

## S. LUCIA IN SELCIS

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

The church and the adjoining convent buildings of S. Lucia in Selcis<sup>1</sup> extend along the southern side of the Via in Selcis, a stone's throw to the west of the *titulus Sylvestri* or *Equitii*, next to the church of S. Martino ai Monti. A church dedicated to Saint Lucia was established "near S. Silvestro" by Honorius I (625-638)<sup>2</sup>. By the time of Leo III (795-816) a *diaconia* had been installed there, but nothing indicates the date of its foundation, whether under Honorius I or at any time between his and Leo III's pontificates. By the late eighth century, church and *diaconia* bore the epithet *in Orthea* or *in Orfea*, obviously a topographical indication<sup>3</sup>. The church was repaired and received some very minor donations, textiles and a *corona*, under Leo and his successor<sup>4</sup>. To the year 847 the *Liber Pontificalis* assigns the legendary exorcism, by Leo IV, of a dragon "in some obscure and hidden caves... near the basilica of Santa Lucia... which is situated in Orphea"<sup>5</sup>. By the early twelfth century the indication "in Orphea" had been replaced by the term "in selce" which has survived to this day<sup>6</sup>. At that time the church was a *titulus* and it retained this status until 1586, when deprived of it by Sixtus V<sup>7</sup>.

The present church of S. Lucia in Selcis was attributed by contemporary sources to Maderno<sup>8</sup> and it is certainly a seventeenth-century construction. Dedicated in 1604, it stands at the foot of the sloping street, and is surrounded by the walls of a convent of the same date, occupied by a congregation of Augustinian nuns. This community has been in charge of the church since 1604<sup>9</sup>. The entrance to both church and convent is near the bottom of the hill. Adjoining the Augustinian convent and higher up the street, is a far older structure, occupied by a second convent, of Benedictine nuns.

The façade of this older structure, as it flanks the street, consists of three parts (fig. 158, Pl. XIV). Towards the bottom of the slope, immediately next to the early seventeenth-century convent, but set back a few centimeters, stands a narrow tower-like construction (structure I), rising four stories high above its basement. The masonry, to the level of the second-floor window, is medieval brickwork; higher up it is plaster-faced and of indefinite date. To the left, the medieval brickwork continues, without a break, into a vertical pilaster and, beyond, into the right hand part of a second construction, further uphill (structure II). The latter attains the same height as structure I but is wider. While its lowest courses are hidden by secondary reinforcement, apparently of sixteenth- or seventeenth-century date (it appears on Vasi's engraving, 1746-1764), and its top floor is built in much the same way as the corresponding floor of structure I, the three intervening stories of structure II are of considerable importance to our present study. Only in its right half is the brickwork medieval; the left half has brick masonry of a very different kind. The bricks are 2.9-4.9 cm. thick and the mortar beds 1.7-2.5 cm. high, giving a modulus of 8 bricks and 8 mortarbeds in a height of 50 cm. The bricks vary in color from light yellow to deep red. These factors, taken together, point to a late antique, possibly fourth

(1) Bibliography: BIONDO, *Roma ristaurata* (1447), Venice, 1543, c. 31; UGONIO, Vatican Library, *Barb. lat.* 1994, p. 204 (f. 108v.) and *Barb. lat.* 2160, f. 172v.; PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, Rome, 1600, p. 432; FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1653, pp. 360f.; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 164; PARATI, "Chiesa di S. Lucia in Selci", *Album*, XIV (1847), p. 945; ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Les saints de la Messe*, 1893 ff., II, 89 f., Pl. 147, 148; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 306; ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, p. 273.

(2) *LP*, I, 324: "Fecit ecclesiam beatae Luciae in urbe Roma iuxta sanctum Silvestrum quam et dedicavit et multa dona optulit".

(3) LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 440: "... ad scam. Luciam in Orthea"; col. 444: "Sca. lucia in ortheo".

(4) *LP*, II, p. 11: "... in diaconia sanctae Luciae in Orfea fecit vestem..."; *ibid.*, p. 21: "... in diaconia sanctae Luciae quae appellatura Orphea..."; *ibid.*, p. 28: "... sarta tecta beatae Luciae martyris quae ponitur in Orphea..."; *ibid.*, p. 77: "... in basilica beate Lucie... quae appellatura Orfea...".

(5) *LP*, II, 110: "... in primo... pontificatus sui anno, iuxta basilicam beatae Luciae martyris, quae in Orphea sita est, in quibusdam tetrīs abditisque cavernis...".

(6) *LP*, II, 313: "Stephanus (cardinalis) sanctae Luciae in silice..." under the year 1118-1119.

(7) FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, 361: "... vi dirò il titolo in sino a Sisto V...".

(8) BAGLIONI, *Vite dei pittori...* (1642), Naples, 1743, p. 197: "La chiesa e il Monastero di S. Lucia in Selce ha avuto il Maderno per architetto...".

(9) FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, p. 361: "Queste monache sotto la regola di S. Agostino la ristorarono da fundamenta (scil. the church) e finita che fu si consacrò l'anno 1604...".



Fig. 158 — S. Lucia in Selcis. Façade of adjacent convent (Photo: Sansaini).

century date. Like the medieval brickwork, this masonry terminates above the fourth floor level. It is important to note the traces of two arched openings, at the fourth floor level, which are part of the original masonry. They are blocked with medieval brickwork but their outlines are clearly visible. Of the one to the right, only the left hand jamb and springing are preserved. The one to the left, on the other hand, is nearly complete. It is 2.45 m. wide and a full 3.50 m. high. Its base coincides with the top of the seventeenth-century third-floor window.

The late antique brickwork of structure II continues, without a break, into the adjoining façade of structure III, further uphill. Distinguished from structure II by another set-back, it is now roughly 20 m. long. It may originally have continued further to the left, but its upper end has been completely rebuilt in medieval brickwork, which includes a massive projecting buttress. On the ground floor the façade retains traces of five shop openings, of the type common in Roman *insulae*, varying in width from 2.80 to 3.80 m. The piers between the openings are made of travertine blocks, irregular in size, and perhaps in second use. The openings were spanned by flat brick arches, of which only one survives. Above that level, however, the structure is well preserved, including the relieving arches, which spring from the tops of the piers and indicate the vaulting of the shops. The five openings are blocked up in various types of masonry, presumably having been closed at different times; each blocking wall shows traces of a small arched doorway, itself in turn blocked up. One of the blocking walls is built of large tufa blocks, possibly taken from the Servian wall, as often happened in the eighth and ninth centuries; one is partly blocked with late medieval brickwork; and a third has small peperino blocks, such as were commonly used in Rome in the fifteenth century.

Seven meters above the level of the lintels which formerly spanned the shop openings, we see a row of five large, arched windows, the easternmost only half preserved. Originally, no other opening pierced the broad and high late antique wall, which intervenes between the upper windows and the relieving arches of the street-

level openings. The upper windows are blocked with brickwork of high medieval type and, although at a slightly higher level, correspond exactly in size, style of brickwork, and in the mode of their blocking, with the two openings observed in the façade of structure II. However, neither in their shape, with half round arches, nor in their large size, 2.50 m. wide and 3.50 m. high, nor in their close spacing (they are only 1.30 m. apart) do these windows conform to the pattern which is common in the secular architecture of late antique Rome.

Behind façades II and III, the interior of the building remains, as yet, practically unknown. The few observations which Frankl was able to make when he was briefly admitted, some twenty-two years ago, are necessarily sketchy. They are only presented here in the hope of stimulating a more thorough investigation, which is highly desirable. Only thus might further and more definite results be obtained. Frankl observed that:

1) The dividing wall between structures II and III is perpendicular to the façade and seems to be ancient. In one place near ground level several large blocks of tufa were seen, also some brickwork and a block of travertine. The wall is probably contemporary with the façade, especially since the façade is set back at the point of intersection. On the east side of this wall a ramp with low steps ascends to the main floor of structure III.

2) A parallel wall stands about twelve meters to the south of the façade in structure III. At the only point where it could be examined, the masonry seemed to belong to the baroque period.

In the 1580's Ugonio saw the façade of structure III more or less as we see it at present, and recorded

it in his *collectanea*, by description and in a drawing<sup>1</sup>. His sketch (fig. 159) shows four of the travertine piers on the ground floor (*D*, *columnae seu perticae e tiburtino*); the blockings of the shop openings with tufa blocks (*E*, *lapides quadrati tuphei (?) Albani*); the relieving arches (*F*, *Arcus magnae luce 5 (?) superstites*); the five upper openings (*G*, *Fenestrae superiores muro occlusae*). A minor divergence in his sketch is the presence, at the right hand end of the ground floor openings, of a pier built with polished stone blocks (*C*, *lapides quadrati politii*), broader than the one in existence. Beyond this pier *C*, Ugonio noted not the façade of structure II, as one would expect, but a ramp with steps which ascended to the upper floor of structure III (*A*, *Scala S. Luciae*), and a brick wall enclosing it (*B*, *Murus lateritius*). The top of the ramp seems to disappear behind the right hand edge of the façade of structure III. Higher up and to the right, Ugonio sketched in two arches, without explanation.

In his notes in *Barb. lat.* 2160, f. 172<sup>v</sup>,



Fig. 159 — S. Lucia in Selcis.  
Ugonio, sketch of facade (Vatican Library).

Ugonio comes back to the problem of the ramp, and makes it quite clear that the church or oratory was upstairs: "A questa chiesa si sale per molti scalini..."

Ugonio's sketch leaves us uncertain where the ramp and its retaining wall stood in relation to façade III. Traces of a former stairway are still discernible, crossing the central shop opening and leading to a corbelled balcony in front of the tall, marble-framed doorway, now blocked up, which appears in the right hand part of façade III. The blocked-up holes for the balcony corbel-stones are easily seen. However, this can hardly be the ramp drawn by Ugonio, as his drawing shows the shop fronts unencumbered by any stairway. The ramp which he saw might have been at right-angles to the façade, crossing the breadth of Via in Selcis, but

(1) Vatican Library, *Barb. lat.* 1994, p. 204, and *Barb. lat.* 2160, f. 172<sup>v</sup>. He evidently took his notes for inclusion in the *Stazioni* while the church was still title church.

this is unlikely. Perhaps it was parallel to façade II; the refacing wall which hides the lower part of the façade could also hide the scar of the stairs. In either case, they would have led to a corbelled balcony; otherwise the ramp would have blocked the little arched doorway which still exists, at street level, directly underneath the blocked marble frame. Yet another possibility is, that Ugonio sketched the stairs which still exist inside the building, as though they were seen from outside.

Ugonio gave no further description of the *ecclesia S. Luciae*, as it presented itself in the late sixteenth century, beyond mentioning its upstairs location; possibly it was at the level of the five large openings, high up in façade III. However, to quote a contemporary, it was "a room rather than a church"<sup>1</sup>, perhaps no more than a small oratory on an upper floor.

It is not surprising that the late antique façades along Via in Selcis have given rise to numerous hypotheses. They obviously did not belong to an *insula* or apartment house of ordinary Roman type, despite the shops on the ground floor. For one thing, the five arched openings on the top floor (or seven, if we count those in façade II as well) are not at all like the small rectangular windows usually found in Roman apartment houses.

As a rule, in Roman architecture, windows of this size and shape are characteristic of semi-public or public buildings, whether secular or ecclesiastical. True, the openings on the top floor at S. Lucia could be the openings of a loggia or corridor, running in front of the apartments, rather than windows. But this leaves unexplained a second element, unorthodox and, indeed, inexplicable in an apartment house: the high expanse of wall, originally unbroken by any openings, which extends from the shops below, to the sills of the arched openings on the fourth floor.

Under the circumstances, it was tempting to interpret the travertine piers of the shop openings on the ground floor, as the nave pillars of an early Christian basilica, the relieving arches which rest on them then being regarded as its arcades. The high unbroken wall above would represent the triforium zone, and the openings on the top floor would be the windows of the clerestory. According to this hypothesis, a corresponding wall with arcade and clerestorey zone would have risen on the opposite side of Via in Selcis, the nave of the basilica having occupied the width of the street.

The hypothesis is ingenious, but hardly tenable. The arches on the ground floor were never open, but are relieving arches. Also, no trace of a corresponding high basilica wall has been found on the opposite side of Via in Selcis, nor has anything been found that might represent an apse. Also, while the original brickwork of the two façades is not later than the third or fourth century, no document earlier than Honorius I (625-638) mentions a church in that neighborhood; and the church imagined in the foregoing hypothesis would have been a large one.

We propose a different explanation. The features which characterize the façade at S. Lucia in Selcis are (a) the sloping hill, (b) the shop openings on the ground floor, (c) the high rising wall above, unbroken by windows, and (d) the arched openings on top. Just these elements, it seems to us, mark another late antique building in Rome, the so-called Library of Agapitus<sup>2</sup>. It consists of a large hall, its wall unbroken from the pavement to the large arched windows of a clerestorey. It rests on the vaults of a basement, in which a row of shops are laid out along the slope of the *clivus Scauri*. By analogy, one might suggest that the façade which flanks Via in Selci is the right hand flank of just such a hall. The entrance would have been from the top of the slope, near the *titulus Equitii*, and its floor would have been supported by the vaults of the shops, laid out in the basement along the slope of the street. The termination of the hall on the downhill side remains



Fig. 160 — S. Lucia in Selcis. Masonry at "A", Pl. XIV (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, 1653, p. 361: "... Sisto V... vedendola più tosto ridotta alla forma d'una stanza che di chiesa...".

(2) H.-I. MARROU, "Autour de la bibliothèque du Pape Agapite", *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, XLVIII (1931), pp. 124 ff., as quoted above, vol. I, p. 320, no. 1.



in doubt: the angle which separated façade III from façade II may indicate a separate bay, preceding a semi-circular apse; or else the apse, instead of being semicircular, could have been rectangular; its right hand flank being represented by façade II with its two windows.

Whatever the details, the hall at S. Lucia in Selcis would have been a secular basilica, a public or semi-public building, of late third or fourth-century date. Whether it was still preserved in its entirety, when Honorius installed in it the "*ecclesia sanctae Luciae*", remains an open question. By that time, in the second quarter of the seventh century, it could well have been damaged and remodelled. Certainly, it had been completely changed by the ninth century. The smallness of the donations made by Leo III and Gregory IV makes it obvious that in their time S. Lucia in Selcis was but a tiny oratory, installed presumably in the upper storey of the old building. It remained a small upstairs sanctuary until the late sixteenth century.

## SS. MARCELLINO E PIETRO ON THE VIA LABICANA

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(R. Krautheimer, after F. W. Deichmann and A. Tschira) <sup>1</sup>

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### B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

#### 1. DESCRIPTIONS

No old descriptions of the basilica, or of its ruin, have survived.

#### 2. ILLUSTRATIONS

Plan, possibly of precinct and apse of basilica, engraving; BOSIO, *op. cit.*, 1632, p. 323; repeated in ARINGHI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 51.

### C. — DATES

**303 — 305** Martyrdom of Peter and Marcellinus in Rome during the persecution under Diocletian, and burial of their remains through Lucilla, as reported to Damasus in his boyhood by the executioner himself; see below, digest 366-384.

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(1) This chapter on the basilica of SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana is based largely on the publications of Professors Deichmann and Tschira, and we wish to express warm gratitude for permission to use their discoveries. We are particularly grateful to them for allowing us to reproduce their plan of the excavations (our Pl. XV) and their reconstructions of the basilica (figs. 163-166).

Since the *Corpus* is concerned only with the basilica of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, our bibliography and list of dates includes few items which refer primarily or exclusively to the catacomb, or to the Mausoleum of Helena. For the latter see DEICHMANN, and DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*; for the catacomb, the various publications of Marucchi and Styger should be consulted.

(2) Quoted as DEICHMANN, 1941.

(3) Quoted as DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1951.

- 313 — ca. 320 Brickstamps O F S R (*officina summae rei fisci Domitiani*) found in masonry of Mausoleum of Helena (DEICHMANN, 1941, col. 740; cf., *CIL*, XV. 1, nos. 1590 ff.)<sup>1</sup>.
- 324 — 326 Coin of Constantine, minted during these years, found embedded in mortar of Mausoleum of Helena (DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 61).
- 314 — 335 During the pontificate of Sylvester, Constantine is reported to have built “*inter duas lauros*” a basilica in honor of two martyrs, the presbyter Marcellinus and the exorcist Peter, and a mausoleum for his mother, Helena; “... *fecit Augustus Constantinus basilicam beatis martyribus Marcellino presbitero et Petro exorcista... et mysileum ubi mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, via Lavicana, millario III*”. “For the love of his mother and the veneration of the Saints”, Constantine endowed these foundations with two sets of gifts<sup>2</sup>. Firstly, a gold paten, a huge golden chandelier, four gold-plated candlesticks each 12 feet high, and a silver altar weighing 200 pounds, were placed in front of the porphyry sarcophagus of the empress; “... *patenam auream... coronam auream... cum delfinos CXX... candelabra argentea auroclusa in pedibus XII IIII, pens. lib. CC... altarem ex argento purissimo pens. lib. CC, ante Sepulchrum Beatae Helenae Augustae, qui sepulchrum est ex metallo porphyrethicus exculptus sigillis*”. Secondly, the basilica of the martyrs was endowed with another altar weighing 200 pounds and numerous altar vessels, among them a goblet of gold, inscribed with the name of the dowager empress; “... *item in basilica sanctorum Petri et Marcellini donum dedit: altare ex argento purissimo, pens. lib. CC..., patena aureas... II, scyphum aureum maiorem purissimum, ubi nomen Augustae designatur, pens. lib. XX...*”. The list of the endowment of the basilica continues with the enumeration of many other gifts, such as 900 pounds of nard oil and 100 pounds of balsam annually, for incense for the holy martyrs, “*incensum sanctis martyribus suprascriptis...*”; and huge landed properties<sup>3</sup>, including the *fundus Laurentium*<sup>4</sup> which had been the property of dowager-empress Helena, extending from Porta Maggiore to Centocelle, between the Via Prenestina and the Via Latina; also other holdings in Italy and Sardinia. The whole endowment, with an income of 3750 solidi, is the largest of the donations attributed by the Liber Pontificalis to Constantine, except for those assigned to the Lateran, the Lateran Baptistery and, supposedly, St. Paul’s (*LP*, I, p. 182)<sup>5</sup>.
- 354 The *Depositio Martyrum* mentions the feast of Gorgonius, “Gorgone in Lavicana”, without further identifying the site (MARUCCHI, *Catacombe*, p. 20). The phrase in the *Depositio*, “*Clementis Semproniani Clavi Nicostrati in comitatum*”, could refer to the Quattro Coronati and the site “*inter duas lauros*”, but the identification remains unproved.
- 366 — 384 Epitaph at the tomb of Marcellinus and Peter inside the catacomb, composed by Pope Damasus:

*Marcelline tuum pariter Petriq. sepulchrum  
percussor retulit Damaso mihi cum puer essem:  
haec sibi carnificem rabidum mandata dedisse,  
sentibus in mediis vestra ut tunc colla secaret,  
ne tumulum vestrum quisquam cognoscere posset.  
Vos alacres vestris MANibus fodisse sepulchra  
candidule, occultoS POST quae iacuisse sub antro;  
postea commonitAM VEstra pietate Lucillam  
hic placuisse magis saNCTissima condere membra.*

The text is preserved in the *Passio Marcellini et Petri* (see below, dig. Fifth Century, but does not appear in any of the eighth- and ninth-century *syllogai*. A fragment of the original inscription was found in 1913, reused in the pavement of SS. Quattro Coronati (FERRUA, *op. cit.*, no. 28, p. 160 ff; from *AA. SS.*, Junii, I, p. 173).

(1) DEICHMANN, *loc. cit.*, with reference to *CIL*, XV, no. 1590 f., and H. BLOCH, “I bolli laterizi...”, *Bull. Com.*, 1938, pp. 181., 182 ff. (reprint, Rome, 1947, pp. 313-316) points out the occurrence of these stamps in Early Constantinian times and their disappearance in the twenties of the fourth century.

(2) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, *passim*, do not differentiate between the donations to the basilica and those to the mausoleum.

(3) For the identification of the properties see DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, pp. 75 ff.

(4) The topographical problems are discussed *ibid.*, pp. 66 ff.

(5) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, *op. cit.*, p. 57; I am inclined to consider as spurious the donation list for Saint Paul, as given in the *Vita S. Sylvestri* in the *L. P.*

- Two fragments of an arch inscribed with Damasian lettering, the text unknown, were found in the catacomb in 1896, one in the tomb chamber of the two martyrs, the other in an adjoining cubiculum (CROSTAROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 120; MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, 1898, p. 154).
- Two further epigrams of Damasus are known, commemorating Tiburtius and Gorgonius respectively, the latter "... *magno sub vertice montis...*" (FERRUA, *op. cit.*, nos. 31, 32, p. 164 ff), presumably from the site "*inter duas Lauros*". The first of these is known through the *sylogai* of Tours and Centula; the second through those of Lorsch and Tours, and through fifteenth- and seventeenth-century copies of the original, which survived in the pavement of S. Martino ai Monti until 1651.
- Shortly after 422 The Martyrologium Hieronymianum lists the feasts of Marcellinus and Peter "*in cimiterio inter duos lauros via labicana miliario quarto*" on June 2, and of Tiburtius "*via lavicana inter duas lauros*" on August 11. The latter is here mentioned for the first time. The Martyrologium also mentions 30 un-named martyrs, on December 22 (AA. SS., Novembris, II, 2; see also H. DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Brussels, 1933, p. 280).
- Fifth century (?) Composition of the *Passio SS. Marcellini et Petri*, relating the martyrdom of Saints Marcellinus and Peter and their burial "*Via Labicana milliario tertio... in inferiori parte cryptae*", far down in the catacomb, near the cubiculum which had been built by two of Tiburtius' relatives, Firmina and Lucilla, close to the tomb of the martyr Tiburtius (AA. SS., Junii, I, p. 173 ff).
- 536 — 555 Repair of damage to the catacomb chamber of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, which had been occasioned during the Gothic siege; also, possibly, the replacement of Pope Damasus' epitaph by a copy. This was recorded in an inscription of Pope Vigilius, which may have existed in more than one copy. One, in the *coemeterium Jordanorum* has been transmitted through the *sylogai* of Lorsch IV and Verdun; another was at *duas lauros*, and a fragment of it, found in 1804, is preserved in the Lateran Museum:
- " Dum peritura gethae posuissent castra sub urbe  
mouerunt scis bella nefanda prius  
Istaque sacrilego uerterunt corde sepulchra  
martyribus quondam sita sacra piis  
Quos monstrante deo damasus sibi papa probatos  
affixo monuit carmine iure coli  
Sed perit titulus confracto marmore scs  
nec tamen his iterum posse latere fuit  
Diruto uigilius nam mox haec papa gemescens  
hostibus expulsis omne nouavit opus".*
- (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, 100-101. See also *idem*, "Il Museo epigrafico cristiano Lateranense", *R.A.C.*, ser. 3, I (1876), p. 125, and *ibid.* ser. 3, II (1877), p. 21).
- 625 — 638 The *Itinerarium Salisburgense* clearly distinguishes the burial place of Tiburtius and that of Marcellinus and Peter. The former was to the North of, or inside the basilica<sup>1</sup> and, in any event, above ground; while the latter was down in the catacomb: "*in aquilone parte ecclesiae Helenae primus Tiburtius martyr. Postea intrabis in speluncam ibi pausant SS. Martyres Petrus pbr. et Marcellinus mar. Postea in interiore antro Gorgonius... et in uno loco in interiore speclunca XL mart. Et in altero XXX Mar. et in tertio IIII coronatos et sca. Helena in sua rotunda*" (DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 139).
- 625 — 638 Pope Honorius I restores the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter on the Labicana: "*Renovavit et cymiterium beatorum... Marcellini et Petri, Via Lavicana*" (LP, I, 324).
- Ca. 635 — 642 The *Epitome Salisburgense (de locis sanctorum martyrum)* mentions the church of Saint Helena on the Via Labicana, where she is buried together with Peter, Marcellinus

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 78, refer the phrase "*in aquilone parte ecclesiae Helenae*" to a site inside the basilica, and specifically to its high altar. I would prefer it to mean a site North of the basilica. I admit the difficulty of having to identify the "*ecclesia Helenae*" with the basilica of Marcellinus and Peter, but I would rather assume a *lapsus calami* of the scribe; it would not be his only mistake. It would be difficult, in my opinion, to describe the basilica as lying to the North of the mausoleum; its deviation from the west axis being but 20 degrees.

- and Tiburtius, and many other martyrs in the catacomb: "*Via ... lavicana ecclesia est scae elenae ubi ipsa corpore iacet ibi sci isti dormiunt. petrus. marcellinus. tyburtius... XXX milites. Gorgonius... IIII coronati... et in cryptis innumera man multitudo sepulta iacet*" (DE ROSSI, *Roma sotterranea*, I, p. 148).
- 772 — 795 Pope Hadrian I restores the cemetery of Saints Tiburtius, Peter and Marcellinus... near the basilica of Saint Helena; repairing its roof and building stairs which, for the first time, give access from the church to the graves of Saints Marcellinus and Peter: "*Cimiterium... beatorum Petri et Marcellini... iuxta basilicam beatam Elene renovavit; et tectum eius, id est sancti Tiburtii et eorundem sanctorum Petri et Marcellini noviter fecit, et gradas eius que descendunt ad eorum sacratissima corpora noviter fecit, quoniam nullus erat iam descensus ad ipsa sancta corpora*" (LP, I, 500).
- 816 — 817 Pope Stephen IV donates a textile to the basilica of Saint Helena: "*necnon in basilica beate Helenae fecit vestem de fundate*" (LP, II, 50) <sup>1</sup>.
- 827 Theft of the relics of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, by four Frankish monks, acting for Einhard. Entering the basilica of Saint Tiburtius, "*in Via Labicana tribus ab urbe passum millibus distantem*", they first explored the possibility of opening Saint Tiburtius' tomb and then the tombs of Marcellinus and Peter, "*in criptam eiusdem basilicae contiguam*". Three days later they returned, and tried unsuccessfully to open the altar under which they supposed the body of S. Tiburtius to rest. They then descended to the tombs of Marcellinus and Peter, "*Ingressi Basilicam S. Tiburtii, primo altare illud, sub quo eius corpus situm credebatur aperire tentavit... monumentum durissimo marmore extractum, inermes id aperire... repellabat... tumbam Beatorum Marcellini et Petri descendunt... vident S. Marcellini corpus in superioribus eiusdem sepulcri partibus positam...*". After removing Saint Marcellinus they returned to the catacomb, some nights later, and removed the relics of Saint Peter too; making vows before the door of the temple: "*Cumque ad locum venutum esset, votis se prosperanda ante aedis januam factis, ingrediuntur... cryptam ad B. Petri corpus accessit... sacra sancti Martyris membra... sustulit...*" (EGINHARDUS, *Historia translationis*, AA. SS., Junii, I, p. 181 f).
- 827 — 844 The relics of Saints Gorgonius and Tiburtius are transferred by Gregory IV to the oratory of S. Gregorio in the Vatican basilica: "*in quo... oratorio... corpora beatorum martyrum Sebastiani, Gorgonii... ac Tiburtii ex cymeteriis in quibus ante iacebant, perduxit*" (LP, II, 74).
- 847 — 855 The relics of the Quattro Coronati are rediscovered by Leo IV, and deposited in their church on the Coelian Hill; but it is not clear whether they were brought from the catacomb of Marcellinus and Peter <sup>2</sup> on the Via Labicana, or from an earlier resting place on the Coelian Hill, where they are listed in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum <sup>3</sup>.
- 855 — 858 Mention is made, under Pope Benedict IV, of repairs to the roof and the "*portica*" of a church of Saints Peter and Marcellinus. Whether this refers to the church on the Via Labicana, or to the one inside the city, on the Via Merulana, is not known: "*... et in ecclesia beatorum Petri et Marcellini martyrum, cuius tectum iam vetustate positum vicinum ruinae existebat, depositis vetustissimis travibus et in aliis impositis a noviter ipsum tectum atque portica in circuitu omnia noviter restauravit*" (L. P. II, 147). Deichmann has pointed out that the basilica on the Labicana had been deprived of most of its relics in the thirty years preceding Benedict's pontificate, and therefore refers the passage to the church on the Via Merulana <sup>4</sup>.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The discovery of a milestone marked MIL. III <sup>5</sup>, near the Mausoleum of Helena, 3,30 km. outside Porta Maggiore on the Via Casilina, the old Via Labicana, makes it likely that the mausoleum, the catacomb and whatever structures existed nearby, were situated on the land "*inter duas*

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 80, assume that the passage refers only to the mausoleum of Helena.

(2) See above, pp. 192-193. digs. 354, 625-638, and 635-642.

(3) AA. SS., Nov. II, 2 and DELEHAYE, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

(4) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 80; see also above, digs. 827, 827-844, and 847-855.

(5) CIAMPINI, *De sacris aedificiis*, p. 123, and DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 66.

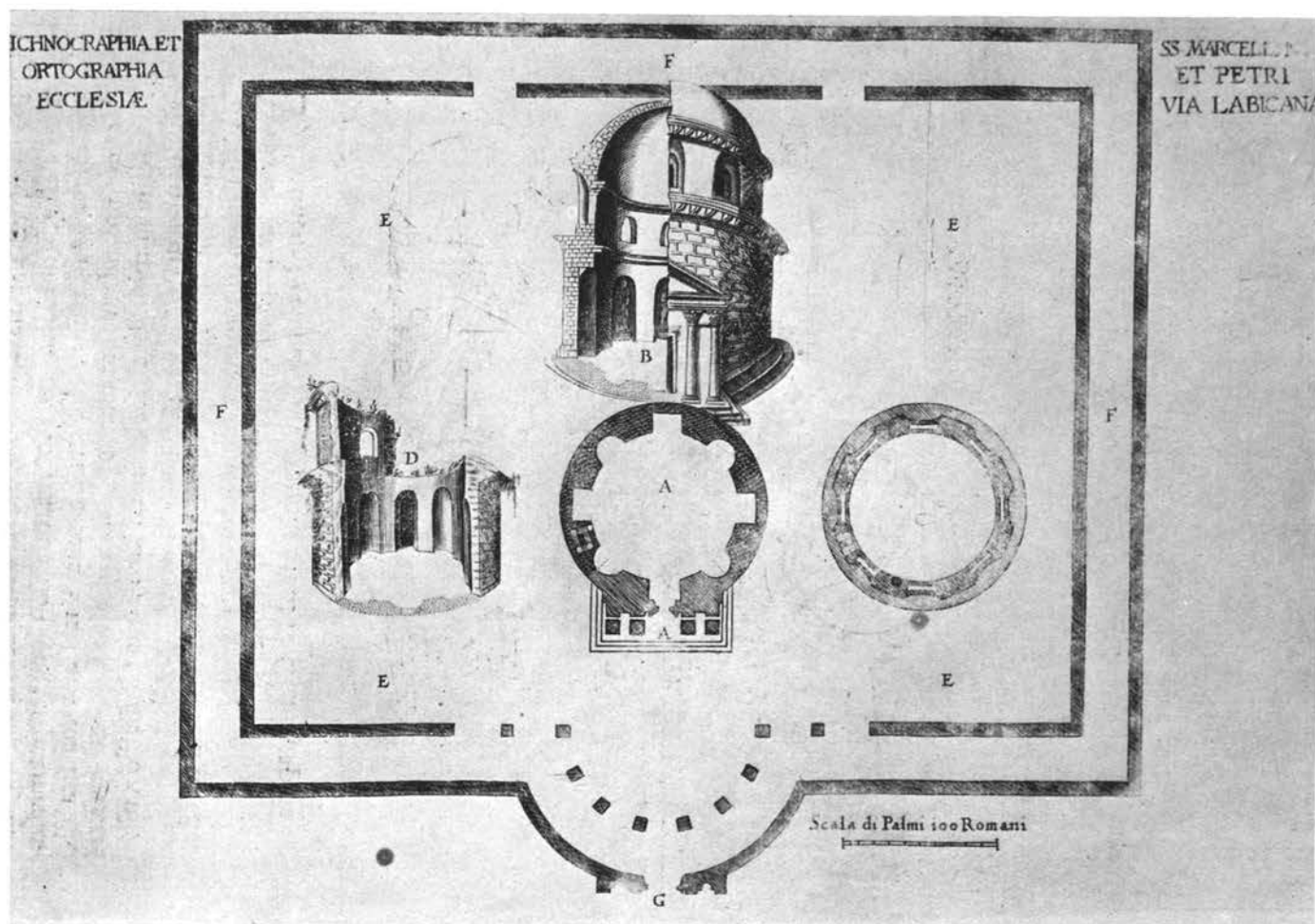


Fig. 161 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Bosio, engraving showing rotunda and plan of precinct with apse and ambulatory, *Roma Sotterranea*, 1632.

*lauros*” which tradition places near the third (or fourth) milestone of the Labicana<sup>1</sup>. It is probable that an Imperial villa existed at this place “*inter duas lauros*” from the late second century, but it is not certain whether this villa was connected with a large military camp or not<sup>2</sup>. As yet, remains of neither villa nor camp have come to light on the site. However, this is not altogether surprising, in view of the size of the estate, which may have extended five miles from the city walls, from Porta Maggiore as far as Centocelle, in a wedge which included all the land between the Via Latina and the Labicana<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, it is certain that a graveyard of the *equites singulares*, the Imperial Horseguards, lay close to the Mausoleum of Helena, presumably in the vicinity of the Roman highway. Since the third century, and especially during the last seventy years, tombstones of the cavalry regiment have been discovered in the area, some possibly dating from the late third century; that is, from shortly before the corps is presumed to have been abolished, after the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312<sup>4</sup>. The existence of more lavish mausolea beside the simple tombs of the *equites singulares* has likewise been suspected, some perhaps dating back into Republican times.

The structures extant on the site are the following: the Mausoleum of Helena, a huge rotunda,

(1) The distance is given as three miles by the *Liber Pontificalis* (see above, p. 192, dig. 313-334) and the *Passio SS. Marcellini et Petri* (dig. Fifth Century?), as four miles by the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (dig. Shortly after 422).

(2) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 66 ff., deny the existence of such a camp, based on HOLDER-EGGER-AGNELLI, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, MGH, *SS. Red. Ital. et Long.*, p. 307, in contrast to TOMASSETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 339 f., and TH. ASHBY and G. LUGLI, “La villa dei Flavi cristiani ad duas Lauros”, *Mem. Pont. Accad.*, ser. 3, II (1938), p. 157 ff.

(3) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 75, and above, p. 192, dig. 315-335.

(4) ENRICO JOSI, as quoted by DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 69 f. and note.

80 meters north of the highway, known as Tor Pignattara at least since the sixteenth century; a small rectangular chapel with an apse, now called S. Tiburzio<sup>1</sup>, standing 70 meters west of the mausoleum, and serving the congregation of nuns who are in charge of the nearby orphanage; finally, the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, which extends north, west and south of the chapel of Saint Tiburtius, and has the tomb chamber of the principal martyrs immediately underneath the chapel. The mausoleum and one region of the catacomb were rediscovered, and the latter correctly identified, by Bosio in 1594<sup>2</sup>. He believed the rotunda to be the basilica of Marcellinus and Peter, and he thought that it had later taken on the name of Saint Helena, who had been buried in it<sup>3</sup>. The catacomb chamber enclosing the loculi of Marcellinus and Peter was found in 1887, and excavated in 1896 by Stevenson, who correctly explained that the two superimposed loculi, originally in the wall of a gallery, had been subsequently isolated and left standing, as the center of veneration, in the middle of an apsed chamber, all hollowed out inside the rock<sup>4</sup>. As early as 1887 Stevenson had identified the small apsed chapel, which stands above ground, as the chapel of Saint Tiburtius; presumably the one alluded to in the *Passio SS. Marcellini et Petri*<sup>5</sup>. Bosio provides additional information in his plates and the accompanying notes (fig. 161)<sup>6</sup>. He shows a huge double precinct wall enclosing a rectangular area. An apse projects westward from its outer wall, while the inner wall has a concentric semicircle of pillars, corresponding to the curve of the apse, with more supports continuing north and south. The accompanying legend explains the enclosed area as the atrium of the church of Saint Helena<sup>7</sup>, the double precinct wall as the portico of that atrium, and an opening in the center of the apse, supposedly flanked by two niches, as the entrance to the atrium. Bosio also saw part of a cross-shaped mausoleum, not far from the rotunda. It was groin-vaulted and had four niches, and stood over an underground room. At that time, this mausoleum was believed to be the church of Saint Tiburtius<sup>8</sup>.

The catacomb remained accessible after the sixteenth century and was visited and explored to some extent. During the construction of the orphanage in 1895, a lucky chance brought remnants of foundation walls near the chapel of Saint Tiburtius to light. They had collapsed and subsided into the second floor of the catacomb, but examination showed that they contained numerous fragments of tombstones of the *equites singulares*<sup>9</sup>. An excavation, undertaken by E. Stevenson in 1896, uncovered more foundation walls East of the chapel of St. Tiburtius, and also the remnants of a large exedra<sup>10</sup>. Stevenson recognized that he had discovered the remnants either of a large basilica or of a cemeterial precinct; but his death, in August 1898, put an end to his investigations. On the basis of Stevenson's discoveries, Marucchi deduced the existence of a large Constantinian basilica, somewhere between the Mausoleum and the chapel of St. Tiburtius<sup>11</sup>.

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, pp. 54, 70.

(2) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 321 (ed. 1650, p. 356); see also ARINGHI, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

(3) See previous note.

(4) *Ibid.*; see also p. 193, dig. Fifth Century (?).

(5) *Ibid.*; see also p. 193, dig. Fifth Century (?).

(6) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, p. 321; ARINGHI, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f.

(7) This proves, incidentally, that the precinct is not meant to enclose the rotunda, as a superficial glance at Bosio's plate might suggest.

(8) BOSIO, *op. cit.*, Pl. 325, "... chiesa (come si crede) di S. Tiburzio poco lontano dalla chiesa de' Santi Marcellino e Pietro nella Via Labicana": and, p. 322, "... chiesa di S. Tiburtio a questa vicina, dalla quale si vedono ancora i vestigi, fosse nominata parimente di S. Elena".

(9) CROSTAROSA, *op. cit.* p. 121.

(10) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 55.

(11) DEICHMANN, 1941, *passim*; DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 49.

## E. — ANALYSIS

Following their investigations at the Mausoleum of Helena in 1940 and 1953, Deichmann and Tschira, in 1956, uncovered the remains of a large basilica to the west of the rotunda, extending beyond the present chapel of St. Tiburtius (pl. XV) <sup>1</sup>.

The terrain descends quite steeply towards the Via Labicana, but slopes down gently from the mausoleum towards the west and north. The natural *cappellaccio* lies below the mausoleum at a level of -0.50 m. Aside from the catacombs, which are only loosely connected with the layout above ground, the excavators were able to distinguish four, perhaps five, components in the complex of buildings: an older precinct wall, the basilica, a group of small mausolea, including that of St. Tiburtius contiguous to the basilica, the huge rotunda or Mausoleum of Helena, finally perhaps, a forecourt to the south of the basilica. The orientation of the precinct, the basilica and the rotunda, is determined by the direction of the Via Labicana and deviates 23 degrees from the normal east-west orientation. For the sake of simplicity this deviation is not taken into account by the excavators, nor will it be referred to by us <sup>2</sup>.

The oldest part of the complex was apparently a walled precinct. Its enclosure to the east was an *opus listatum* wall, only 0.45 m. thick. It was found incorporated in the eastern foundation wall of the basilica, facing the Mausoleum of Helena, 10 meters distant. In the south-east corner of the basilica, the wall rises as high as 6.50 m. above ground level. The same wall appears 13 meters further south in the modern stairs which descend to the catacomb. A slight projection at the north-east corner of the basilica suggests that the wall also continued to the north of the basilica. The north and south walls of the basilica were joined to this pre-existing precinct wall at a slightly oblique angle, possibly so as to fall in with, and perhaps preserve, older structures, presumably mausolea, which were enclosed in the precinct. It is likely that the precinct had approximately the shape suggested in Bosio's engraving, but archeological evidence is, as yet, lacking.

The basilica, the next part of the complex to be built, was joined to the east wall of the precinct, with a deviation of 4 ½ degrees from normal. It extended roughly 65 meters westward. It was impossible to uncover the building in its entirety and the excavation had to be limited to a few key points: the east wall of the basilica, the adjoining north and south walls of what turned out to be an inner narthex, the junction of inner north and south piers with the east wall of the narthex, four piers along the south side of the nave, a small stretch of the foundation wall of the row of supports on the north side, where it begins to curve into the semicircle which terminates the nave, small parts of the foundations of the outer wall of the south aisle, and a long stretch of the same wall curving into the apse (fig. 162).

For the most part, only foundation walls survive, resting in shallow trenches with sloping sides, hewn into the live *cappellaccio* rock. As a rule, the bottom of these trenches is a platform of *cappellaccio*, on which rests a solid mass of concrete. The top layers of this mass consist, almost exclusively, of fragments of tombstones of the *equites singulares*, together with chunks of peperino; the interstices filled with small tufa stones. All this material was taken from older mausolea, which were presumably demolished during the construction of the basilica. A fragment of terracotta cornice with dentil frieze may well have belonged to such a mausoleum, possibly of second-century date. The setback at the top of the foundation wall is at some points as wide as 0.40 m. Of the wall which stood on it, only a few courses are preserved. They consist of *opus listatum*, two tufa courses alternating as a

(1) To a large extent the following paragraphs are a paraphrase of the DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA report, 1957, pp. 51-56.

(2) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 51, place the deviation at 45 degrees.



rule, with two brick courses. The topmost courses of these walls which survive, stand nowhere higher than 1.30 m. below the present ground level.

No trace of the pavement could be observed and even its level is unknown. If it ever existed, it must have been thoroughly destroyed by the cemetery which occupied the site of the basilica in



Fig. 162 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Foundations and base of south-west perimeter wall (Photo: Deichmann-Tschira).

the Middle Ages. In a number of places, medieval graves were cut into the foundation walls. The previous existence of Early Christian graves has been suggested by the excavators, but no such tombs have been found so far.

Nevertheless, the over-all plan of the structure is clear in its individual parts and measurements (pl. XV). The narthex, between the old precinct wall and the east wall of the nave, was 6.40 m. wide. The basilica was 65 m. long, including the narthex, and 29 m. wide; the nave being 13 m., the two aisles each 6.50 m. wide. The thickness of the foundation walls of the nave was 0.93 m., that of the aisle walls only 0.55 m.; dimensions which speak in favor of a high nave and low aisles. To the west, the nave ended in a semicircle, enveloped by an ambulatory which was the continuation of the aisles. The nave roof was supported by rectangular

piers, 1.73 m. long and 0.90 m. wide; but towards the western end of the nave, where the curve started, the length of these piers diminished to 1.49 m.

Numerous fragments of painted stucco, found particularly in the later fillings of the tombs in the nave, suggest that the rising walls were covered with plaster, painted to imitate marble decoration.

It seems that a number of mausolea were attached to the outer wall of the basilica. One has survived in the present chapel of S. Tiburtius. It is a rectangular structure, measuring 5.56 by 6.70 m., with a semicircular apse slightly off axis, facing north. The chapel rises over the tomb chamber of Marcellinus and Peter, in the catacomb below. Its south-east corner touches the outer curve of the huge apse, and it must be presumed that it was accessible from the basilica, although its axis does not conform to the axial system of the basilica. Hence the mausoleum

may well antedate the basilica, being linked to the larger structure *ex post facto*. A wall, projecting north, at the junction of narthex and northern aisle, suggests the existence of another small mausoleum; so do two spur walls, which butt up to the southern quarter of the curved perimeter wall (fig. 162) and are evidently later than it. None of these mausolea could be investigated during the excavations, but some of them might have been built at the same time as the basilica. The remains of a *coemeterium sub divo* with numerous *formae* and mausolea (*celle sepolcrali*) were found in 1896<sup>1</sup>. Among them was a mausoleum of circular plan, roughly 5 meters in diameter. Its walls were of *opus listatum* and the remains of a sarcophagus were found *in situ* in the interior. This mausoleum seems to have been situated to the east of the Tiburtius chapel, but its exact location is not given in Stevenson's notes<sup>2</sup>.

The Mausoleum of Helena is the largest of these funerary monuments and, like all the others, it was attached to the walls of the basilica. The excavation has shown beyond doubt, that the west wall of its rectangular entrance-hall replaced an earlier east wall of the narthex. The axis of the entrance-hall and that of the narthex nearly coincide, and the mausoleum was accessible through the narthex of the basilica only. The way from one to the other was through a triple arcade; the foundations of which came to light in the excavations of 1957, together with a few remains of the rising walls.

At a later point the narthex of the basilica was remodelled. Four half-piers were built in its interior, two projecting eastward from its west wall, two westward from its east wall, in prolongation of the line of supports in the nave. These piers differ in technique from the walls of basilica and narthex, and are clearly supplementary. At the same time, it would seem, the wall which previously separated the narthex from the nave was demolished over most of its length.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

Basing themselves on the long wall which is partly incorporated in the east wall of the narthex of the basilica, and on Bosio's plan, Deichmann and Tschira have convincingly shown that the first structure on the site was a huge precinct, rectangular in plan. From Bosio's plan and the accompanying legend, it appears that the enclosure was lined on all four sides by porticoes, but it is not certain how much visible evidence of this survived in his time. Nor can it be proved that the precinct enclosed older mausolea, although the present chapel of Tiburtius, being off axis, and therefore apparently earlier than the basilica, militates in favor of such an assumption.

The basilica which came to be inserted in the precinct was a very large building, 65 meters, that is 220 R. ft. long, and 29 meters or 100 R. ft. wide, including the outer walls (pl. XV). Its axis ran more or less west-north-west to east-south-east. It was preceded by a narthex, originally undivided, which measured 22 R. ft. in depth, or one tenth of the total length of the structure. An entrance, perhaps as much as four meters wide, presumably arched, opened in the south wall of the narthex. Deichmann-Tschira assume that the narthex communicated with the nave through three arches<sup>3</sup>. Excluding the depth of the narthex, the interior was nearly 200 R. ft. long. It was divided into a nave and two aisles, the former measuring 13 m., the latter 6.50 m. in clear width, a proportion of 1:2:1. If we add the thicknesses of the outer walls, and half that of the arcades between the aisles and nave, the respective figures are 7.50 and 14 m., or 25 and nearly 50 R. ft. The nave

(1) CROSTAROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

(2) According to DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 56, note 14, *Cod. Vat. lat.* 16556, f. 167 contains a photograph with a note by STEVENSON, "Maggio 1896".

(3) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 52.

walls were supported by brick-faced piers, originally numbering seven on either side, between the narthex and apse curve. Each pier was 1.73 by 0.93 m. or nearly six by three R. ft., except for the last pier before the curve of the apse, which was only five R. ft. in length. The distances between the piers seem to have averaged 3.50 m., or 12 R. ft., a distance which was certainly spanned by arches

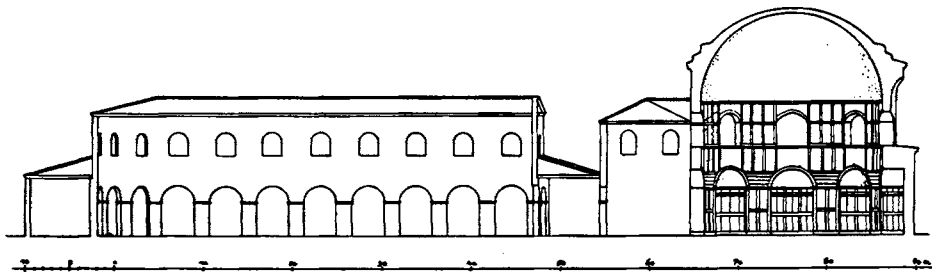


Fig. 163 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro.

Restored section through rotunda and basilica (Drawing: A. Tschira).

precinct wall, can be nothing but the outer apse wall of the basilica. The row of piers which Bosio shows inside the curved outer wall, are apparently the piers which supported the apse of the nave and separated it from the surrounding ambulatory. Bosio marks the piers so precisely that it can hardly be doubted that he saw some of them. Thus, in all likelihood, the piers and arches of the

aisles continued around the half-circle of the apse. If we assume, as the excavators do, that there were shorter piers and narrower arches in the curved part, the number of arches would have been six, the number of piers seven, with one pier standing on the axis of the nave. The aisles continued around the apse, as an ambulatory, with no setback at the point of junction.

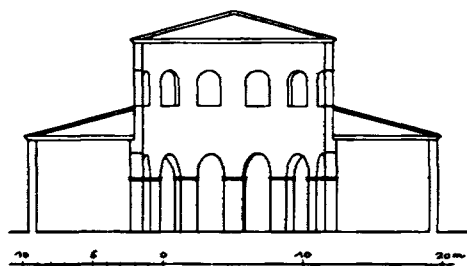


Fig. 164 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro.  
Restored cross section (Drawing:  
A. Tschira).

The strength of the foundation walls of the nave, nearly twice as thick as the foundations of the outside walls, makes it practically a certainty that the nave rose high above the aisles (fig. 164). By comparison with S. Sebastiano, Deich-

mann and Tschira assume, for the nave a height of 13.80 m., for the aisles 6.80 m., roughly the same as their width. The existence of clerestory windows in the nave can be presumed, as can that of open timber roofs for both nave and aisles (fig. 165). Apparently the outside walls of the aisles were beset with small mausolea; witness the spur walls which were found during the excavation. Other mausolea rose nearby; the cross-shaped one seen by Bosio, the round one found by Stevenson, and the still-existing chapel of Saint Tiburtius. Obviously we can no longer be sure whether Saint Tiburtius' relics reposed in this, or in one of the other mausolea; either in Constantine's time or in the early ninth century, when an attempt was made to remove them. However, in contrast to Deichmann and Tschira, we are inclined to believe that, even at that late date, the martyr's relics rested in a mausoleum to the north, rather than in the High Altar of the basilica<sup>1</sup>.

A few short remarks may be added to the foregoing reconstruction, which is as presented by the excavators. Firstly, it is not surprising that no traces of pavement were found. If the entire floor was covered with graves, as was the case in other structures of the type, such as S. Sebastiano and the *basilica maior* of S. Lorenzo, no pavement would have been provided. The second point concerns the ambulatory. Bosio's plan shows eight, not seven, piers along the curve of the apse,

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 52.

and therefore an opening rather than a support in the center (fig. 161). To be sure, this may be a reconstruction based on *Cinquecento* concepts of symmetry, but Bosio may have seen remains, and his suggestion ought to be taken into account. Finally, Bosio's plan shows a large opening at the very center of the outer wall of the ambulatory, the "entrance to the atrium". The two small niches which flank it are, in all likelihood, a product of his scholarly imagination, based on his knowledge of Roman architecture; but one wonders whether the large opening may have been one of several in the ambulatory, resembling the seven openings in the ambulatory wall of the *basilica maior* of S. Lorenzo.

The main entrance to the church was certainly in the south wall of the narthex with, possibly, another entrance in the center of its east wall. But this cannot be ascertained, since the east wall was destroyed when the Mausoleum of Helena was added; the east wall of the narthex being replaced by the west wall of the entrance-hall of the mausoleum. However, the southern entrance to the narthex suggests that the principal approach to the basilica

was by way of a *diverticulum* from Via Labicana. If other entrances from outside led into the north side of the ambulatory, as we incline to assume, they could have been approached by a second *diverticulum* coming from the Labicana. Bosio's plan suggests the possibility, that the southern part of the old precinct survived as a courtyard or atrium, along the south flank of the basilica. Since the excavation had to be limited, and could not uncover the south wall of the church in its entire length, the question of the existence of such an atrium must be left open.

In a secondary remodelling, the narthex was altered by the insertion of piers, which continued the alignment of the nave arcades. The purpose of these piers can only have been to carry arches across the depth of the narthex, thus dividing it into three bays, in correspondence with the aisles and nave. Deichmann and Tschira suggest that these cross-arches carried high upper walls, which continued the clerestory walls of the nave. In this way the narthex would have been eliminated, and the nave prolonged as far as the entrance-hall of the Mausoleum of Helena (fig. 166). The reconstruction further suggests, that this entrance-hall was approximately the same height as the nave of the basilica. It is uncertain whether the prolongation of the nave was joined to the entrance-hall through a wide opening which replaced the three previously existing arcades. If it was so, the

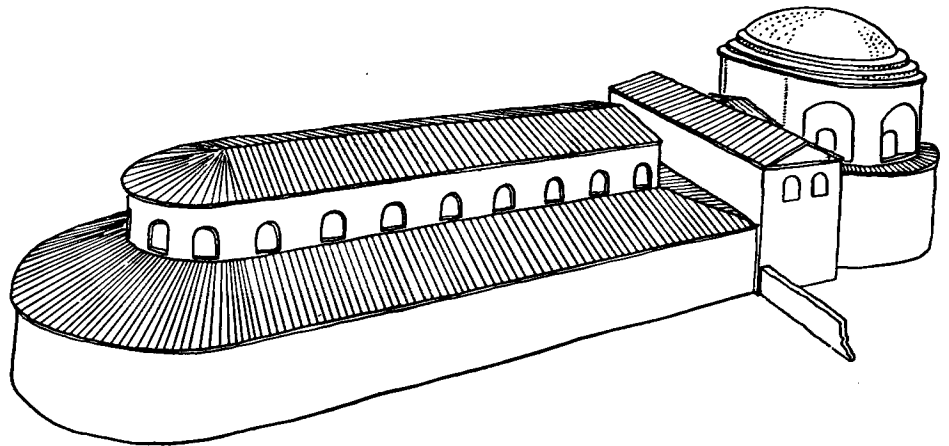


Fig. 165 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro.  
The basilica and mausoleum, first stage (Drawing A. Tschira).

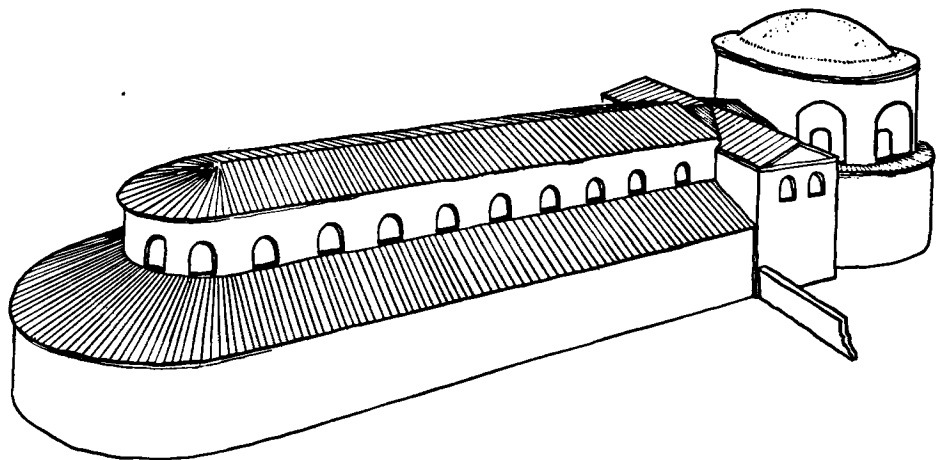


Fig. 166 — SS. Marcellino e Pietro.  
Basilica and mausoleum with modified narthex (Drawing: A. Tschira).

entrance-hall would have formed a kind of transept to the nave, and the remodelling would have given the complex a new focus at the tomb of Helena.

The reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Helena falls outside the scope of this *Corpus*.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

The *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Constantine, and to the pontificate of Sylvester, the construction of the basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter and of the Mausoleum of Helena. The attribution appears to be based on genuine documents, such as the donation lists which the compiler copied. It is supported by the discovery of brickstamps of early Constantinian date in the Mausoleum of Helena, and of a coin minted between 324 and 326, apparently embedded in the mortar of the inner wall<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, as Deichmann-Tschira have pointed out, an early Constantinian date is suggested, for both the basilica and the mausoleum, by the entire historical evidence. The property donated to the basilica, (and not to the Mausoleum) all lies in the western provinces of the Empire, as is customary in the Constantinian donation lists of the *Liber Pontificalis* which date from before 324<sup>2</sup>. The only exception was the *fundus laurentus*, which may have come to the church as a bequest of the Empress Helena, after her death in 335/336<sup>3</sup>. The *scyphus*, on the other hand, “*ubi nomen Augusta designatur ...*”<sup>4</sup> might well have been presented by Helena during her lifetime<sup>5</sup>.

The chronological sequence of the buildings, likewise, has been convincingly presented by Deichmann and Tschira<sup>6</sup>. Because of the brickstamps in its masonry, the rotunda can hardly date much after 326. The coin, which was found embedded in the mortar, may suggest a date between 324 and 326, or possibly slightly later, but it may equally well have been lost, as Deichmann and Tschira suggest, while the revetment was being attached to the walls. Similarly, we fully agree with Deichmann and Tschira's suggestion that the mausoleum was not built for Helena, but for Constantine himself; just as the famous porphyry sarcophagus, with battle scenes, was intended for him<sup>7</sup>. In fact, it is more than doubtful if Helena's remains were transferred from Nicomedia (?) to Rome, when she died<sup>8</sup>. This makes it the more surprising that both mausoleum and sarcophagus were linked with her name so early as the sixth century, when the Constantinian parts of the *Liber Pontificalis* were being compiled. Possibly the compiler relied on the donations which Helena had actually made to the basilica, including the *scyphus* bearing her name; donations which may have been made in the belief that the mausoleum would ultimately shelter her son's body, and those of other members of the imperial family, including her own.

Since the entrance-hall of the mausoleum was built against the narthex of the basilica<sup>9</sup>, the basilica must be dated in the first quarter of the fourth century; whether it be as early as the “second decade”<sup>10</sup> or about 320<sup>11</sup>.

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 64. 74 ff.,

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 74 f., following A. PIGANIOL, *L'Empereur Constantin*, Paris, 1932, p. 112 f.

(3) See above, p. 192, dig. 314-335.

(4) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, *loc. cit.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 64 f., 74.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

(7) DEICHMANN, 1941, col. 740, with reference to P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, “I funerali ed il sepolcro di Costantino Magno”, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, XXXVI (1916-1917), p. 245 ff.; DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 74 and note 77. See also A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine*, Oxford, 1948, p. 104.

(8) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 76, note 77; see, however, DEICHMANN, 1941, col. 135, and ALFÖLDI, *loc. cit.*

(9) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 64.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 74.

(11) KRAUTHEIMER, *Cahiers Archéol.*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The precinct wall antedates the basilica <sup>1</sup>, but it remains in doubt, whether it should be assigned to the first years of Constantine's reign or the last year of Maxentius, perhaps 310-312 <sup>2</sup> or, possibly, to the year immediately following the cessation of Diocletian's persecution (305). The grand lay-out of the precinct, if Bosio's plan can be trusted, militates against the last hypothesis, and certainly against a third-century date, but the years 310-315 cannot be excluded. Under no circumstances could the precinct have been laid out after 315.

The catacomb may be a little, though not much, earlier than the precinct. It has been suggested that it was started after the persecution of Diocletian, since the first dated inscription found there is from 312 <sup>3</sup>; nevertheless, it seems to us that a late third-century date need not be excluded. Certainly some of the mausolea above ground, such as the cross-shaped mausoleum which Bosio saw <sup>4</sup> and the so-called chapel of Tiburtius, could have been built before 300, as well as after that date.

The basilica was still in use in the last quarter of the eighth century, when its roof was repaired by Damasus I <sup>5</sup>. It has been suggested that it fell into disuse shortly afterwards; and certainly it cannot have been well guarded in 827, when Einhard's agents removed the relics of Marcellinus and Petrus from the catacomb, and attempted to open the altar of Saint Tiburtius <sup>6</sup>.

The consistent transfer of relics away from the catacomb, during the first half of the ninth century, suggests that the church was then being gradually abandoned <sup>7</sup>. However, there is some evidence that a rehabilitation was attempted shortly after 850. Between 855 and 858 the *Liber Pontificalis* notes repairs, not only to the roof of a church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, but also to "portica in circuitu" <sup>8</sup>. Such "surrounding porticoes" would more easily fit the basilica on the Via Labicana than the church on the Via Merulana; whether we think of aisles and narthex enveloping a nave, or aisles and an ambulatory, or even the porticoes of an enclosure. The church on the Via Merulana was always a small building, as far as is known <sup>9</sup>. The basilica had apparently been abandoned by the time the medieval cemetery was established among the nave foundations, but unfortunately the graves of this cemetery have yielded no datable evidence to prove that it originated after the middle of the ninth century <sup>10</sup>.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The group of ecclesiastical structures of which SS. Marcellino e Pietro forms part, has been repeatedly discussed in recent years, with regard to type, date and function <sup>11</sup>. As well as the structure on the Labicana, three buildings of the type are so far definitely known: S. Sebastiano, the *basilica maior* of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and the larger of the two basilicas at S. Agnese f. l. m. A similar structure in the Villa dei Gordiani (Tor de' Schiavi) on the Via Prenestina has not yet been fully excavated <sup>12</sup>. All of them are very large; in all of them the aisles continue as ambula-

(1) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 50 f.

(2) See H. U. v. SCHÖNEBECK, "Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Constantin", *Klio*, Beiheft 43.

(3) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, pp. 70, 73 f.

(4) See above, p. 193, note 8.

(5) See above, p. 194 dig. 772-795.

(6) See above, p. 194 dig. 827.

(7) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 80.

(8) See above, p. 194 dig. 855-858.

(9) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, by implication, refer the passage to the church on the Merulana.

(10) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 65, 80.

(11) DEICHMANN, "Die Lage der Konstantinischen Basilika der Heiligen Agnes...", *R.A.C.* XXII (1946), p. 213 ff.; Krautheimer, *Cahiers Archéol.*, XI (1960), *passim*; see also above, p. 140 ff.

(12) G. GATTI, "Una basilica di età Costantiniana", *Capitolium*, XXV (1960), June, p. 5 ff.

tories enveloping the apse; and all of them date from the first half of the fourth century. As far as we can tell, S. Sebastiano is probably the first, and S. Agnese the latest example<sup>1</sup>. Whether or not the set-back at the springing of apse or ambulatory, seen at S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo, marks a development in the type<sup>2</sup>, may be left an open question. In size as well as in its details, SS. Marcellino e Pietro is closest to S. Sebastiano<sup>3</sup> (and, incidentally, to the structure in the Villa dei Gordiani). Length and width in SS. Marcellino e Pietro and S. Sebastiano are nearly the same,  $65.29 \times 29.30$  and  $64.50 \times 30.75$  m. The corresponding figures in the Villa dei Gordiani are 66 and 28 m.,<sup>4</sup> while the structures at S. Agnese f. l. m. and S. Lorenzo are respectively 98.30 and 98.50 m. long, and 39.70 and 35.50 m. wide<sup>5</sup>. SS. Marcelino e Pietro also shares with S. Sebastiano the form of the nave supports, piers, whereas the *basilica maior* at S. Lorenzo had columns<sup>6</sup>. S. Agnese f. l. m., presumably the last building in the group, returns again to the pier pattern.

With regard to their purpose, all the buildings of this group lie over catacombs, and near to, but not enclosing, a martyrium. In all of them, the floor was covered from wall to wall with graves. Hence, it seems likely that they served the triple purpose of covered graveyards, funeral banquet halls, and churches for the celebration of the vigil and Mass at the feast of the patron saint<sup>7</sup>. It is an open question whether they ought to be classified as churches, in the ordinary meaning of the word.

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(1) KRAUTHEIMER, *Cahiers Archéol.*, p. 22; DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 81 f. incline towards placing SS. Marcellino e Pietro before S. Sebastiano, while KIRSCHBAUM, *Die Gräber der Apostelfürsten*, Frankfurt a. M., 1959, p. 158, dates S. Sebastiano in the second decade of the fourth century.

(2) DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 83.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 84 f.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) GATTI, *op. cit.*

(6) See above, p. 116 f.

(7) KRAUTHEIMER, *Cahiers Archéol.*, *op. cit.*, *passim* and, with different emphasis, DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, 1957, p. 92 ff.

## S. MARCELLO AL CORSO

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

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### B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>1</sup>

#### 1. DESCRIPTIONS PRIOR TO 1519

- 1510 FRANCESCO ALBERTINI, *De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, f. 55.  
1517 FRÀ MARIANO, *op. cit.*, p. 212 f.

#### 2. ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1472 ANONYMOUS, Strozzi Map, view of church from northwest, pen and ink; Florence, Bibl. Laur., Red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante icnografiche*, Pl. IV).

(1) Descriptions and illustrations after the collapse of the old church in 1519 have been included only where they show elements still pertinent to the earlier building.



- C. 1520 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO the YOUNGER (?), Projects for new church, pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 869 (N. FERRI, *Indice geografico-analitico dei disegni architettonici degli Uffizi*, Rome, 1885, p. 143; MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 9).
- C. 1520 IDEM (?), Projects for new church, pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 907 (*Ibid.*).
- Sixteenth Century ANONYMOUS after SANSOVINO (?), Project for façade, pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 2876 (*Ibid.*).
- 1588 FRÀ SANTI, View of transept of old church remodelled into façade of new church, woodcut; FRÀ SANTI, *loc. cit.*
- 1593 TEMPESTA, Bird's-eye view of old church, showing transept and campanile, woodcut; TEMPESTA, Map of Rome (repeated without change in his map of 1606).

## C. — DATES

- 296 — 304 Pontificate of Marcellus-Marcellinus, to whom the foundation of the *titulus Marcelli* is attributed by later legends; see below, dig. second quarter of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>.
- 418 The presbyter Boniface is elected pope by a faction of the clergy who lead him to be ordained “*in ecclesia Marcelli*”; report of Symmachus as *praefectus urbi* to Emperor Honorius (*Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*, ed. O. GUENTHER, CSEL, XXXV, Vienna, 1896, p. 60).
- Second quarter of the fifth century The legendary *passio Marcelli* reports how pope Marcellus, having been persecuted by the Emperor Maximian, receives from Lucina, a Roman matron, the donation of her possessions “*... donationem de facultate sua ex omnibus ecclesiae catholicae*” and is asked by her “*ut domum eius ecclesiam consecraret*”. He is then condemned by Maximian to work in the *catabulum*, the stables of the imperial post, which now are set up in that very church; the Emperor ordering “*ut... plancae sternerentur ad animalia catabuli publici*” (*AA. SS. Januarii*, II, p. 9). In a second version of the *Passio*, Marcellus is condemned first by Maxentius, then freed, but sent back to the *catabulum* by Maximian (*Ibid.*, p. 11 f.); while in the version incorporated in the final sixth-century compilation of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the condemnation is attributed to the reign of Maxentius, in the year 308-9 (*LP*, I, 164; see ALBARELLI, *op. cit.*, and KIRSCH, *op. cit.*).
- 499 The synod of that year is attended by three presbyters “*tituli Marcelli*” (*MGH, Auct. antiqu.*, XII, 410 ff.; KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 8).
- Early sixth century The *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* in its first version, knows a *statio* “*in natali Sancti Marcelli confessoris*” on January 16 (H. A. WILSON, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1895, p. 162).
- 595 Three presbyters “*tit. sancti Marcelli*” sign the acts of the synod of that year (*MGH, Ep.*, I, 366 f.; KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 8).
- Ca. 600 The *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* on January 16, the “*natale sancti Marcelli papae*”, mentions a *statio* consisting of prayer, oblate, compline; and another one “*ad sanctum Marcellum*” on the Thursday of the fifth week of Lent, “*In quadragesima Hebd. V... feria IIII*” (H. LIETZMANN, *Das Sakramentarium Gregorianum*, Münster, 1921, pp. 187 and 40 f.).
- 772 — 795 Repairs undertaken by Hadrian I; “*titulum sancti Marcelli via Lata situm noviter restauravit*” (*LP*, I, p. 509).
- End of the Eighth Century Listed in the Einsiedeln itinerary as “*sci. Marcelli*” (*LANCIANI, Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 441).
- 795 — 816 Leo III donates a textile and a small silver *corona* “*in titulo sancti Marcelli*” (*LP*, II, p. 11), “*in titulo beati Marcelli martyris atque pontificis*” (*LP*, II, p. 21).
- 827 — 844 Donations of a textile and a silver *corona* by Gregory IV “*in ecclesia beati Marcelli*”, “*in basilica beati Marcelli*” (*LP*, II, pp. 78, 83).
- 850 — 855 The cardinal presbyter “*tituli beati Marcelli*” is placed on trial, excommunicated and deposed for neglect of duty (*KEHR, It. pont.*, I, p. 74 f.; see also *LP*, II, p. 129).

(1) E. H. RÖRGGES, “Marcellinus Marcellus”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 78 (1956), pp. 385 ff., has demonstrated the identity of Marcellus with Marcellinus (this being the real name), the years of his pontificate, 296-304, and the existence of a *sede vacante* from 304 to 310.

- 885 — 891 Donations by Stephen V of a silver vessel, a gold cross, manuscripts and textiles, including 26 linen curtains (*vela*) “*in titulo sancti Marcelli*” (LP, II, p. 345).
- 1116 Supporters of the bishop of Sabinum elect him anti-pope at SS. Apostoli, and withdraw with him to the church of S. Marcello “*in basilicam sancti Marcelli*” (LP, II, p. 345).
- 1368 The church, previously collegiate, “... *in suis aedificiis nimius collapsa ac etiam ruinosa...*” is handed over by Cardinal Arduin and pope Urban V to the *Servi di Maria* (KEHR, *op. cit.*, p. 73, quoted after a document reproduced in A. GIANI, *Annales ordinis fratrum servorum virginis Mariae*, Lucca, 1719, I, p. 322).
- 1519 The church, damaged by fire, collapses on the night of May 23, and preparations for its rebuilding are made as early as the fall of that year (Bull of Leo X, October 8, 1519, referred to by A. GIANI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 68 f.)<sup>1</sup>.
- 1525 Rebuilding of the church under way, after a project attributed either to Antonio San Gallo the Younger, or to Jacopo Sansovino (VASARI, *Vite*, ed. Milanese, II, p. 497; see also FIOCCO, “La cappella del Crocefisso in San Marcello”, *Boll. d'Arte*, ser. 1, VII [1913], p. 87 ff.).
- 1527 Deliberations regarding the rebuilding of the church, the roof of which had recently collapsed, “... *propter necessariam fabricam dicte ecclesie quam nuperrime propter illius ruinam secularem totum tectum dicte ecclesie collapsum fuit...*” (LANCIANI, *Scavi*, I, p. 236).
- 1595 Rebuilding completed (G. D. FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1653, p. 126).
- 1597 High Altar, chancel vault and ceiling of nave completed (NIBBY, *op. cit.*, p. 317; see also FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, p. 126: “... *del 1597 che le fecero l'Altar maggiore ed un bel soffitto dorato...*”).
- 1665 Campanile to the east of church demolished (MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 11).
- 1682 — 1683 Façade towards Corso built, after design of Carlo Fontana; “*Anno 1683. Erasi fin dall'a. 1682 incominciato il lavoro sontuoso della nobile facciata... ed in questo anno... si terminò, senza però le statue...*” (Diary of convent, quoted by MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 24); “... *la facciata che si va facendo hora... con l'architettura del Cavalier Fontana...*” (TTI, *Nuovo Studio*, Rome, 1686, p. 190). See also E. COUDENHOVE-ERTHAL, *Carlo Fontana*, Vienna, 1930, p. 53.
- 1861 — 1867 Restoration of interior directed by Vespignani; baroque High Altar replaced (NIBBY, *Itinéraire de Rome*, Turin, 1876, p. 17; ANGELUCCI, *op. cit.*, p. 25).
- 1912 Discovery of baptismal font (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*).
- 1920 The church struck by lightning; collapse of ceiling and roof (ANGELUCCI, *op. cit.*, p. 7, and illustrations, pp. 6, 10).

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The axis of S. Marcello al Corso runs nearly due west and east (Pl. XVI). The splendid seventeenth-century façade is turned west, towards a small piazza which lies beside the Via del Corso, the Via Lata of ancient times, a few meters north of S. Maria in Via Lata. The apse projects eastward into a courtyard; the courtyard in turn leads to the narrow Via di S. Marcello, at a point some ten meters beyond the northwest corner of Piazza SS. Apostoli. North of, and parallel to the church, runs the Galleria Sciarra, a more than ordinarily undistinguished structure, which has occupied the site of the sixteenth-century Palazzo Sarsina-Michiel since this was demolished in 1912<sup>2</sup>. To the south extends a seventeenth-century structure, formerly in its entirety, and at present still partly occupied by the convent of the Servite Order, the *Servi di Maria*, who have been in charge of the church since 1369<sup>3</sup>.

The curved façade was designed by Carlo Fontana, and built in 1682 and 1683<sup>4</sup>. The portal

(1) R. LANCIANI, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, New York, 1903, p. 213, erroneously gives the date as 1509.

(2) It still appears in an Anderson photograph; see MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, p. 25.

(3) See above, dig. 1368.

(4) See above, dig. 1682-1683.

is raised by six steps about a meter above the level of the little piazza. The body of the church consists of a spacious nave, its clerestorey wall opening in five windows on either side, surmounted by a coffered ceiling. Ten chapels, barrel-vaulted and half the height of the nave, are disposed on either side, while at the east end there is a deep apse, preceded by a short chancel (fig. 167). The

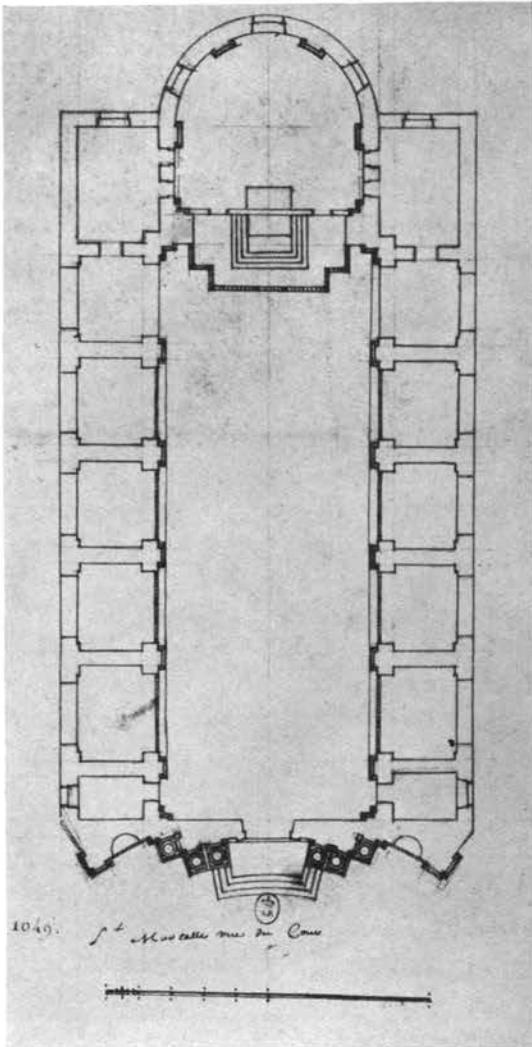


Fig. 167 — S. Marcello al Corso. Robert de Cotte, plan, ca. 1720 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Est., Vf 7, p. 8, no. 1049).

clear length from the façade to the apex of the apse is 50 m., the width of the nave 23.70 m., from outer wall to outer wall. Between the façade and the first chapels, a small room is squeezed in on either side; the one to the north was formerly a baptistry,<sup>1</sup> and the one opposite was the ground floor of a small sixteenth-century campanile. Attics extend on either side of the nave above these rooms and the adjoining first chapels. The one to the left was already inaccessible in 1920<sup>2</sup>, but the one to the right could be entered, some twenty years ago. A door leads to the sacristy from the last chapel on the right. It is a large room and beneath it there is a basement with extraordinarily thick walls. On the other side of the nave, a door in the east wall of the last chapel leads through a dark passage into a narrow courtyard. On the left stands the south wall of the adjoining Galleria Sciarra; to the right is the apse of the church and part of the convent buildings; in front, the courtyard opens through a passage into Via S. Marcello, which lies some 28 meters beyond the east wall of the last chapel.

The nave, with its Corinthian order framing the chapel openings, the coffered ceiling, (a copy of one which was destroyed by fire in 1920) the frescoes, the altarpieces, and numerous tombs — all combine together to make this church one of the outstanding monuments of sixteenth-century art in Rome. But nothing is revealed of the earlier history of the structure. Only a Roman *cippus*, remodelled as an altar frontal in *opus sectile*, in the fourth chapel on the right side, recalls the medieval predecessor of the present church<sup>3</sup>. However, excavations made in 1912, during the construction of a new building to the north of the church, disclosed the remains of a polygonal, marble-lined tank, standing in the middle of a rectangular chamber measuring about 7.20 by 6.80 m.,<sup>4</sup> from which a slightly smaller exedra opened towards the north (fig. 168)<sup>5</sup>. The walls of the room have been destroyed, but the polygonal tank survives, and there can be no doubt that it was a Christian baptistry.

All illustrations and descriptions of the church before 1519, and quite a few after that date, agree in showing that the entrance to the church was formerly at the east end, from Via S. Marcello; while the apse faced west towards the Via Lata. Both the Strozzi map and the Ptolemy map of

(1) MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(2) MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

(3) *Not. Sc.*, 1909, pp. 223 ff.

(4) ALBARELLI, *N.B.A.C.*, XIX (1913), p. 121.

(5) *Not. Sc.*, 1912, p. 338, fig. 1.

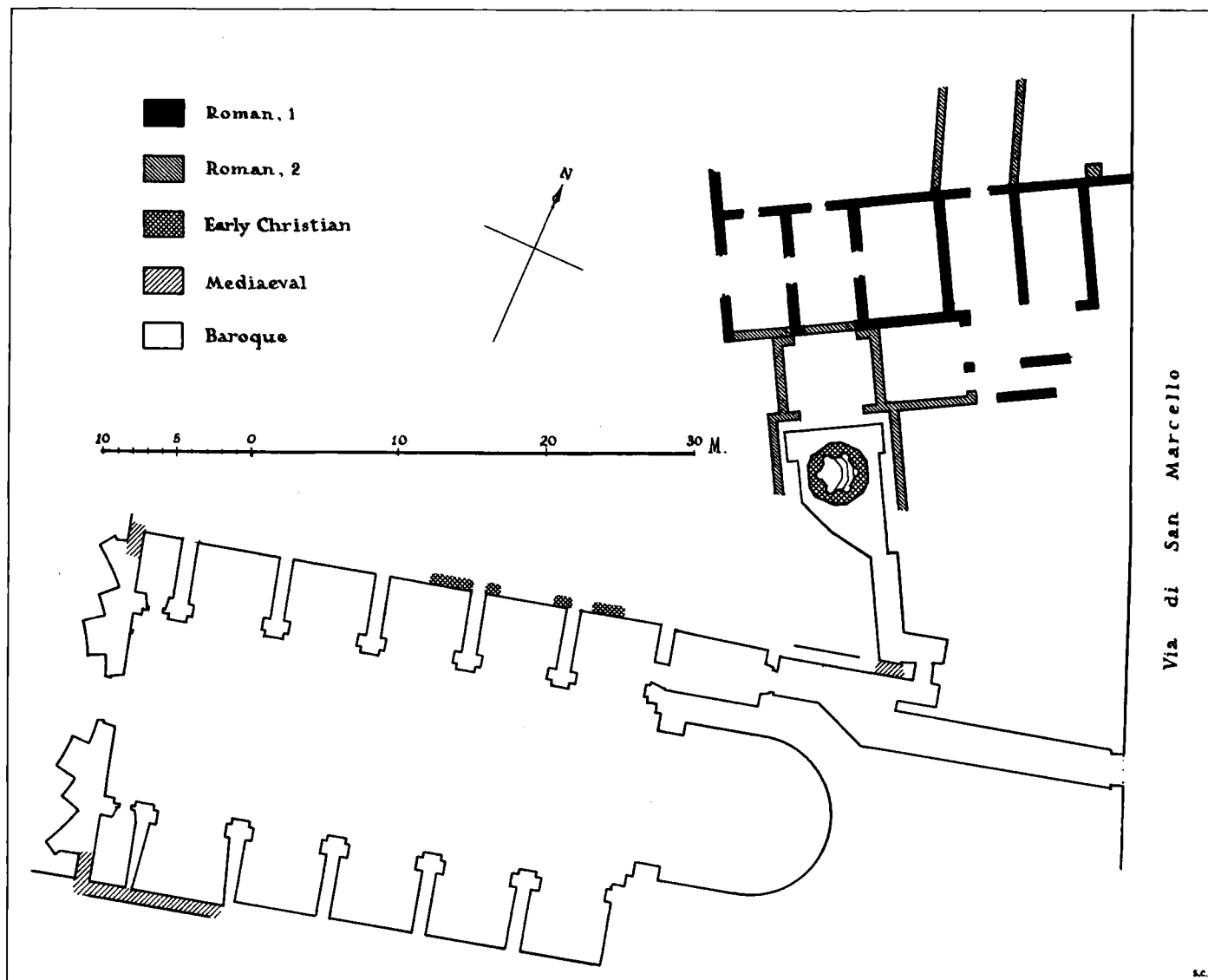


Fig. 168 — S. Marcello al Corso. General plan showing baptistry and earlier buildings.  
(Based on *Notizie degli Scavi*, *loc cit.*)

1472 make this quite clear. So too does Frà Mariano, when he locates the church “*ante ecclesiam ... Apostolorum in angulo plateas eius ...*” As late as the end of the Cinquecento, the Frà Santi woodcut and the Tempesta map both show a huge window, surmounting the new door toward the Corso. The semicircular arch of the window was apparently the opening of the former apse, torn down after 1519. Moreover, the maps all show the old campanile rising southeast of the nave, on the site of the present sacristy. Thus, before 1519, the church was apparently entered from Via S. Marcello, to the east. The position of the baptismal font, about ten meters distant from the east wall of the church, and adjoining the courtyard, is yet another confirmation of the reversal of the axis.

## E. — ANALYSIS

Large parts of the earlier church, mostly of twelfth-century date, are preserved in the walls and foundations of the sixteenth-century building.

### I. THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH

In the narrow spaces which intervene between it and the adjacent buildings, a high brick wall appears on each side of Fontana's façade, rising roughly 15 m. above street level (fig. 169). Terminated by a sawtooth cornice, they seem to have been the west wall of a transept; the end walls

of which stood in line with the walls of the aisles, as they do in the twelfth-century churches of S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere. The western extremity of the north wall of the transept is visible from the street also, including, high up, two small Romanesque windows<sup>1</sup>.

Inside the church, the southern part of the west wall of the transept is visible in the attic room which extends above the first chapel on the right hand side of the nave, reaching as far as the wall



Fig. 169 — S. Marcello al Corso. Narrow piece of Romanesque transept wall seen beside the XVII-century facade (Photo: Sansaini).

between the first and second chapels. The corresponding east wall of the south transept was seen, at a distance of 8.70 m. from the west wall, over the west side of the second chapel vault. It extended across the full depth of the chapel, 4.70 m. wide. The outside face of this east wall is still visible from the roof of the second chapel.

In the space above the first and second chapels, parts of the short transept wall facing south were also ascertained.

The basement under the sacristy contains a number of walls which belong to the same complex. One of them, only 0.60 m. thick, contains an entrance with steps descending from the east and, 1.22 m. further west, there was a second wall, originally 1.58 m. thick, but now broken through. These seem to be part of the old campanile. The stub end of a third wall, incorporated in the east wall of the basement room, stood parallel to the axis of the church, and may be part of the left aisle wall of the pre-Renaissance structure.

In a position corresponding to the second chapel on the left hand side of the nave, a stretch of brickwork belonging to the north aisle of the pre-Renaissance structure was discovered in 1938, in a barely accessible tunnel, reached from the basement of Galleria Sciarra.

Finally, it is reported that medieval coats-of-arms were seen, prior to 1912, in the attic room to the left of the entrance. Presumably they were on the end wall of the north transept<sup>2</sup>.

As far as could be ascertained, all these walls have the same kind of brickwork: the bricks are irregular in length and height; varying from 2.2 to 4.2 cm. and averaging 3.5 cm. in thickness; the mortarbeds average 2.4 cm., with a range from 1.5 to 3.5. The modulus is nine bricks and eight or nine mortarbeds to 50 cm. in height or, better, five bricks and five mortarbeds to 1 R. ft. All this suggests a twelfth-century date, being comparable with building techniques observed at S. Crisogono (1123), S. Maria in Trastevere (c. 1145) and S. Gregorio Magno.

(1) MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

(2) ALBARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 112; MUÑOZ GASPARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

## 2. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN STRUCTURES

a) *The church.* Only one small stretch of Early Christian masonry has been ascertained in the walls of the church (fig. 170). Visible inside a tomb vault which lies below the fourth chapel on the left, it is presumably the side wall of the north aisle of the original church. The masonry is *opus listatum*, one or two tufa courses alternating with single brick courses. Only small parts of this masonry are ascertainable, but a modulus of two tufa stones, two bricks and four mortarbeds seems to measure 1 R. ft.

The outer face of this same stretch of wall was seen in 1938, in the no longer accessible tunnel beside Galleria Sciarra. In contrast to the interior, the outer face is pure brickwork, with bricks ranging from 3.6 to 4.5 cm., and mortarbeds from 3.0 to 3.5 cm., averaging 4 and 3.1 cm. respectively. The resulting modulus is nearly four bricks and four mortarbeds per 1 R. ft., that is, seven bricks and seven mortarbeds per 50 cm.

b) *The font.* The baptismal font which came to light in 1912, lies some 12 m. beyond the line of the north wall of the church, and due north of the baroque apse. The buildings which formerly surrounded it have now been destroyed, but a brief description of them was published at the time of their discovery<sup>1</sup> (fig. 168). The font stood in a room, from which a spacious rectangular exedra opened northwards. The complex lay obliquely to the church axis, deriving its orientation from earlier buildings. The highest pavement associated with the font is 3.50 m. below present day floor level, while the original Roman pavement was identified some three meters lower down. The font is built of brick, and measures slightly over four meters in diameter (Pl. XVI, fig. 171). It would be hexagonal in plan, but that the points of the hexagon are truncated, giving it the outline of a twelve-sided figure of alternating long and short sides. The basin is also hexagonal, but here the points are developed into semicircular niches, disposed so that each niche corresponds with one of the long facets of the exterior.

The brickwork of the outside wall face has two zones, distinguished by different methods of pointing (fig. 172). The lower zone is carelessly finished, with rough-faced mortar, approximately flush with the brick-face. The upper zone has the mortar smoothly worked, and the coursing is emphasized by horizontal and vertical grooves, which simulate the close joints between carefully laid new bricks, the technique known as *falsa cortina*, common in Romanesque architecture in Rome. Only two courses of the latter are seen, the higher part of the polygon being concealed behind several coats of plaster revetment. When the font was first excavated, some traces of painted ornament adhered to the plaster<sup>2</sup>. The horizontal base-line of the revetment indicates the level of a floor which surrounded the font during the later period of its use.

The remains of an earlier pavement, of brick, perhaps coated with *cocciopesto*, are found some 0.70 m. below the upper floor line, in two areas, one to the east and one to the west of the font.

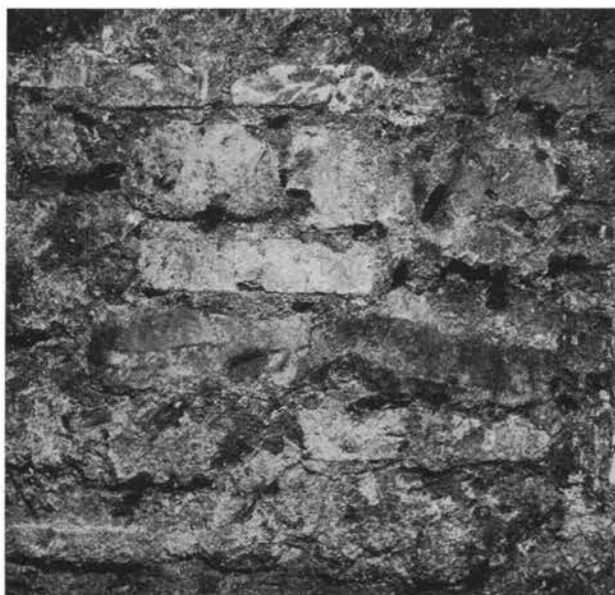


Fig. 170 — S. Marcello al Corso. *Opus listatum* at the base of the north wall, in the fourth chapel, left (Photo: Sansaini).

(1) *Not. Sc.*, 1912, p. 337 f.

(2) ALBARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

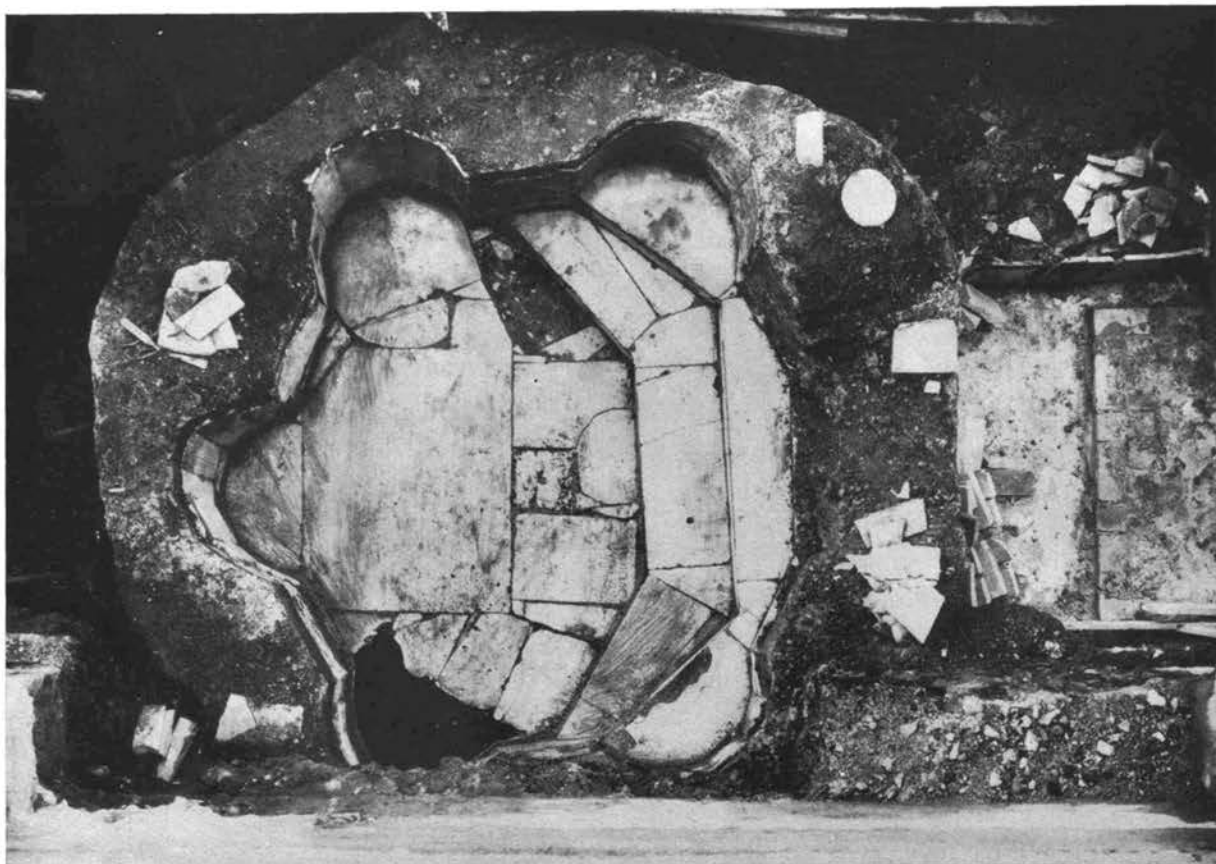


Fig. 171 — S. Marcello al Corso. Baptismal font, seen from above during excavation.

About twenty centimeters below this level, the monument is now surrounded by a modern cement floor, and this conceals everything below it; but at the time of the excavation another ancient pavement

was reported<sup>1</sup>, about two meters lower down. However, it is unlikely that so deep a level can have had anything to do with the Early Christian monument which we are considering.

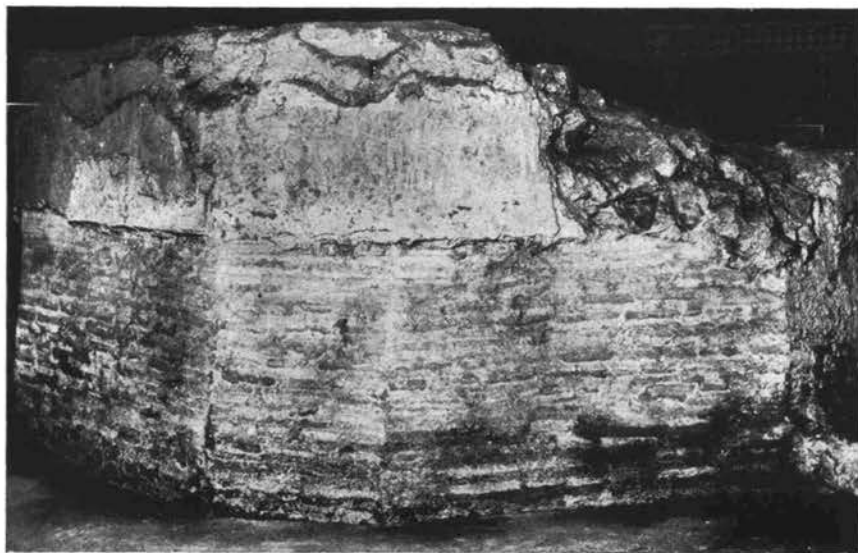


Fig. 172 — S. Marcello al Corso. Exterior of the font  
(Photo: Sansaini).

At the top of the polygonal font, the walls terminate in an irregular, broken surface. This results partly from the monument not having been immediately recognized on discovery, so that the builders had already started to demolish it when it was saved through the intervention of Fr. Albarelli.<sup>2</sup> Luckily, a horizontal mortar bedding-surface survives at

one point, to indicate the level of the former coping<sup>3</sup>, which lay 0.80 m. above the level of the uppermost floor.

Inside the basin, the walls and floor are lined with thin, re-used marble plates, some of which

(1) ALBARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 118.

(3) A. MUÑOZ, *Boll. d'Arte* (1913), p. 393.

still retain shallow moldings or inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, left over from their earlier use as gravestones. In several places, where the marble linings had broken, they were replaced in former times, though at what date is uncertain, by hard white plaster, carefully modelled to simulate the missing marble plates (fig. 173).

The floor of the font is paved with marble slabs, including part of an inscription which is obviously from a Christian grave. At the center of the hexagon there appears to have been a vertical pillar of marble, 0.30 m. square, and of unknown height. It is now cut off level with the floor, and is only identifiable by the rougher surface of its stump, embedded in the surrounding paving slabs. The floor is inclined from north to south, and has an outlet at the base of the southernmost niche; where the floor is 1.24 m. below the level of the coping bed.



Fig. 173 — S. Marcello al Corso. Interior of the font  
(Photo: Sansaini).

The eastern part of the basin is occupied by a flight of three marble-faced steps. The two lower steps are intact, and the top one, which occupied the eastern niche, is represented by the base of its marble fascia and its rubble core.

The outline of the niche is discernible at the back of the core. It is built of un-faced brickwork and, at the level which survives, seems never to have been faced with marble, as would probably be the case if the steps were secondary insertions in the marble-lined basin. Consequently, it appears that all the marble-work which survives today is likely to be of one date.

The means whereby water was conveyed to the font are unknown, except that, on the external facet which stands diametrically opposite the drainage outlet, a channel in the *falsa cortina* brickwork contains a vertical terracotta pipe, about 0.10 m. in diameter (pl. XVI). At the base of this pipe there is the extremity of another, which joined it horizontally. The pipe thus passed under the floor until it reached the wall of the polygon, where it rose vertically, presumably to supply water to the font through some kind of outlet which stood above the coping.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

Nothing whatever is known of the *domus*, according to legend the property of the widow Lucina, which apparently served as a *titulus* or community house from the early fourth century. The stretch of Early Christian wall, discussed above, can hardly belong to this structure. Its style of construction places it in the late fourth or early fifth century, and it must either have been part of some remodelling of the *titulus*, or else a construction which replaced the latter, and was in turn replaced by the Romanesque church. The archaeological evidence at this point is obviously insufficient to suggest even the vaguest outline of the Early Christian construction, nor is the historical evidence

(1) For the inscriptions, see *Not. Sc.*, 1912, p. 337.



helpful to this end. Aside from a passing note under Gregory IV<sup>1</sup>, a *basilica sancti Marcelli* is first specifically referred to in the twelfth century.

Likewise, the baptismal font can be reconstructed only in its latest form. The plaster faced, polygonal exterior wall rose 0.80 m. above the floor of the baptistry and was capped with a coping, presumably of marble. This surrounded a six-lobed, marble-lined basin, about 1.20 m. deep and 3.10 m. in diameter, into which the postulant descended by three steps. The top step occupied one lobe of the basin, while the lower steps fanned out below, as can still be seen. A rectangular pillar at the center of the basin probably supported a small table for vessels used in the rite, or else a lectern. The font in this form is obviously to be associated with the period when the floor level was raised, and the walls were heightened in the characteristic *falsa cortina*. Of the preceding period, represented by the lower zone of more roughly finished brickwork, we can say nothing with certainty except that, externally, the font had the same polygonal form as it had in its later state. It seems likely that the six-lobed interior, which we see today, is also a reproduction of what went before, but we have no proof of this.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

1. *The church.* The small stretch of wall preserved from the earliest, or pre-Romanesque church, is faced inside with *opus listatum*, outside with brickwork. With regard to its characteristic thickness of mortarbeds and the ratio of brick to mortar, the brick external face is similar to many late fourth- and early fifth-century structures in Rome; such as S. Clemente and SS. Giovanni e Paolo<sup>2</sup> or, for that matter, the upper walls of S. Maria Maggiore, of S. Sabina and the baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte. We thus venture to suggest a date between 380 and 450 for the construction of the building which preceded the Romanesque church of S. Marcello. Neither archaeological nor historical data are available to narrow down these limits. The election of Boniface I "*in ecclesia Marcelli*" might well have taken place in the old *domus ecclesiae*<sup>3</sup>, and the writer of the *Passio Marcelli* seems still to have been acquainted with a *domus* rather than a regular basilica<sup>4</sup>. Possibly, the very interest in the *titulus*, as evidenced by the *Passio*, may have led, to the construction of a new building in the first half, or near the middle of the fifth century. Presumably this was a basilica, the type of building which became increasingly used in Rome for the replacement of old community houses, from the late fourth century onwards. However, a mere remodeling of the old *titulus* is equally possible, though less likely.

The fifth-century structure, whatever its plan and whatever its later history, gave way to the Romanesque church whose remnants have been discussed<sup>5</sup>. Plan and masonry suggest a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century, rather than earlier.

2. *The baptismal font.* The *falsa cortina* of the upper brick courses points strongly to the conclusion that the monument, in its latest form, is Romanesque. Unfortunately, the only evidence for the date of the earlier font is the brickwork of the lower zone, which is insufficient for any conclusion. The most we can venture is that it is unlikely to be earlier than the fifth century; since at that date

(1) See above, p. 206, dig. 827-844.

(2) See above, I, p. 130, 287.

(3) See above, p. 206, dig. 418.

(4) See above, p. 206, dig. Second Quarter of the Fifth Century.

(5) See above, pp. 209-210.

one would expect to see *opus mixtum* in non-structural walls of this sort. On the other hand it does not have the character of ninth-century brickwork, and the date is likely to fall between these two limits.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The replacement by standard basilicas of older *domus ecclesiae*, is a phenomenon characteristic of Rome in the decades between 380 and 450. S. Clemente, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Vitale are examples from the very heart of the city; the two last named, quite close to S. Marcello. Hence, it would be no surprise if, at that church, just such a replacement had taken place at the same time. Not infrequently these new structures were also provided with baptistries<sup>1</sup>. Understandably, therefore, the baptismal font at S. Marcello has been frequently given a fifth-century date. However, the erection of baptistries adjoining city churches continued into later centuries, and an eighth-century date for the font at S. Marcello in its earliest stage is quite possible.

The six-lobed plan of the font, if it was already present in the first stage, is unique for Rome in the present state of our knowledge.

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(1) KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, pp. 186 ff.

## S. MARCO

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)

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### B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

#### I. DESCRIPTIONS <sup>1</sup>

- 1588 UGONIO, *loc. cit.*, c. 155 f.  
1659 ANONYMOUS, Description of the redecoration of the church, 1654-1657 (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff., document 107).  
1743 MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, p. 444.

(1) No old descriptions of the church survive from the period before the fifteenth-century remodelling. We therefore limit ourselves to listing a few descriptions which, though posterior, give some hint of the earlier aspect of the building.

2. ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>1</sup>

- 1472 ANONYMOUS, View of church from north, pen and ink; Ptolemy Manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 4802 (DE ROSSI, *Piante icnografiche*, Pl. IIa).
- 1474 ANONYMOUS, STROZZI Map, view of church from northwest, pen and ink; Strozzi Map, Florence, Bibl. Laur., red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante icnografiche*, Pl. IV).
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- Beginning XVII ANONYMOUS, Plan of palace, church and surroundings, ink and wash; Rome, Archive cent. of S. Marco (Dengel, *op. cit.*, pl. III).
- 1621 ANONYMOUS, Plan of palace and church, pen and ink; Venice, Arch. di Stato, Cod. 27, Palazzo di San Marco in Roma (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. xvii and Pl. IV).
- 1653-1657 G. A. CANINI, Plan of church, fresco; Rome, San Marco, nave, "Construction of Church by Pope Mark" (DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXX).
- 1660 B. LAGI, Plan of church, pen and ink; Rome, Archivio Vaticano, arm. VII, tomo 29, f. 179 (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 90, n. 3).
- 1809 L. ROSSINI, front view, and view of left flank of church and campanile, engraving; ROSSINI, *I monumenti i più interessanti in Roma*, 1818, Pl. unnumbered.

## C. — DATES

- 336 Pope Mark finds a basilica inside the city, near a place called the Pallacina(e)?<sup>2</sup> and provides it with altar vessels, a *corona*, and grants of land in the Campagna: "... *fecit duas basilicas, unam via Ardeatina ubi requiescit et aliam in urbe Roma iuxta Pallacinis... In basilica in urbe obtulit hoc: patenam argenteam, pens. lib. XXX... fundum Antonianum, via Claudia, praest. sol. XXX...*" (LP, I, 202). It is not entirely certain that the sixth-century compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* based himself on a genuine document of 336, but the precise description of the land grants makes it likely.
- Ca. 348 Epitaph of one "... ANTIUS LECTOR DE PALLACINE..." found at S. Priscilla (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I p. 62, no. 97).
- End of fourth century Fragments of post-Damasian inscription, found in south west angle of First Church, below Second Church level (FERRUA, *op. cit.*, R.A.C., XXV (1949), p. 15 f).
- 499 Two presbyters *tituli Marci* attend the synod of that year (MGH, *Auct. Ant.*, XII, 414; KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 8).
- 595 One presbyter "*tituli sancti Marci*" attends the synod of that year (MGH, *Epistulae*, I, p. 367).
- 701 — 705 John VI donates an altar cloth or a canopy "*super altare ecclesiae sancti Marci coopertorium*" (LP, I, 383).
- 715 — 731 Under the pontificate of Gregory III, perhaps in 716, the Tiber floods the city "*ultra basilicam sancti Marci*" (LP, I, 399).
- 772 — 795 Hadrian I, whose family residence was near S. Marco (LP, I, 486), repairs the roof of the church and its aisles, "*tectum iam vetustate positum vicina ruinae existebat, depositis vetustissimis travibus et aliis fortissimis inpositis, a noviter... atque portica in circuitu fecit*" (LP, I, 500). He also repairs three old silver arches, "*Arcora... tria... vetustissima... addens... argenti lib. XII, noviter fecit*. He also donates an altar cloth "*super altare maiore et vestem de stauracim*", 27 curtains for the arcades, "... *per diversos arcos..*

(1) Views of the church and particularly of its campanile, seen from afar, occur in many fifteenth- or sixteenth-century panoramas of Rome, such as *Codex Escorialensis*, f. 58<sup>v</sup> (EGGER, *Codex Escorialensis*, p. 140), ANONYMOUS, after Heemskerk (HÜLSEN-EGGER, *Heemskerk*, II, f. 91<sup>v</sup>.) or Wyngaerde (EGGER, *Veduten*, II, Pl. 109). However, these distant views contribute nothing to the history of the church prior to Paul II's pontificate, and the same is true of the views which show only the fifteenth-century portico, such as Israel Silvestre's *Veduta* (EGGER, *Veduten*, I, text p. 48). We therefore limit ourselves to listing the few views or plans which present the situation prior to 1470-80, or illustrate a rarely seen point.

(2) While the Pallacinae are mentioned by Cicero (*Pro Roscio*, VII, 18), neither the meaning of the term, whether building or open space, nor their exact location has been established.

*vela numero XXVII*", and one curtain for the chancel (?), "*cortinam... quae pendet sub trabe...*" (LP, I, 500). Later gifts include six new silver arches "*alios arcus argenteos numero VI, pens. simul. lib. LV*", the repair of seven golden chalices (LP, I, 507), and, after 791, the gift of gold and silver altar vessels "*... in titulo beati Marci nutritori*" (LP, 514)<sup>1</sup>.

- 791 The Tiber floods the city and overthrows a portico beyond the church "*... ultra basilicam sancti Marci ... porticum ... evertens...*" (LP, I, 513).
- 794 Mentioned in the iconoclastic argument as one of the ancient large churches decorated with sacred stories and images, "*... usque hactenus sanctorum pontificum, videlicet Silvestri, Marci et Julii mirae magnitudinis sanctos eorum ecclesiae apud nos sunt depictae tam in musivo quam in ceteris historiis cum sacris imaginibus ornatis*", Hadrian I to Charlemagne (MGH, *Epistolae*, V, p. 49).
- End VIII cent. Reference "*ad sanctum Marcum*" in the Einsiedeln Itinerary (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, col. 443).
- 795 — 816 Minor gifts by Leo III "*in titulo beati Marci*" (LP, II, 12), "*in titulo beati Marci qui appellatur in Via Lata*" LP, II, 21).
- 827 — 844 Gregory IV, formerly presbyter of S. Marco, demolishes the old church, formerly his parish church, which was near collapse, "*ecclesiam... Beati Marci... quam tempore sacerdotii sui regendam susceperat... quae ob nimiam vetustatem crebro casura esse videbatur... a fundamentis prius eiecit et postmodum novis fabricis totam ad meliorem cultum atque decorem perduxit absidamque... musibo aureis superinducto coloribus... depinxit*", rebuilds it anew and decorates the apse with a mosaic. His gifts include altar vessels, a silver canopy, "*cyburium... ex argento purissimo*", silver plaques for the altar, textiles for side altars, "*vestes de fundato minores VIII quae altaribus superponuntur quae per circuitu eiusdem ecclesiae esse noscuntur*", two sets of twenty-six curtains for the arcades, "*vela de fundato XXVI et linea similiter, quae pendent per arcus ecclesiae*", and curtains for the main portal, "*vela alexandrina ante portas maiores pendentiae habentia homines et caballos; vela... ex quibus unum habens rotas... et aliud arboris... pendentia ante valvas ipsius ecclesiae*" (LP, II, 74-75).

Dedicatory inscription on arch of apse mosaic:

VASTA THOLI FIRMO SISTVNT FVNDAMINE FVLCHRA  
QVAE SALOMONIANO FVLGENT SVB SIDERE SITV  
HAEC TIBI PROQVE TVO PERFECIT PRAESVL HONORE  
GREGORIVS MARCE EXIMIO CVI NOMINE QVARTVS  
TV QVOQVE POSCE DEVM VIVENDI TEMPORA LONGA  
DONET ET AD CAELI POST FVNVS SIDERA DVCAT

(DE ROSSI, *Mosaici*, loc. cit.; see also, DUCHESNE, LP, II, 84, n. 5).

- 844 — 847 The Tiber floods the area of San Marco (LP, II, 91 f).
- 853 The synod of that year is attended by Hadrian, presbyter "*tituli sancti Marci*" (LP, II, 186, n. 2), later Pope Hadrian II, 867-872 (LP, II, 173).
- 855 — 858 The Tiber twice floods a portico (or the narthex?)<sup>2</sup> in front of the church, "*ingressus est per porticum qui est positus (quae est) ante ecclesiam S. Marci*", and recedes "*in cloacam quae est iuxta monasterium S. Silvestri et Laurentii martyris quod vocatur Pallacinis*" (LP, II, 145, 153).
- Ninth or tenth cent. Inscription on well-head, now in narthex, by one Johannes, presbyter of the church (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1875; CECHELLI-ARMELLINI, *op. cit.*, p. 562).
- 1145 Relics of Pope Mark transferred to church (MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 171 ff.).
- 1154 Canopy of High Altar, now lost, executed "*per manus Johannis Petri, Angeli et Saxonis filiorum Pauli*", i. e., the same workshop which had carved that of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. in 1148<sup>3</sup> (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, 345; see also, DE ROSSI, "Il pavi-

(1) The date of the gift should in all likelihood be assigned to a period after the Tiber flood of 791.

(2) See, however, above, dig. 791.

(3) See above, p. 13.

- mento di S. Maria in Castello a Corneto Tarquinia", *B.A.C.*, VI [1875], 85 ff., esp. p. 125, n. 1, from Cod. de Winghe (cod. Menesiroso), f. 222, and Cod. Chig. J V, 167, and ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 561).
- 1464 — 1470** Remodelling of church by Paul II (1464-1470), title cardinal since 1455: indulgences soliciting contributions, 1458-1467 (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., docs. 81-88; see also FORCELLA, *Inscrizioni*, IV, 347) and payments for work, 1464-1471 (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, II, 74 ff.; ZIPPEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.), such as: overhauling of roof, 1465, and covering with lead tiles, bearing papal coat-of-arms and inscription, dated 1467 (STEVENSON, *op. cit.*; DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, p. 176, fig. 71); ceiling of nave, 1467-1468 (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 f.); vaulting of aisles and supporting piers, 1467-1468, and remodelling of aisle walls, including niches and capitals, with papal arms on cornice (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 77 f.); new cornice of main apse, 1468 (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 76); portico, 1469-1470 (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 77); stairs descending into nave, 1468 (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 76). See also dedicatory inscription on nave ceiling, lost, but known through fifteenth-century sylloge of Petrus Sabinus (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, "... arte nova et templum et facies mutata locorum et de fictilibus nunc plumbea tecta refulgent..." and DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.).
- 1503 — 1523** Pavement repaired by Domenico Grimani, title cardinal of S. Marco; DENGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 f., n. 7).
- 1595 — 1600** Choir stalls, now lost, set up by Agostino Valier, title cardinal of S. Marco (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 87, doc. 102 n. 8).
- 1654 — 1657** Redecoration of church financed by the Venetian ambassador, Niccolò Sagredo, and directed by Orazio Torriani, including new glazing of windows, stucco garlands between, and a cornice and frieze below the windows, paintings by Mola, Allegrini, Canini, Chiari and Borgognone in the triforium zone (TITI, *Nuovo Studio*, Rome, 1686, p. 156; see also G. SCAVIZZI, "Gli Affreschi della Scala Santa ed Alcune Aggiunte per il Tardo Manierismo Romano I", *Boll. d'Arte*, 45 (1960), p. 130 and n. 52), stucco profiles in the arcade zone and, in the colonnade, the recarving of the old capitals and their transformation into new Ionic capitals with festoons, and the repolishing and whitewashing of the shafts. (DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ff., doc. 107, and p. 90 f., n. 3; see also, F. MARTINELLI, *Roma ricercata*, 1677, p. 85: "Nell'anno 1654 il Sagredo ha nobilitate detta Chiesa con haver aperto il passo in diversi luoghi al sole che la rende luminosa, con haver compartito le mura della nave... in... quadri ornati di stucco e historiati per... nobili pittori...") and lost dedicatory inscription, 1657, quoted PIAZZA, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 f.).
- 1732 — 1754**<sup>1</sup> The church is redecorated by the title cardinal Angelo Maria Quirini after the design of Filippo Barigioni (DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff.)<sup>2</sup>; choirstalls and High Altar, 1735-36 (FORCELLA, *Inscrizioni*, IV, 364 f.). Granite columns replaced by brick columns revetted with red-and-white figured marble (TITI, *Nuovo Studio*, 1763, p. 182: "Il card. Quirini... levate della nave di mezzo le colonne di granito vi fece porre le presenti di mattoni che per essere impellicciate di marmi di Sicilia sono più vittose, ma di minor pregio"; also MARANGONI, *op. cit.*, p. 444); grey marble revetment of piers renewed; doors at ends of aisles blocked; stucco reliefs in arcade zone (TITI, *op. cit.*, p. 181, and HERMANIN, *op. cit.*, p. 41); the paintings of 1653-1657 remained in place.
- 1840 — 1843** Repairs financed by Card. Giacomo Giustiniani; lead tiles removed from roof and replaced by ordinary tiles (STEVENSON, *op. cit.*); apse mosaic restored (BARTOLINI, *op. cit.*, p. 20); rediscovery of crypt (*ibid.*, *passim*).
- 1947/48** Crypt re-opened and restored; doors of aisles and some clerestorey windows unblocked; revetment of columns refastened (FERRUA, *op. cit.*, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, III (1948), p. 504); older churches excavated below present pavement (FERRUA, *opp. citt.*).

(1) The date 1732-1734, given by DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *loc. cit.*, is erroneous; both MARANGONI and CRACAS, *ll. citt.*, specify 1732 and 1744 as the years when the first ten columns were remodelled.

(2) TITI, *Nuovo Studio*, 1763, p. 179, does not yet mention either the remodelling of 1732-1754 or the names of Cardinal Quirini and Filippo Barigioni. VASI, *Itinerario*, 1807, p. 273, refers, without date, to a restoration under Card. Quirini, but attributes the design to Orazio Turiani.

## D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The neighborhood of S. Marco (fig. 174) is rich in Roman antiquities. There, in the year 1447, Flavio Biondo noted "traces of great ancient structures" in which he would have liked to see Cicero's *Pallacinae*, but he concluded that the identification would be a mistake<sup>1</sup>. In the late fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, numerous architectural fragments were seen near, or

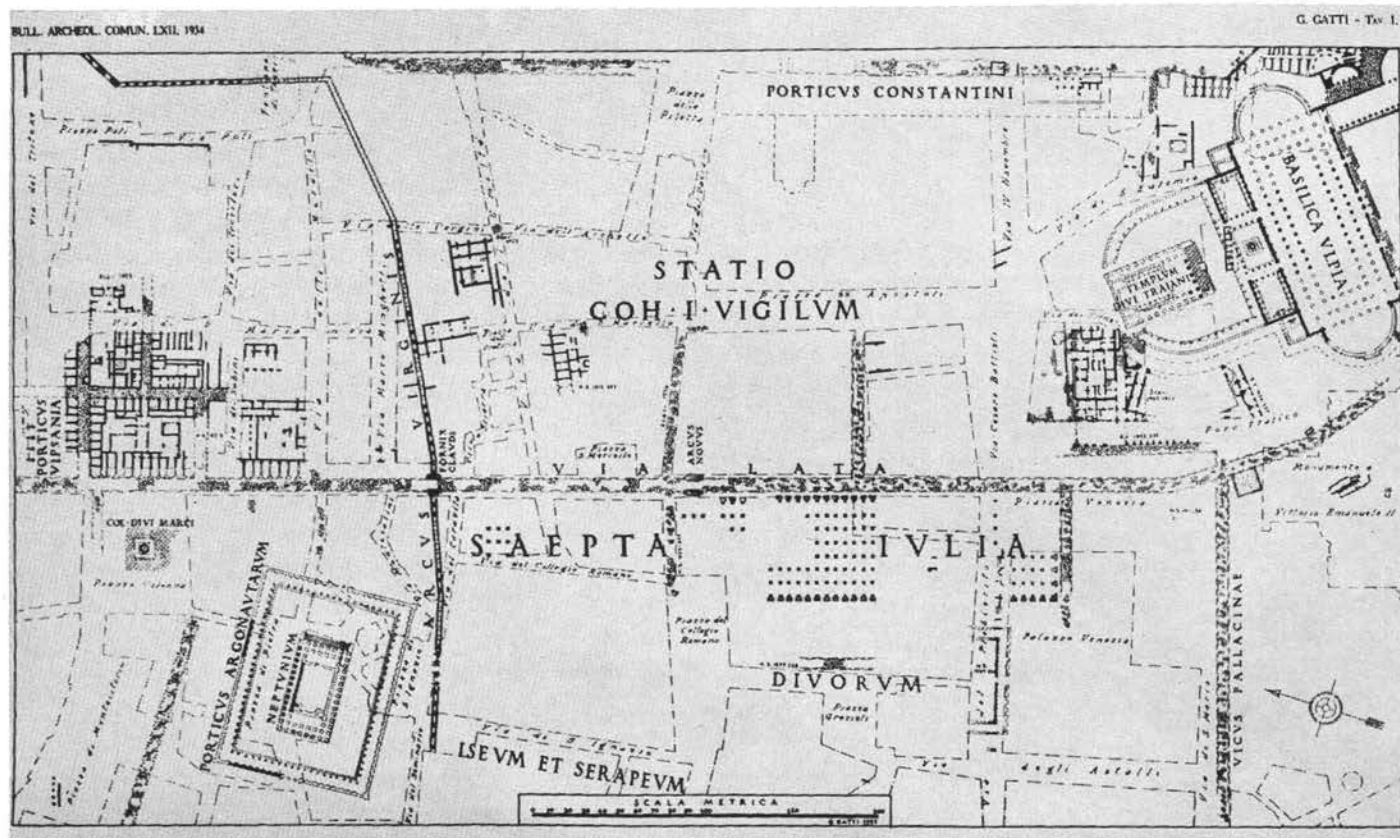


Fig. 174 — S. Marco. Roman streets in the neighbourhood of Palazzo Venezia (Gatti, *op. cit.*).

in the church, but not all of them had necessarily been there originally, because the portico of the church may have served as a lapidarium, perhaps as early as the time of Paul II<sup>2</sup>. In recent times, a Roman street pavement has been excavated some 50 m. east of Palazzo Venezia and 7 m. below the present road level<sup>3</sup>. It apparently marks the course of the Via Flaminia, or Lata. Another ancient street, running east-west from the Flaminia towards S. Marco, coincides approximately with the axis of the palace façade, and continues in the courtyard to the west. A third street parallel with the Flaminia, is supposed to have been observed, some 15 m. north of the

(1) BIONDO, *loc. cit.*: "... benché vi si veggano segni di grandi edifici, antichi nondimeno noi non possiamo pensare, che cosa si fussero queste pallature (sic!)...".

(2) Certainly found near the church was an Ionic cornice "reperta apud S. marcum", known from the Coner sketchbook, f. 73 (TH. ASHBY, *Papers Brit. School*, II (1904), p. 41 and Pl. 73) and from drawings in the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum and in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence (*ibid.*, p. 41). Preserved at S. Marco, possibly as part of a lapidarium, were an Ionic cornice, "istava a san marco", a base "a santo marco", an entablature "a santo marco in Roma", a figured capital "in sula piazza de Roma a san marco", a segmental pediment "stava sotto il porticho di san marco", and another cornice, "cimase in ela piazza di san marco", all drawn by Fra Giocondo (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 1535, 882 r. and v., 2050; BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, figs. 57, 64, 65, 66). Another entablature and frieze "in s. marco", a cornice "iusta s. marcu(m)" and a base with the apophyge of a fluted column shaft "ad s. marcum cum canalibus" are preserved in the Coner sketchbook (f. 98a, 112d, 133c; ASHBY, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49, 55). Finally, a composite pilaster capital was surveyed by Jacopo Sansovino "a sto. marco" (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 4327v.; BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, fig. 623). A richly decorated column base was drawn many times in the sixteenth century at S. Marco, e.g., by Baldassare Peruzzi (Uffizi, *dis. arch.* 632r. and v.; 633r. and v., BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, figs. 317, 318) but it stood originally in the Temple of Mars Ultor "a santo baxilio" where both the Coner draughtsman and Antonio da San Gallo the elder (?) saw it (ASHBY, *op. cit.*, Pl. 124b and p. 61, where a number of later drawings of this base, then at S. Marco, are listed).

(3) KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 86.

apse of the church<sup>1</sup>. Lanciani's plan suggests that rows of ancient piers were ascertained below the palace, in the area bounded by the two last mentioned streets; but this is uncertain, and in any case it is very unlikely that the edifice seen by Piranesi and Nardini, below Palazzo Doria and S. Maria in Via Lata, extended so far to the south<sup>2</sup>. Certainly neither streets nor piers could have been seen by anyone below the level of the ninth-century church, as Lanciani shows<sup>3</sup>. Remnants of two earlier churches, found in that place in the 1940's, make that impossible. On the other hand, it seems true that the remains of some Roman structure were found, as early as 1768, below the courtyard of Palazzo Venezia, northwest of the church<sup>4</sup>; and that a sewer ran southeast from the church towards the convent of San Lorenzo and San Silvestro in Palacinis<sup>5</sup>. A building, then believed to be the *titulus*, was uncovered in 1923, "near the east corner of the palace", by which the southeast corner is presumably meant<sup>6</sup>.

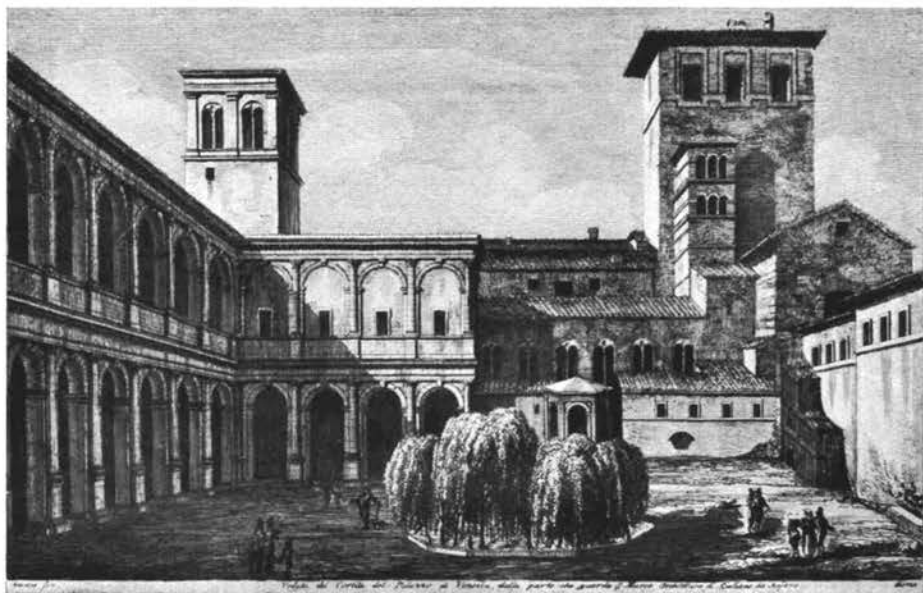


Fig. 175 — S. Marco. L. Rossini, view from palace courtyard.

The exterior of the church has been scarcely visible since, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it came to be enclosed within the walls of Palazzo Venezia. True, part of the west wall is seen in the palace courtyard, where the fifteenth-century loggia remains incomplete, and the Romanesque campanile stands modestly among the roof-tops, dwarfed by the immense mass of the palace tower (fig. 175), yet to a casual observer the exterior of the church consists only of the impressive two-storied fifteenth-century portico, which bears the arms of Paul II in the upper order. The axis of the church lies roughly north-south, with the sanctuary at the north and the portico at the south end.

Three doorways lead into the church through the rear wall of the portico; a central one to the nave and lateral ones to the aisles, the latter re-opened in 1947-1948. Immediately inside the doors, flights of steps descend 1.50 m. to the level of the church floor. Fundamentally, it is a simple basilica

(1) For these streets see LANCIANI, *Forma Urbis*, Pl. XXI. Unfortunately, his indication of sources is at times deficient; the street north of the apse, for which he refers to PIRANESI, *Antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1848, I, p. 14, n. 103, is not mentioned in that source. On the other hand, it is likely that the street coming from the east which Lanciani marks "Scavi 1876, 13.90 M." was actually seen.

(2) LANCIANI, *Forma Urbis*, loc. cit. Regarding the findings below Santa Maria in Via Lata, see SJÖQVIST, "Studi archeologici e topografici intorno alla Piazza del Collegio Romano," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, IV (*Skrifter ... svenska institutet i Rom XII*), 1946, pp. 47 ff., esp. pp. 77 and 115, where Nardini, Bellori and Piranesi are quoted with reference to these and similar remains below Palazzo Doria, and to their identification with the *Saepta Julia*. That the latter identification is untenable has been demonstrated by G. GATTI, "Saepta Julia e Porticus Aemilia nella Forma Severiana;" *Bull. Com.*, 62 (1934), pp. 123 ff. and *Idem*, "Il portico degli Argonauti e la basilica di Nettuno," *Atti III Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, Rome, 1940, pp. 61 ff. PIRANESI, *op. cit.*, p. 14, nos. 104, 105, and, following him, LANCIANI, *Forma Urbis*, loc. cit., had assumed that the structure found below Santa Maria in Via Lata extended as far south as San Marco, and existed underneath the church. HÜLSEN, "Porticus Divorum und Sarapeum im Marsfelda," *Röm. Mit.*, 18 (1903), pp. 17 ff., esp. pl. II, placed them further east, skirting the church and continuing south to the very foot of the Capitoline Hill. GATTI, *op. cit.*, 1934, pl. I, makes it stop below the north corner of Palazzo Venezia.

(3) *Loc. cit.*

(4) NARDINI, *Roma Antica*, Rome, 1771, p. 555, note a.

(5) HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 291 ff. and map 2; see also above, p. 218, dig. 855-858.

(6) HERMANIN, *op. cit.*, p. 6.



consisting of a nave with flanking aisles and twelve columns on each side; but this arrangement has been obscured by remodelling in the Baroque period (fig. 176). The nave ceiling is of coffered wood, while the flanking aisles are groin-vaulted. At the north end, the nave terminates in an apse. In the present arrangement, which dates from the eighteenth century, the sanctuary is raised 1.37 m.



Fig. 176 — S. Marco. Interior (Photo: Corbett)

above the general floor level, and projects over 5.00 m. into the body of the church from the apse front, extending also into the aisles. The eighteenth-century high altar stands close to the front of the platform. The regular arcades of the eighteenth-century nave cease at the line of the platform, and in the zone of the sanctuary, which roughly corresponds with two normal bays, the arcades are replaced by triple openings, supported on pairs of porphyry column-shafts, perhaps taken from the former ciborium. The Baroque arcades of the nave, ten to each side, rest on freestanding columns surmounted by voluted capitals with low-hanging festoons. The shafts are of brick, revetted thinly with red and white Sicilian marble, the jointing of which is skifully concealed<sup>1</sup>. Behind each column rises a second support; a brick pier, revetted in striped grey marble, with a pilaster facing the aisle. The piers carry another series of arches, of slightly smaller radius than those borne by the columns.

Many tombs obscure the architecture of the side aisles, but behind them the side walls can be distinguished as a series of alternating round and square niches, built in travertine. Pilasters of the same stone, between the niches, correspond with the marble pilasters of the piers opposite. Corresponding to the ninth arcade, a door in the wall of the right or eastern aisle communicates with the entrance vestibule of the palace, on the axis of the main palace portal, facing Piazza Venezia. A corresponding doorway on the left side of the church leads to the palace courtyard. Obeying the law of *permanence des lieux*, this cross axis corresponds with the east-west Roman street which branches off Via Flaminia<sup>2</sup>.

Above the arcades, the nave walls are decorated with stucco reliefs and frescoes, enclosed in stucco frames. The twelve clerestorey windows on each side are likewise framed in stucco mouldings.

(1) TIRI, *Nuovo Studio*, 1763, *op. cit.*, p. 184; see also, above, p. 219, dig. 1732-1754.

(2) See above, p. 220, and note 3.

All this decoration, except for the travertine niches and pilasters of the aisle side walls, the frescoes, and possibly the rectangular piers of the nave arcades, was applied to the structure in a program of remodelling directed, between 1732 and 1754, by Filippo Barigioni.

In some elements, such as the frescoes of the nave, Barigioni's design preserves the memory of another remodelling, undertaken shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century. This work is known to us through the specifications of the architect, Orazio Torriani<sup>1</sup> and from the report of an anonymous writer dated 1650<sup>2</sup>. These documents list the elements newly designed by Torriani: festoons between the windows and cornices below them; stucco frames and paintings in fresco; stucco profiles to set off the arcades. They also refer to the stucco

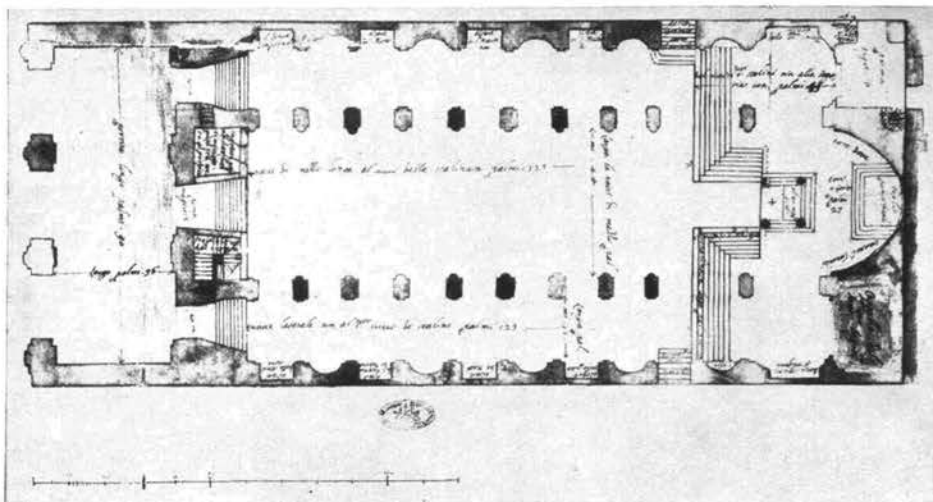


Fig. 177 — S. Marco. B. Lagi, plan of the church, 1660 (Vatican Archives, Arm. VII, tom. 29, f. 179).

frames of "round windows in both façades"; and one thinks of the windows which still exist in the gable walls at each end of the nave, but since these are hidden by the ceiling, they cannot have been visible in 1653-1657. Reference is also made to the repair of "old columns", including polishing and whitewashing, and to the remodelling of the old capitals, which had to be re-cut, and altered into "Ionic capitals with festoons and volutes, all of the same type".<sup>3</sup> To this period we also ascribe the raising of the sanctuary floor level, since its present elevation obviously exceeds the height indicated by four steps, seen in an early seventeenth-century plan<sup>4</sup>. The report of 1659 adds that the old marble capitals all differed and were in poor condition<sup>5</sup>. In 1741, when the old columns were being removed from the church, Marangoni noted their disparity, both in material and size<sup>6</sup>.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the arrangement of piers and free-standing columns, which we see today, was entirely Barigioni's invention. Even before 1741 the old columns had been backed by piers; into which, however, they were more deeply set. This becomes clear from a remark by Marangoni<sup>7</sup>, from the sketch-plan of the church dated 1621<sup>8</sup> and from a plan (fig. 177) in the Vatican Archive, drawn in 1660, by the canon Bartolomeo Lagi. Obviously neither of these two plans is the work of a professional draughtsman (the first, indeed, shows seven supports on either side instead of nine), but both show clearly that the columns were embed-

(1) DENGEL, p. 90 n. 3.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 90 ff.

(3) DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n. 3; "(the masons must) ... *spicconare e ristaurare tutte le colonne| allisciarle et imbiancare ... (and) fare li capiteli... tutte ad un modo di ordine cioè ioniche con festoni in faccia e sue volute con ... tagliare tutti li capitelli vecchi di marmo ed alzare il collarino delle colonne... e stuccare ... le volute con festoni ...*".

(4) See above, p. 219, dig. 1654-1657.

(5) DENGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 93; "*li ... capitelli di variati modi e lacerte li fece ridurre tutte con ordine corrispondente all'opera con il ripolimento dell'antichi pilastri et di dette colone*".

(6) MARANGONI, *op. cit.*, p. 444; "*Nella Basilica di S. Marco ... con XVIII colonne ... erano di marmi diversi e varie colore ed ineguali ... Ma in quest'anno medesimo l'Emo. Signore Cardinale Angelo Maria Quirini ... ha fatto levare le antiche colonne ... parte di Granito rosso e nero, parte di Cipollino, e parte di marmo Greco e di grossezza e di lunghezza diversa ...*".

(7) *Ibid.*, "(the old columns) *furono inzainate ne' pilastri e la metà ... che rimaneva in prospetto fu intonacata ...*".

(8) DENGEL, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV; see above, p. 217.

ded in rectangular piers. They also show single supports in the chancel, in line with the nave supports<sup>1</sup>, but apparently carrying arches twice the width of the nave arcades, one spanning the distance to the last support in the nave, the other reaching to the springing of the apse. Moreover, both plans show the position of the twelfth-century altar canopy, and the plan of 1621 adds

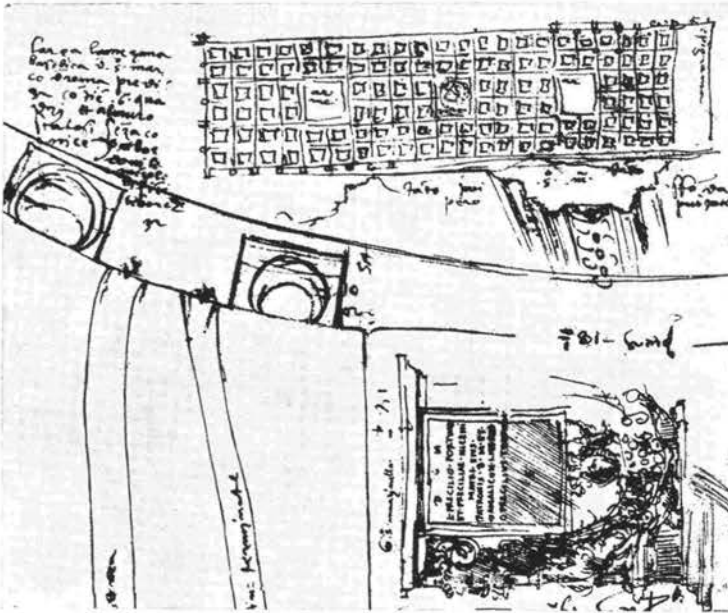


Fig. 178 — S. Marco. G. A. Colonna da Tivoli, ceiling of nave (Vatican Library, Lat. 7721, f. 90 v.)

ceiling (fig. 178), and some of the piers in the aisles. Ugonio, leaves no doubt that the nave piers were added to existing columns<sup>5</sup>. An inscription of Paul II's, formerly on the ceiling, was removed, apparently in the seventeenth or eighteenth century<sup>6</sup>. The clerestory windows are set with Gothic tracery, characteristic of mid-and late-Quattrocento taste in Rome, as in, for instance, Sant'Anastasia and San Lorenzo f. l. m.<sup>7</sup> Also, moreover, the groin-vaults of the aisles, behind their eighteenth-century stucco, have a cast rubble construction, which is a fifteenth-century technique.

Two elements testify to work undertaken in the high Middle Ages. They are the cosmatesque panels inserted in the present pavement, and the lion protomes which flank the main portal of the nave inside the portico<sup>8</sup>. The altar canopy of 1154 was removed in the eighteenth century<sup>9</sup>.

At first sight, the only hint of the church's antiquity comes from the apse mosaics, which clearly belong to the ninth century; the dedicatory inscription assigns them more precisely to the pontificate of Gregory IV (827-844). Also, beneath the floor of the apse, a ninth-century annular crypt survives in a good state of preservation; while close inspection of the exterior reveals that the clerestory walls are of typical ninth-century construction, only slightly modified by later window arches. A few *cancelli*, preserved in the portico, have interlace patterns which are characteristic of the same period; so too, is a small capital<sup>10</sup>, possibly from an altar canopy, which is comparable

a small apse at the end of each side aisle<sup>2</sup>. The plan of 1660, supported by another very sketchy plan of the early seventeenth century<sup>3</sup> also shows the approaches to the sanctuary. Two flights, each apparently of eight steps, ascended to the sanctuary platform, which extended across both nave and aisles; as it still does. Between them, a passage at the level of the nave led to the foot of the altar.

These seventeenth-century plans apparently present the church as remodelled by Paul II (1455-1470), both before and during his pontificate<sup>4</sup>. Several elements of this fifteenth-century rebuilding by the Venetian pope are still recognizable. The pilasters of the upper storey of the portico bear his arms, and so does the coffered nave

- (1) The plan of 1621 marks columns not backed by piers, apparently mistakenly.
- (2) See above, p. 218, dig. 1154.
- (3) DENGEL, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, see above, p. 218.
- (4) See above, dig. 1464-1470 p. 219.
- (5) UGONIO, *op. cit.*, c. 158 v.; "... vi sono anco hoggi (le colonne) ma fortificato con pilastri".
- (6) See above, p. 219, dig. 1464-1470.
- (7) See above, vol. I, p. 60 and fig. 42, vol. II, p. 47 f. and fig. 28.
- (8) DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, p. 40, fig. 30.
- (9) See above, p. 218, dig. 1154.
- (10) DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 29, and Pl. XVIII.

to those which flank the portal of the Zeno chapel at S. Prassede (817-824). A well-head, donated by a presbyter Johannes, standing in the portico may be of ninth or tenth-century date<sup>1</sup>. One of the *cancelli* has a simple St. Andrew cross pattern, pointing to an earlier period, possibly the fourth or fifth century<sup>2</sup>.

When the pavement of the nave was temporarily removed, during the years 1947-1950, excavations in the ground beneath it disclosed, not only the foundations of the ninth-century colonnades, but also important remains of two earlier churches. These both occupied the same site as the present building; the walls and stylobates of each having been used again in the foundations of its successor. By modifying some of the burial vaults beneath the side aisles, it was possible to extend the excavations, in a few places, as far the side-walls. Afterwards, the nave floor was replaced on a reinforced concrete bridge, which allows the excavated area to remain open for further study.

## E. — ANALYSIS

The excavations<sup>3</sup> revealed four principal strata:

1. Pre-existing walls which, for the most part, are cut off below the floor-level of the First Church.
2. The remains of the First Church, consisting of an *opus sectile* pavement, column-footings and some fragments of the perimeter walls. The pavement is approximately 2.30 m. below the level of the present nave.
3. Remains of the Second Church, comprising other column-footings and perimeter walls at a level about one meter higher than those of the First Church. This church contained a large *schola cantorum*.
4. The Third Church, the foundations of which are placed immediately on top of the column-footings of the second. Substantially, this is the church which still stands, albeit redecorated beyond recognition.

### I. PRE-EXISTING STRUCTURES

Pre-existing structures on the site of the church comprise a series of walls, lying parallel with the axis of the church, and separated from each other by intervals of about three meters. The one nearest the east flank of the church (fig. 179, A-A') is of *opus listatum*, 0.45 m. thick, and visible over a length of thirty meters from north to south. Towards its north end, this wall incorporates an earlier building of reticulate masonry with brick quoins, and near its south end it passes over a much thicker cross-wall (A''). For its entire length the wall is cut down below the floor-level of the First Church, except at the south end, where it is incorporated in the south wall of the church at the point of intersection. The *listatum* is of excellent quality, consisting of single courses of tufa alternating with four courses of brick. The mortar is worked flush with the wall-face.

The next wall (B), 3.90 m. to the west, is also cut down below the level of the church floor, except at its southern extremity. It was used as the foundation of the east colonnade in the First Church, and part of it, at the south end, does duty as the colonnade end-pier. At that level, the wall consists entirely of brick, the bricks averaging 0.033 m. high, with mortar-pointing similar to that of wall A-A, and mortarbeds ranging between 0.026 and 0.028 m. in thickness. Five courses form a modulus of one R. ft. The thickness of the wall is unknown.

The third and fourth parallel walls (fig. 179, C and D) are concealed beneath the pavement of the First Church. They were seen during the excavations of 1947 and their thickness was then measured as 0.60 m.

(1) ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, p. 588.

(2) DENGEL-DVORAK-EGGER, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 28.

(3) These pages could not have been written without the kindness of the Rev. Fr. Antonio Ferrua, S. J., who was present during the excavations and has generously allowed us to use the very full and accurate notes which he then took. Our knowledge of the first-period colonnades, and many other elements of great importance depends entirely on this source, since the evidence has now been reburied. See also Fr. FERRU's publications, *op. cit.*, above p. 216.

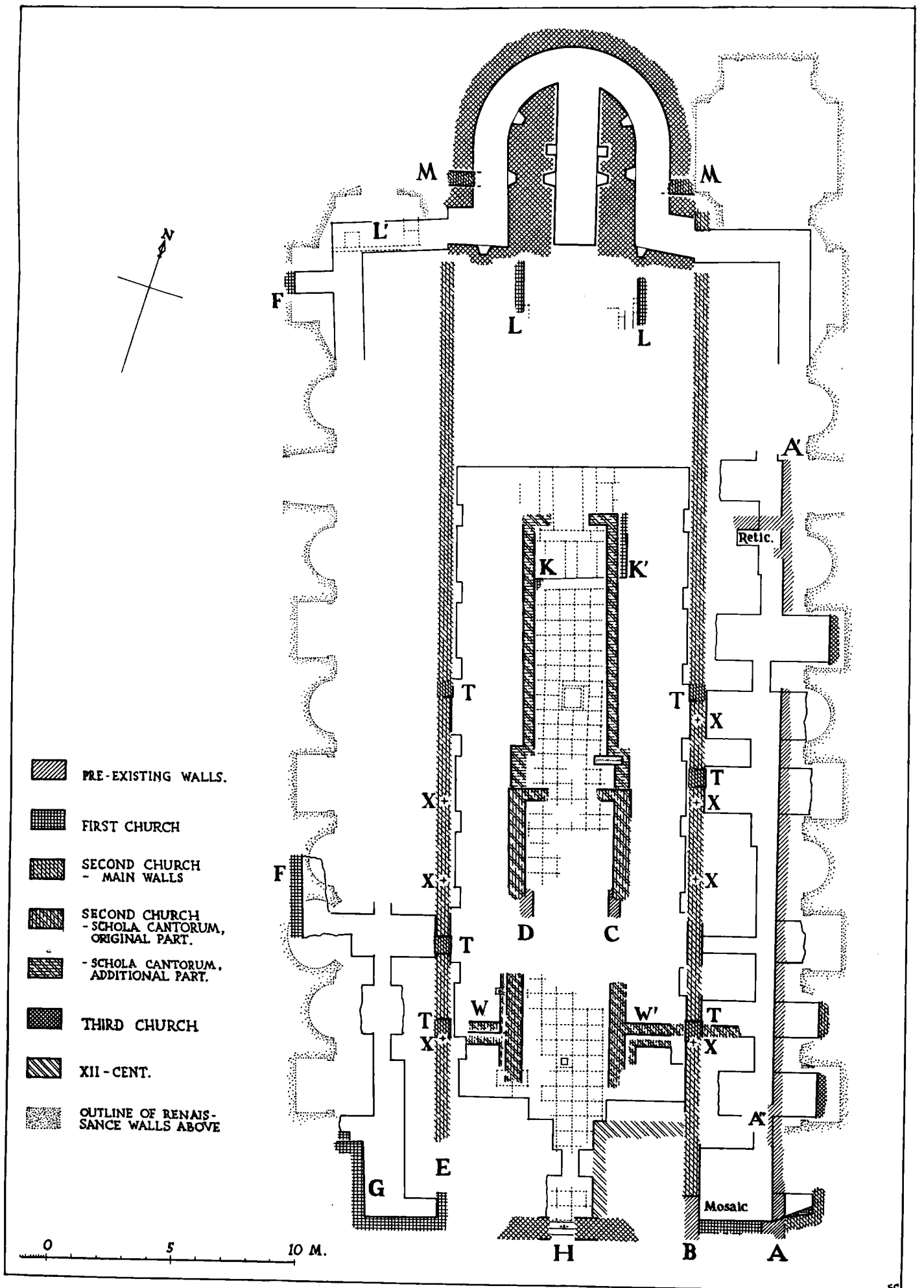


Fig. 179 — S. Marco. Key plan of excavations.

The fifth wall (E) lies underneath the west colonnade of the First Church. It has been seen at only one point, and its thickness cannot be measured. It is built of brick, and rests on a concrete foundation, capped by a projecting footing course, which lies at a depth of 3.40 m. below the pavement of the present-day west aisle. We cannot be sure whether the wall existed before, or whether it was built expressly as the colonnade stylobate of the First Church.

Adjacent to the south wall of the Church, and filling the space between the pre-existing parallel walls A and B, we find the remains of a coarse black and white mosaic pavement, depicting a *cantharus* with vine-scrolls. The composition is disposed so as to be seen from the south side; thus proving that, in the pre-existing complex, there was an opening where the south wall of the First Church now stands. A brick pier projected from the west face of wall A-A just at the south-east corner of the mosaic panel. Wall B has no corresponding projection on its east face, with the result that the former opening was slightly asymmetrical. The vase is neither midway between the two parallel walls, nor on the centerline of the opening, but half way between these two possible locations (fig. 182).

## 2. THE FIRST CHURCH

### a) PERIMETER WALLS

The perimeter walls of the church survive in very few places and, where they do occur, are now seen for a height of little more than three-quarters of a meter; that is, between the first period floor level, and the level of the foundations of subsequent building phases. Apart from re-used walls, all walls which can be identified with certainty as belonging to the First Church, are made of *opus listatum*.

#### I. North wall.

The north boundary of the First Church is unknown, except to the extent that its location is vaguely indicated by variations in the pavements<sup>1</sup>.

#### II. West wall.

On the west side of the complex, underneath the wall of the present west aisle, an ancient wall appears in two places at the proper level for the First Church (Fig. 179, F-F); one in the latitude of the High Altar, and the other 24.00 m. further south, near the south end of the west aisle. Both fragments are decorated on the east face with painted plaster. The northern one has no recognizable subject, but the southern one retains the lower part of an unidentifiable scene, depicting several horses<sup>2</sup> in red on a white ground, with some foliage in green (fig. 180). The wall is mostly of *opus listatum*, in which courses of brick and tufa alternate, but in one place there are three successive courses of *tufelli*. To the south of the painting, the west side-wall takes a different alignment. We encounter it in an excavated area (Fig. 179, G) beneath the vestibule which connects the Renaissance portico with the west aisle. In this place, the west



Fig. 180 — S. Marco. West wall of First Church; painting of horses (Photo: Corbett).

(1) See below, p. 230.

(2) FERRUA, *Civ. Catt.*, 1948, 510, suggests they might be stags.

wall of the First Church stands some 2.50 m. to the east of the alignment of the wall with the painting of horses. Unfortunately, the intervening walls are concealed by tombs. Towards the northern end of excavation G, the west wall of the First Church was interrupted by some kind

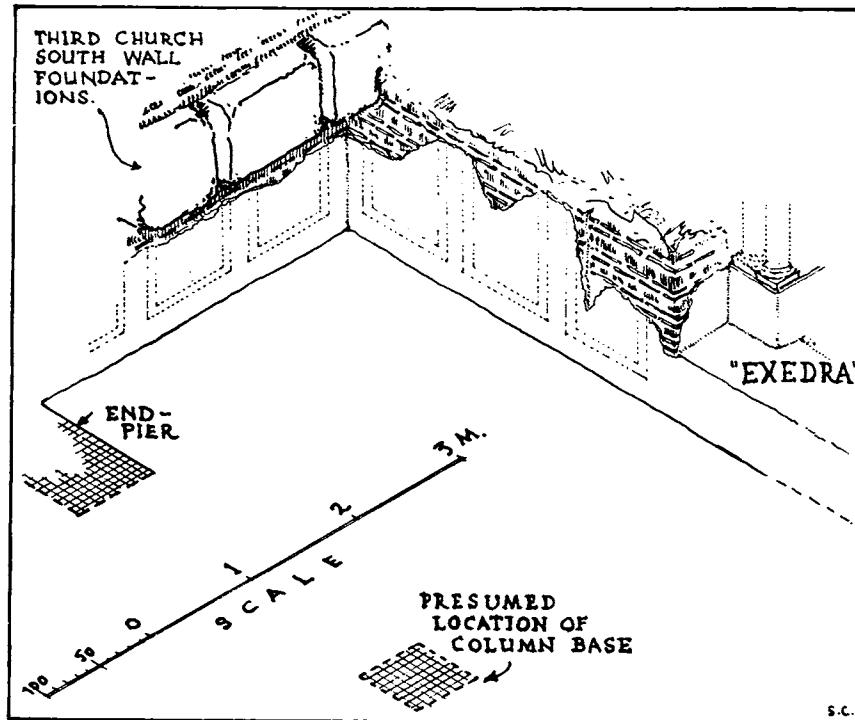


Fig. 181 — S. Marco. South end of west aisle.

of exedra (fig. 181) raised 0.50 m. above the floor-level, and partly closed by a low block of masonry with a capping of thin marble plates. When excavated in 1947-1948, the front of the block was found to be plastered and painted, and the base of a small column,  $0.21 \times 0.21$  m., was found *in situ* on top of the block near the front, at the south end, with the impression of a second base beside it<sup>1</sup>. From the exedra, the wall continues southwards for exactly three meters, to the point where it meets the south wall. A vertical division, 0.90 m. south of the exedra, may possibly indicate two periods of construction but the evidence is inconclusive.

### III. South wall, west aisle.

The south wall of the First Church provides foundations for the rear wall of the Renaissance portico, *i.e.*, the end wall of the present church. The interior face of the ancient wall is seen for the whole span between the west wall and the end-pier of the west colonnade (Fig. 179, E), and it is evident that there was no doorway at the end of the aisle. West wall, south wall and end-pier are all bonded integrally together. As far as the revetment allows the wall to be examined, it is seen to be built of *opus listatum*, in which two courses of brick alternate with one of tufa. The south and west walls retain vestiges of painted decoration, imitating marble panelling in red and pink, with a white background. The decoration of the end-pier cannot be distinguished.

### IV. South wall, east aisle.

The south end of the east aisle in the First Church is rendered more complicated than that of the west aisle, by the fact that it makes use of several pre-existing structures (figs. 182, 183). The end-pier of the east colonnade consists of a short length of the pre-existing wall B, which remained standing above the church floor-level while the rest of wall B was cut down to make a stylobate for the colonnade. The south wall of the aisle consists partly of the pier (A'') which projects from the west face of pre-existing wall A-A', and partly of a new wall (J), which closes the opening between A and B. Wall J is made of *opus listatum* but the painted plaster revetment is too well preserved to reveal the proportion of brick to tufa. Pre-existing wall A-A' did not form the west side of the west aisle; instead, it was cut down to about the level of the First Church floor, and the aisle extended beyond it. The part of the aisle end-wall, which consists of wall J and Pier A'', is normal

(1) FERRUA, *op. cit.*, R. A. C., XXV (1949), p. 15, with plan.

to the axis of the church, but from the point where it coincides with the west face of A, the inner face of the end-wall turns obliquely north-east. The roughly cut cross-section through wall A consequently stands in an oblique plane. Walls J-A'' and this oblique cross-cut are all decorated with plaster, painted to represent marble panelling, exactly like the decorations previously noted in the west aisle. The extension of the painted plaster across the oblique cross-cut proves that the east aisle of the First Church was broader than the interval between walls A and B. How much broader is rather a moot point, because the east flank-wall cannot be identified with certainty; all the brickwork which stands at present to the east of wall A having the character of later periods. Nevertheless, the foundations on which the posterior brick superstructure rests, probably belong to the original church. They consist of concrete, made out of broken pieces of marble, previously worked and presumably spoils of more ancient buildings. The foundations in the oblique part of the south wall are not in line with the superstructure, hinting at two periods of construction. The same concrete foundations extend beneath the posterior brickwork of the side-wall, indicating the probable alignment of the original side wall in the First Church.

#### b) ENTRANCE

While we have been able to identify the south wall of the First Church at the southern end of each side aisle, the portion which formed the south end of the nave is entirely hidden by later building. Nevertheless, in the line where this wall must stand, and about midway between the southeast and southwest corners of the First Church, a breach (fig. 179, H) which was made in 1949-1950 through the ninth-century foundations of the present south wall, coincides with the central portion of the threshold stone of the principal doorway of the First Church. It is a block of marble with its upper surface

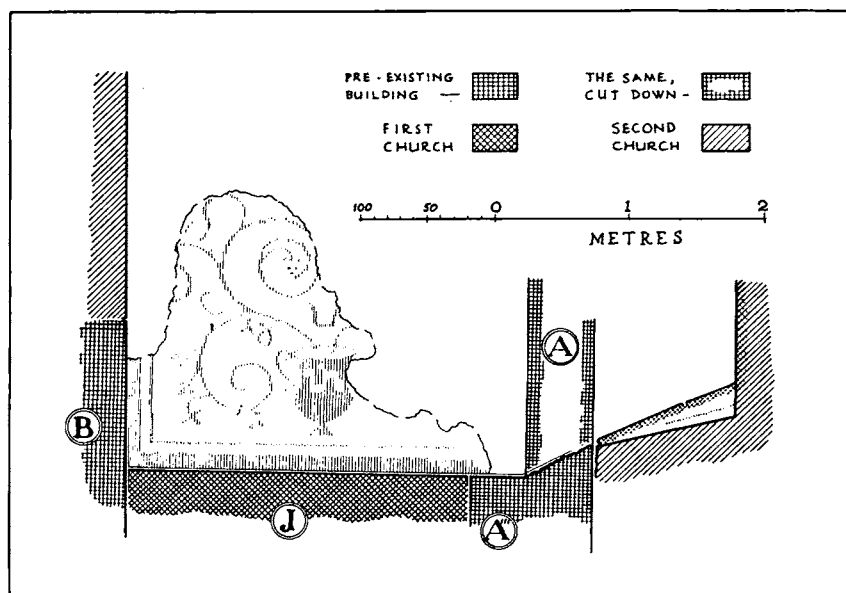


Fig. 182 — S. Marco. Walls and pavement at south end of east aisle (Sketch: Corbett).

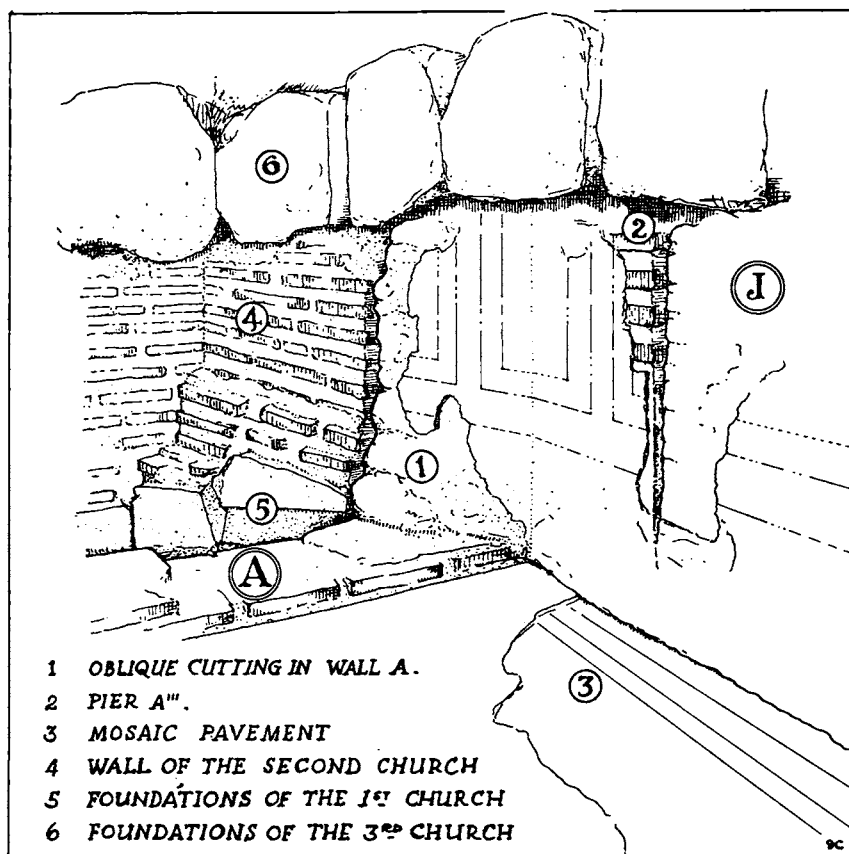


Fig. 183 — S. Marco. South-east corner of east aisle (Sketch: Corbett).



cut in two steps. The outer step, to the south, is 0.10 m. wide, while the inner step, 0.05 m. lower, is 0.29 m. wide. The block thus has a total depth from front to back of 0.39 m. Its length (breadth of the doorway) cannot be determined, as both ends are buried in the later foundations. Three rectangular mortice holes, in the surface of the inner step, were presumably for doorbolts at, or near, the middle of the doorway. They indicate the axis of the First Church, which corresponds closely with the center-line of the present building.

#### c) COLONNADES

Some of the base-blocks of the two rows of columns, which divided the First Church into nave and aisles, were found in the course of the 1947-1950 excavations. In alignment, they correspond exactly with the colonnades of the later churches, though the spacing is not the same. As noted before, the eastern colonnade stood on pre-existing wall B, and the western colonnade stood on wall E, which may survive from an earlier building, or may have been expressly built for the church.



Fig. 184 — S. Marco. Composite capital found in the excavations. (Photo: Corbett).

Seven base-blocks belonging to the First Church were identified, as indicated in Fig. 179 by the letter X. They are now concealed by the modern walls which enclose the excavated area, but they were noted by Father Ferrua during the excavations. They are made of travertine, 0.22 m. thick and about 6.50 m. square. They are spaced about 3.30 m. between centers. Their upper surfaces seem to have coincided with the level of the First Church pavement. The columns which stood on these base-blocks do not survive except, possibly, in the fragments of broken column shafts which are found mixed in the rubble foundations of the chancel enclosure of the Second Church. A capital which was also found embedded in these foundations may have belonged to the First Church (fig. 184). It is of the Composite order, with two tiers of stylized acanthus leaves, and volutes which have been broken off.

Its height is 0.51 m. and the diameter at the base is 0.37 m. The upper surface of the abacus has dowel-holes, for metal pegs which secured an impost block, or perhaps architrave stones. They may date from an earlier use, not necessarily in the church. The dimensions of the capital accord well with the size of the base-blocks, suggesting a column shaft about 4.50 m. high.

#### d) PAVEMENTS

The main threshold stone (H) of the First Church, marks the southern extremity of an extensive pavement of *opus sectile* (figs. 185, 186). It measures 25.25 m. from south to north; its northern limit being a step, beyond which the church floor lies at a slightly higher level, and is made of large marble flagstones. We presume that the *opus sectile* formerly extended in width at least as far as the colonnades, although no more than the central portion survives. (Since it only survives in the area where the chancel enclosure of the Second Church came to be built, it seems that the *sectile* owes its preservation to that structure, but the exact reason for this is not clear). Some traces of the hard bedding cement, from which the *sectile* had been removed, were found outside the later chancel enclosure, on the west side, at the time of the excavations. The *sectile* consists of square panels, 0.60 × 0.60 m., made up of small plates of marble of various colors. The design of the pavement was marked by several special features. At a distance of 4.80 m. from the threshold stone, the ordinary pattern of squares and diagonals is interrupted by a band of simple chequers (fig. 185, a) lying at right-angles to the church axis. The band is 0.60 m. (one square of *sectile*)

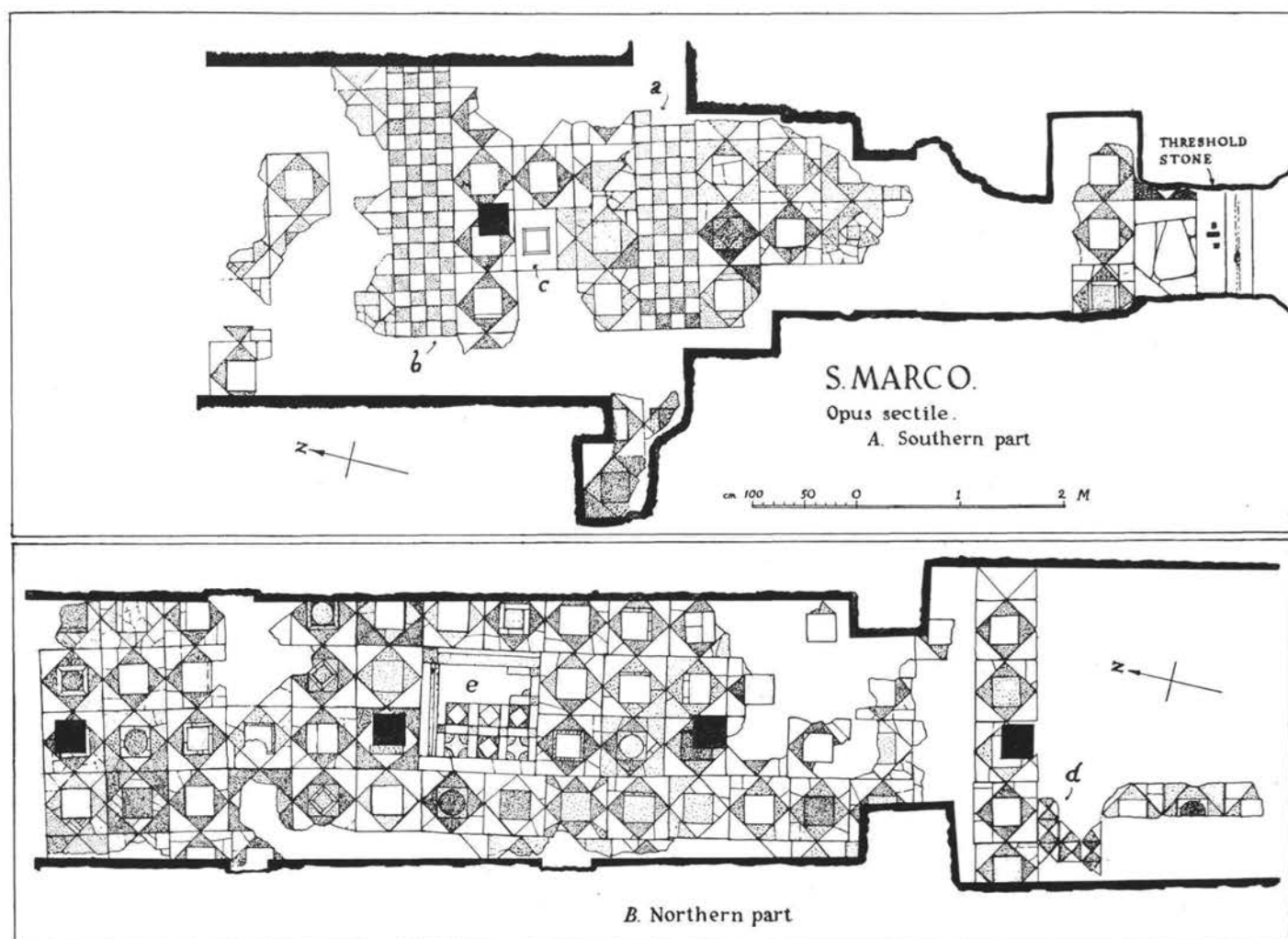


Fig. 185 — S. Marco. *Sectile* pavement of the First Church (Plan: A. Corbett).

wide and it extended laterally for a length of five or six squares; probably no more than that, since the third square to the west of the axial square seems to be made with ordinary diagonals. To the north of the band, after an interval of 1.80 m. (three squares) the pattern of the *opus sectile* is interrupted by a second chequer band (b), parallel with the first. About half way between the two bands and on the center-line of the nave, most of one square of *sectile* is occupied by a rectangular plate of white marble (c), in the center of which is an aperture, 0.20 m. square, with rebated edges. When found, the aperture was furnished with a neatly fitting marble cover, which had in the center a small mortice, as though for a lifting hook.

To the north of the second chequered band, the ordinary *opus sectile* continues for the space of twelve squares (if we ignore a gap of six missing squares which was probably caused by the construction of a tomb at a much later period), after which the rhythm is interrupted by a cross-band (d), of different pattern, made up with small uniform triangles of marble. Elements of only two such squares survive. Further north, at a distance of 20.50 m. from the threshold stone, the ordinary pattern of *opus sectile* is again interrupted by a square panel (e), 1.20 × 1.20 m. (four ordinary panels), wherein the marble plates are set to form a grid of nine small squares (fig. 187). The four corner squares differ in color and pattern from the others, resolving the composition into an equal-armed cross. Each corner square also represents a cross; whence the whole panel depicts a large cross with four small ones between its arms<sup>1</sup>.

(1) For other examples of the decoration of an altar emplacement with crosses, see P. TESTINI, "The *kàthisma* church", *Excavation at Ramat Rahel, 1959-60*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1962, p. 81 f.

At its northern extremity, the *opus sectile* is bounded by a narrow band of unpaved earth, 0.45 m. wide, beyond which a plain marble slab floor continues, at a higher level. The interval evidently contained the marble block of a step and, when it was first excavated, a small fragment of marble



Fig. 186 — S. Marco. *Sectile* pavement of the First Church  
(Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).



Fig. 187 — S. Marco. Panel in *sectile* pavement  
(Photo: Corbett).

plating, which protruded above the level of the former step (fig. 179, K), suggested that there might also have been a chancel-screen. To the north, the pavement is 0.115 m. higher than the *opus sectile*, and consists of large rectangular slabs of grey marble. These slabs extend over an area 4.50 m. wide from south to north, after which they disappear beneath the modern wall which bounds the excavated area. The eastern flank of the marble slab pavement may be indicated by a low wall (fig. 179, K'), standing parallel with the church axis and about two meters to the east of it. At the time of excavation this wall was found to be plastered and painted on its east face; the plaster rising at least 0.30 m. above the surface of the marble slabs. The south end of wall K' seems to correspond with the step or screen base, which separated the marble slabs from the *opus sectile*.

The precise northern limit of the marble-slab pavement is unknown, but it cannot have extended far because, ten meters to the north of the step, we find the fragmentary remains of another *sectile* pavement, approximately level with the one described above<sup>1</sup>. The remains are too limited to be fully interpreted, but the floor seems to have been bounded on the east and west by two parallel walls (perhaps only benches), 4.55 m. apart, in the alignment of the church axis but not quite equidistant from it (fig. 179, L). At the same level, a little to the

(1) These fragments of pavement lie beneath the present High Altar. They are accessible through an opening, with an ornamental bronze grating, in the vertical wall of the sanctuary platform.

north-west of the excavation beneath the altar, a larger area of *opus sectile* is still *in situ* (L') and now forms part of the floor of the modern corridor which gives access to the annular crypt on the west side. Fragments of four squares of *sectile* are seen, very similar to those of the main floor, but bordered on the south side by a margin of white marble. Other fragments of similar *sectile* pavement, which occur higher up on the stairs in the same passage, are presumed to have been re-laid in their present position when the stairs were built.

#### e) LEVELS

Taking the lower step of the main entrance threshold stone (H) as zero, we find that the *opus sectile* pavement slopes downwards to the marble-framed aperture (fig. 185, C) which lies four and a half centimeters below the threshold ( $-0.045$  m.). Proceeding northwards, the *sectile* then slopes gradually up to its highest point ( $+0.18$  m.) at its northern extremity, the foot of step K. Step K is  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cm. high ( $+0.295$  m.) and the marble pavement beyond it has a slight downward slope as it continues towards the north ( $+0.25$  m. at the point where the marble slabs pass underneath the modern retaining wall). The *opus sectile* pavement (L), in the hole underneath the High Altar, is  $0.25$  m. above threshold stone H.

At the south end of the west aisle, near G, we note the remains of a cement floor at a level slightly above the threshold stone ( $+0.085$  m.) but there are also traces of an older cement floor slightly below it, corresponding accurately enough with the threshold level.

Towards the south end of the east aisle, the level of the highest surviving course of the pre-existing wall A ( $-0.10$  m.) leaves a depth of ten centimeters for the thickness of a pavement at the level of threshold H. However, no trace of the pavement remains. The mosaic floor of the pre-existing complex ( $-0.17$  m.) is seven centimeters below the top of wall A, and might seem likely to have been hidden altogether beneath the floor of the First Church. Nevertheless, we know that this was not the case, because the painted plaster decoration of the south wall continues down to the level of the mosaic, without any trace of a superimposed floor. Consequently the pavement at the south end of the east aisle must have been in two levels; the ancient mosaic covering the area between walls A and B, at a level seventeen centimeters below the threshold stone, while the normal floor-level obtained, above and to the east of wall A<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. THE SECOND CHURCH

In the course of time, the First Church was replaced by a new building, which made use of the old foundations and therefore had much the same dimensions as the old one. The floor-level was about a meter higher than before; probably a precaution against river floods. The cause of the First Church's destruction is suggested by a deposit of black ash at its floor-level, and by fragments of burned marble which were found lying between the first and second floor-levels.

When, in due course, the Third Church came to be built, its foundations were placed at the Second Church floor-level, entailing the complete removal of the superstructure. Consequently, our study of the Second Church is confined to its foundation walls, stylobates, etc., which were below the level of the Third Church foundations, and to the walls of a chancel enclosure which, being independent of the main structure, was partly spared from the levelling operations which preceded the third period of building.

(1) The anomaly cannot be explained. There is no evidence for a baptistry in this place, but the mosaic floor, set below the general floor-level, may be thought to hint at something of the sort.

## a) STRUCTURE

The Second Church perimeter wall is visible only at the south-east corner, and at one point on the east side, about eight meters north of the corner. Even in these places, we only have the courses which lay below floor-level. These walls are built entirely of brick, laid in level courses  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 cm. high—in one place seven courses measure 0.45 m.; in another, ten courses measure 0.60 m. Mortarbeds are usually about 3 cm. thick. In pointing the mortarbeds, the bricklayer



Fig. 188 — S. Marco. South-west corner of the east aisle (Photo: Corbett).

held his trowel at a slight angle, so that the mortar surface coincides with the edge of the brick course above it, but is recessed three or four millimeters behind the top edge of the course below. It is impossible to measure the thickness of the perimeter wall, since the interior face alone is visible, and the upper surface is completely obscured by the superimposed Third Church footings.

The colonnade of the Second Church rested on the same foundations as the First; the stylobates being raised to the required level by additional courses of brickwork, which has the same character as the perimeter walls and is 0.60 m. thick. At the south end of the eastern stylobate

(fig. 188) the new brickwork was carefully bonded to the end-pier of the First Church, itself, as will be remembered, a survival from an even earlier structure (wall B). The heightened stylobates enveloped and preserved some of the travertine base-blocks belonging to the First Church, thus enabling Father Ferrua to ascertain the spacing of the original colonnades<sup>1</sup>. The columns of the Second Church rested on similar, but rather larger travertine base-blocks (fig. 179, TT), 0.15 m. to 0.20 m. in thickness, and about 0.75 m. square. Six of them are identifiable, half buried in the Third Church foundations, and from them we can reconstruct the column spacing of the Second Church. It was a trifle more open than in the earlier period, averaging 3.45 m. between centers. The north wall of the Second Church may be recognizable in two fragments (M-M) which are incorporated in the foundations of the third-period apse<sup>2</sup>. This wall is of brick, 0.60 m. thick, and stands about one meter high above the crypt floor. It was cut away when the apse was built, and is now seen only as two broken stub-ends of wall, embedded in the apse foundations.

## b) PAVEMENTS

The pavement of the Second Church had to be demolished in the course of the excavations. It was composed of rectangular panels of *opus sectile* enclosed in white marble margins.

## c) CHANCEL ENCLOSURE

A large part of the nave in the Second Church was taken up by a chancel enclosure, built in *opus listatum*, plastered and painted to imitate marble panelling (figs. 189, 190, 191). The spacing of the panels corresponded with the design of the pavement. The revetment consists of a thick undercoat, with a thin surface coat of finer plaster, on which the painted decoration was applied *al fresco*.

(1) See above, p. 230.

(2) See below, p. 239.

The floor levels inside the chancel enclosure are ascertainable from fragments of pavement which adhere to the walls, and elsewhere from projecting rubble footings, which must have been below floor level. These factors combine to prove that the floor of the enclosure was higher at the south end than at the north, several steps intervening. Hence it can hardly be doubted that the High Altar was at the south end of the nave, and that the orientation of the Second Church was the reverse of what obtained in the First Church.

The original height of the chancel enclosure wall is unknown, as it was cut down to pavement level in the building of the Third Church; however, the painted panels show that the walls stood not less than 1.40 m. high, above the pavement which they enclosed.

The chancel enclosure was entered at the north end through an opening 1.70 m. wide, which was revetted with real marble, in contrast to the painted imitation found elsewhere. The slabs have vanished, but the bedding cement is unmistakable, on one side of the opening. The opening led into a long, narrow area, 2.95 m. wide and 9.25 m. long from north to south, enclosed by parallel walls, 0.45 m. thick. At the south end of this area, part of a heavy marble chancel post, measuring 0.34 m.  $\times$  0.31 m. in cross-section and 1.18 m. long, lies on its side, partly embedded in the east wall of the enclosure. The post is likely to have been the footing of a transenna, which divided the main part of the enclosure, to the south, from the narrower approach passage. Beyond



Fig. 189 — S. Marco. North-east corner of the Second Church chancel enclosure, seen while the present church floor was removed (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

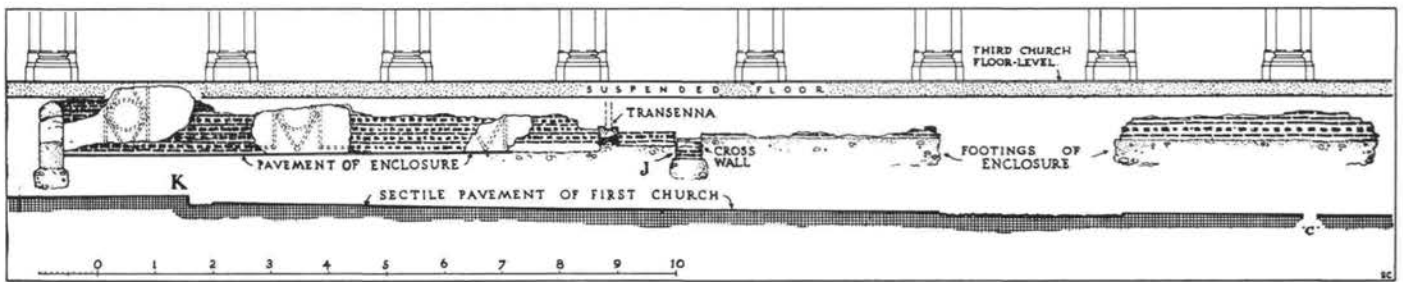


Fig. 190 — S. Marco. Chancel enclosure of the Second Church, longitudinal section, facing east.

the transenna, the width of the *schola* increases to 3.55 m. and the walls are 0.62 m. thick. One meter beyond the transenna footing, the enclosure was traversed by a cross-wall, in the center of which there was an opening of about the same width as the one at the north end. Whereas the *listatum* of the narrow northern part, and of the broader portion between the transenna and the cross-wall, consists generally of alternate courses of *tufelli* and brick, from this point onwards, as we proceed south, the *listatum* has a higher proportion of brick, two or three brick courses alternating with one of *tufelli*. The division between the two modes of construction occurs on the north side of the cross-wall (fig. 190, J), where there is an unbonded vertical joint. It thus seems likely that the narrow northern part, the transenna, and the short piece of the wider enclosure to the north of the cross-wall, are all secondary additions to the original structure, which at first did not extend north of J. The relative levels do not exclude the possibility that the cross-wall at J was suppressed when the northern part of the structure was added, the transenna taking its place.

In the southern part of the chancel enclosure, the parallel side walls continue southwards from the cross-wall, for a distance of nearly twelve meters, after which they have been destroyed to make way for the foundations of later buildings, leaving us in ignorance of the disposition of that part of the Second Church which must have been nearest the altar.

Towards the south end of the chancel enclosure, lateral walls of *opus listatum* (fig. 179, W-W'), 0.42 m. thick, extend to east and west, joining the side walls of the enclosure to the nave colon-



Fig. 191 — S. Marco. Decoration of second period chancel enclosure (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).

nades, and closing off the south end of the nave. These walls had seats built against them, giving them an additional thickness of 0.48 m. in the part that is preserved. Unfortunately, the remains are ill-conserved and do not admit detailed interpretation. One small item may be noted. A small plate of marble, 0.22 m. wide, was found in the excavations, projecting at floor level from the west wall of the enclosure, 1.11 m. to the north of lateral wall W. It seems to have been the extremity of a threshold stone, and a circular dowel-hole sunk in its upper surface may have housed the swivel-pin of a door or gate<sup>1</sup>. It may be explained as the remnant of a chancel-screen, belonging to a small side altar which stood between the west wall of the enclosure and the west nave colonnade.

On the east side of the chancel enclosure, the lateral wall W' coincided with, and enclosed one of the columns in the east colonnade. It also extended beyond the column and encroached upon the aisle; part of it being still extant in the side wall of a Renaissance tomb, which lies beneath the present east aisle.

#### 4. THE THIRD CHURCH

The Third Church to occupy the site once more used its predecessor's foundations, and thus perpetuated the main outline of the original plan. Once more the orientation was turned about, with the result that the main entrance was again at the south end of the nave, as it had been in the First Church. The new floor-level was some 1.20 m. above that of the Second Church; *i.e.*, at the level of the present-day pavement. Not a little of the Third Church is still extant forming, as it were, the skeleton of the present structure. Every main wall rests on foundations which were originally laid for the third period building, while the entire apse, with its mosaic half-dome and horse-shoe crypt, evidently date from the same period. The colonnades of this building, the shafts mostly differing in material, diameter and length, were seen by Marangoni<sup>2</sup>. Obviously they were spoils, possibly taken from the preceding constructions on the site. Most of these shafts and capitals, worn out by the eighteenth century, and of disparate types, have disappeared, though some may still exist among the fragments which lie in the Palace courtyard. However, although the colonnades have gone, the original clerestorey walls still remain, as can be seen from the exterior, despite alterations to the windows in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the side walls of the aisles were drastically remodelled, presumably when the Renaissance palace was built,

(1) The feature was carefully noted by Fr. Ferrua, but it has now disappeared.

(2) MARANGONI, *loc. cit.*, see above, p. 219, dig. 1732-1754.

receiving the form of alternating round and square niches. The third-period colonnades, after first being partly enclosed in rectangular piers (above, p. 223), were finally replaced in the eighteenth century by the marble-faced columns which adorn the church today.

#### a) FOUNDATIONS

The lowest foundations of the Third Church consist of a single course of enormous blocks of *tufa* or *peperino*, roughly quadrate, and taken from a more ancient structure (fig. 192). From evidence collected elsewhere, this seems likely to have been the Republican or "Servian" city wall and, as similar material is frequently found in the substructures of Roman churches, particularly those of the Carolingian period, we call it, for the sake of brevity, by the name "Servian blocks", even though the precise origin may be disputable. At S. Marco the Servian blocks form continuous platforms, 40.00 m. long, 1.50 m. wide and 0.50 m. thick, under each nave colonnade, and they also occur at the base of the side-walls, and the southern end-walls of the two aisles, but not at the south end of the nave. At the base of the apse, two courses of similar blocks are seen. In the side-walls and stylobates, the Servian blocks were laid on top of the foundation walls of the preceding building. Since the breadth of the Servian block foundations is more than double the thickness of the earlier walls on which they rest, we conclude that the second-period floor level remained undisturbed while the blocks were being placed in position; and that the rather excessive amount by which the blocks now overhang their substructures, is the result of the excavations, wherein the fill which formerly helped support them has been partly removed. Above the Servian block platforms, the Third Church foundation and stylobate walls are built entirely of brick, with flush-pointed mortarbeds 2 or 3 cms. thick, laid in courses averaging 0.062 m. high. Often these courses are slightly undulant.

The cutting which was made to provide an entrance to the excavated zone (H on fig. 179), enables us to examine the cross-section of the south wall, at the point where it coincides with the center-line of the nave, beneath the threshold of the main doorway. Here, instead of Servian blocks, the third-period foundation consists of a broad baulk of rubble masonry, built up with irregular fragments of stone and brick, between inner and outer faces of slightly larger, but still very coarsely hewn material. At the base, the baulk is 1.20 m. thick, but at a height of 1.30 m. it is reduced to 0.90 m. thickness. Unlike the greater part of the third-period construction, which rests on top of the second period foundation, this baulk rests directly on the threshold stone and *opus sectile* pavement of the First Church. Its unwonted depth probably results from the fact that, at this place, the builders of the Third Church found no second-church foundation walls for their Servian blocks to rest upon, and therefore had to dig down to a lower level in search of a secure base for



Fig. 192 — S. Marco. Third-period nave foundations; stylobate resting on Servian blocks (Photo: Soprintendenza ai monumenti).



the new structure. Probably there are no Servian blocks here because it would have been difficult to get them into position, in the trench so created. The absence of a second-period wall is significant, since it shows that the Second Church nave continued beyond the line of the south wall, as we know it in both First and Third Churches. This is the sole indication that the second-period building might have been apsed.

#### b) APSE

The apse of the Third Church is still intact, but its structure can only be examined at the base; elsewhere its walls are hidden, externally by the chambers of the Renaissance palace, within which it is enclosed, and internally by the Baroque decorations of the church. The vault and fascia are embellished with the original mosaics, bearing the monogram of Gregory IV (827-844), (fig. 193).



Fig. 193 — S. Marco. Apse mosaic (Photo: Anderson).

The model of the church, which Gregory carries, indicates that the apse originally had windows.

An annular crypt, of a type common in ninth-century Roman churches, lies at the base of the apse, below the level of the nave floor. A horse-shoe shaped passage, following the curve of the wall, is entered by small descending flights of steps, close to the apse shoulders. From the curved passage, at its apex, a central rectangular corridor branches off, and following the axis of the church back towards the nave, leads to a *confessio* directly underneath the High Altar.

The ancient parts of this crypt at San Marco are constructed of very poor masonry, in which all sorts of broken fragments of brick are used, together with some pieces of stone and marble (fig. 194). Mortarbeds are thick and irregular, and coursing is very uneven. At the base of the apse wall there are two courses of Servian blocks, set flush with the face of the brickwork above them; an important point to note, since it proves that the horse-shoe crypt was designed *ab initio*. Had it been added as an afterthought to a previously built apse, the builders would have had to shave back the Servian blocks to create a vertical wall in the annular passage, since the blocks would certainly have been laid to project beyond the brick wall-face, as they do everywhere else in the church. The condition of the stone face makes it evident that this operation was not necessary; whence we conclude that the crypt was planned with the apse, in one program.

The horse-shoe passage was formerly revetted with marble slabs. They no longer exist, but the bedding mortar and some iron clamps which held them in position are seen. Small niches for lamps, 1.20 m. above floor level, are set at intervals in the passage wall. The pavement was composed of marble slabs and, like the marble revetment of the walls, contained several epitaphs brought from the catacombs. The walls terminated in a stucco cornice, which included several decorative motifs, interlace work, saw-teeth, squares with St. Andrew crosses, etc. (figs. 195, 196).

The present concrete ceiling is modern; a flat brick vault was found at the time of discovery. The original ceiling was decorated with stucco roundels, enclosing cross and star patterns. Some fragments of these ancient stuccoes are conserved <sup>1</sup>.

The crypt was discovered in 1843, beneath the level of the projecting eighteenth-century sanctuary platform <sup>2</sup>. The original entrance steps are lost, and the crypt is now approached by modern stairways at the northern end of each side aisle. These lead to transverse passages and thence, through openings cut in the nave colonnade stylobates, into the ancient part of the crypt. On the west side of the apse, the modern transverse passage has, as part of its floor, some remains of *opus sectile* pavement surviving from the First Church <sup>3</sup>. The passage on the east side of the apse affords a glimpse of the second-period stylobate wall, with the Third Church colonnade foundations placed on top of it; they are seen where they have been sliced through to create the passage.

A short distance to the north of the two "elbows" which mark the beginning of the horse-shoe passage, the curved outer wall is interrupted, on both sides of the apse, by the remains of a cross-wall (M-M on fig. 179) of earlier date, built into the structure of the apse wall. It does not appear on the opposite (inner) walls of the horse-shoe passage. The Servian blocks of the apse foundations occur only to the north of the cross-wall; between the cross-wall and the "elbows" the brickwork of the apse wall extends to the crypt floor.

The rectilinear corridor to which the curved passage leads is 1.65 m. wide and 6.40 m. long, and lies along the main axis of the church. The wall revetment and altar are modern, but the ancient ceiling is conserved, consisting of slabs of travertine, 0.25 m. thick, spanning the corridor from wall to wall. The ceiling slab at the south end, immediately over the altar, is pierced by a circular hole, 0.25 m. across, which is evidently an ancient cataract, joining the High Altar to the *confessio*. If it could be observed from the nave (which has not been possible since the sanctuary was heightened in the eighteenth century), the cataract would

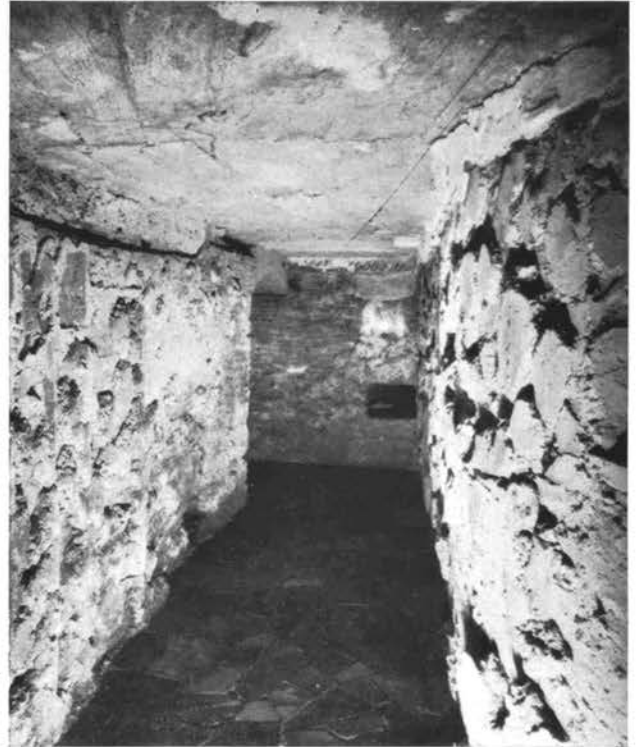


Fig. 194. — S. Marco. Interior of crypt. (Photo: Corbett).

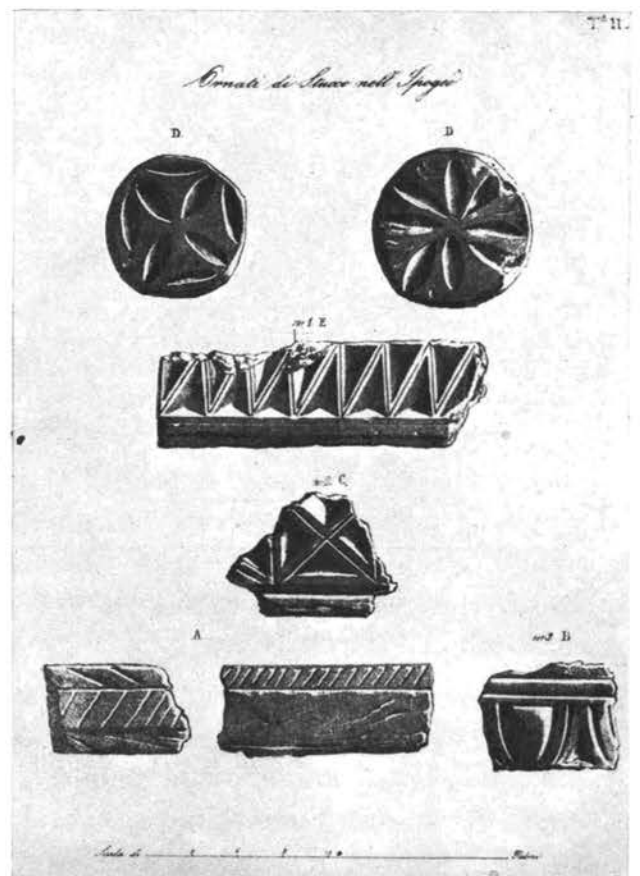


Fig. 195 — S. Marco. Stucco decoration of the crypt (from Bartolini, *op. cit.*).

(1) BARTOLINI, *op. cit.*, XXVII, fig. 64.

(2) BARTOLINI, *op. cit.*,

(3) See above, pp. 232-233.

be seen to open in the floor of a small painted niche, 0.90 m. wide, facing south along the nave axis. At present, the niche forms the northern extremity of a long, narrow passage, discovered by Bartolini, which has the front wall of Barigioni's sanctuary platform at its southern end. The entrance to the passage is closed by an oval grating in the plinth of the High Altar. We presume



Fig. 196 — S. Marco. Stucco decorations of the crypt (from Bartolini, *op. cit.*)

that the passage was created by Barigioni, or, if it already existed, was preserved and extended by him, so that the ancient niche need not be entirely hidden in his heightened and enlarged sanctuary. That some sort of passage did exist in a smaller form, before Barigioni's time, is suggested by the arrangement of the chancel steps as we see them in the seventeenth-century sketch-plan mentioned above (fig. 177). Towards the front of the sanctuary area,

that is to say, directly underneath the present High Altar, the passage floor is replaced by a deep hole, which descends to the level of the first-period church (some of the *opus sectile* pavement occurs there), and is flanked by two parallel arches. These look like *arcosolia*, and were taken as such by Bartolini, but in reality they are merely the foundations of Barigioni's High Altar. The sharp drop in level which reveals the "*arcosolia*" is probably a consequence of Bartolini's researches.

When the niche was first discovered by Bartolini it was decorated with frescoes, but they have by now almost entirely perished. Bartolini could still see a head of Christ on the back wall of the niche, and the lower limbs of two standing saints on the side walls. As well as being visible

through Barigioni's oval grating, the niche today is also seen through a small cataract, placed vertically above the original one, and opening in the floor of the present sanctuary, just at the foot of the High Altar steps. It is likely to have been put in by Bartolini.

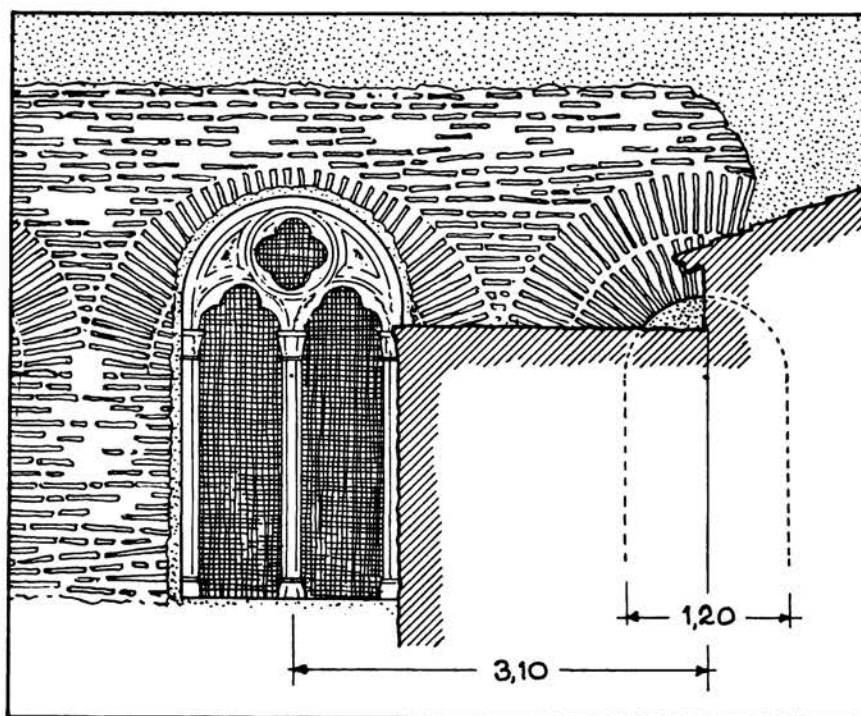


Fig. 197. — S. Marco. Ninth and fifteenth century clerestorey seen at south-west corner of the nave.

### c) CLERESTOREY

At present, the nave is illuminated by rows of round-headed, three-light clerestorey windows, with cusped marble frames and central colonettes, typical of the fifteenth century (fig. 197). Presumably they were introduced when the church was incorporated in the fabric of Palazzo Venezia, by

Paul II. Viewed from the exterior, it is evident that each of these windows supplants another, smaller and slightly lower, but spaced at the same intervals (which must, of course, be the spacing of the colonnades in the original design of the Third Church). The former windows were round-headed and had double rings of brick voussoirs. The openings were 1.20 m. wide and the brick piers between them measured 1.90 m. We do not know their height. The original brick arches are traceable throughout the whole length of each clerestorey, proving that there was no transept.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### a) THE EARLIEST STRUCTURES

Nothing can be ascertained concerning the plan of the buildings which preceded the First Church. The five walls A-E which run parallel to each other, north and south, need not have belonged to the same structure; indeed, wall E may have been built as the foundation wall of the west colonnade in the First Church. The remaining four, as far as they are visible, differ from one another in that the easternmost consists of *opus listatum* while the other three, B-D, are built of brick. *Opus listatum* and brick, of course, do occur in the same building in the same period of construction; but it is equally possible that walls B-D originally belonged to different buildings, and were built at different times. Likewise, there is no way of determining what function the building or buildings served. The only hint is given by the mosaic pavement, which lay in the south-east corner of the early building. Its *cantharus* and vine-scroll design may well be Christian, and could date from the late third, or the early fourth century.

### b) THE FIRST CHURCH

In contrast to the uncertainty which shrouds the earliest structures, the main elements of the First Church are clear. We know the perimeter walls to the west and south, including the end walls of both aisles, and the threshold of the main door leading into the nave. We also know the foundation walls of the nave, that is to say walls B and E, the first certainly taken over from an earlier construction; and we have the bases of six columns *in situ*, two in the west and four in the east colonnade. A large part of the *opus sectile* pavement survives, and we have remnants of wall decoration in the left or west aisle, and on the south wall of the east aisle.

A partial reconstruction is possible. The First Church had a nave and aisles, the nave being 10.00 m. wide. The shape and width of the right hand or east aisle, remains unknown, since nothing has survived of its outer flanking wall. But it is reasonable to assume that the outer walls of the Second and Third Churches made use of a corresponding aisle wall, surviving from the First Church. Thus the clear width of the east aisle would have been 4.70 m. The left hand or west aisle, where parts of the outer wall have survived, was obviously irregular in plan; 2.90 m. wide at the southern end, while some eight meters further north the width increased to 5.40 m. The nave was supported by parallel colonnades, the columns being spaced at 3.30 m. from center to center, their shafts approximately 4.50 m. high. At the south end, each colonnade terminated in a rectangular end-pier. The one capital preserved, which might possibly have belonged to the First Church, is Composite, but it seems to be a spoil, and other capitals could have been of different orders. It remains doubtful whether the colonnades carried an entablature or an arcade placed on impost blocks. The main entrance was at the south end, through a doorway on the axis of the nave. No south doors opened into the aisles, and an earlier door at the south end of the east aisle was blocked. On the other hand, the continued existence, to this day, of entrances in the right and left flank of the Third Church, 29.00 m. from the façade of the nave, and on the axis of a Roman street coming from Via Flaminia to the east, makes it seem likely that the Second and First Churches also had entrances in the same position.

As yet, nothing indicates definitely whether or not the nave rose above the height of the aisles to a clerestory. The greater width of the nave, as compared with the aisles, makes it likely that this was the case, but it seems better to leave the question open.

The walls of the aisles were decorated with frescoes, in part imitating marble revetment. The fresco with horses (or stags?) in the left hand aisle remains unexplained, both as to subject and purpose. Nor is it easy to find an explanation for the exedra near the south end of the left hand or west aisle.

The pavement of the nave consisted of *opus sectile*, and a similar pavement may well have extended into the aisles. Only at the very south end of the east aisle, to the right of the main entrance, was the *cantharus* mosaic from an earlier structure incorporated in the floor of the church. It may have been retained in order to mark this south bay of the aisle for some special liturgical function; but it is uncertain what that function might have been.

On the other hand, it seems reasonable to assume that the divisions marked on the nave floor corresponded to liturgical practice. The two checker bands, four and six meters respectively from the entrance, and the intervening broad strip of pavement, would seem to mark off a zone, near the main door and at a considerable distance from the altar site. It might have been a space reserved for catechumens; or else it might have been a space where the faithful, confined otherwise to the aisles, congregated in view of the altar, while the rest of the nave around, and in front of the altar, would be reserved for celebration of the mass.

While this remains hypothetical, and in any case leaves unexplained the movable marble plaque found between the checker bands<sup>1</sup>, the quintuple cross pattern, 21.00 m. from the entrance, on the central axis of the nave, presumably marks the site where a movable altar was set up during services. Four meters further north, that is, behind the cross pattern, the floor rose to form a low platform, paved with marble slabs, bordered perhaps by *cancelli*, and raised one step above the *sectile* floor. One would like to view this platform as the place set aside for the clergy and the elders of the congregation. The length of the platform and, indeed, the extension of the nave further north, remain unknown. Likewise, it is unknown whether the nave was terminated by an apse; but there is no reason to assume that it was. The cross wall, M-M, embedded in the foundations of the present apse, 41.50 m. north of the south wall of the First Church, seems to mark the position of the north wall in the Second Church, and may reproduce a wall of the preceding period. It is unlikely itself to date from the first period, as it is brick-faced masonry, and all the known walls of the First Church are built in *opus listatum*.

About 37 meters from the façade, areas of the same *opus sectile* which covers the nave, are found both on the center-line of the complex, and in the region of the left hand or west aisle. They are about level with the nave floor, but we do not know whether they belong to the main hall of the church or to adjacent chambers.

### c) THE SECOND CHURCH

After the destruction of the First Church, apparently by fire, its nave and aisles were rebuilt on the same foundations as before, but at a higher level. However, the orientation was reversed and the altar of the new church rose at the south end of the nave, where the entrance had formerly been. The south end-walls of the aisles probably remained unchanged. On the other hand, the south wall of the nave seems to have been removed, possibly for the construction of an apse.

The breadth of the nave remained as it had been in the First Church, and as in the former example, the roof was supported by colonnades. However, the Second Church columns were spaced more openly; 3,45 m. from center to center. Hence the number of intercolumniations

(1) Perhaps the likeliest explanation is that offered by Fr. Ferrua, that the marble plaque was merely the inlet to a drain, for the convenience of those who washed the floor. It lies at the lowest point.

was twelve, and their greater width makes it likely that the columns carried arcades. One would like to associate the curtains which Hadrian I gave to the church, with these arcades<sup>1</sup>, but their number, twenty-seven, does not tally.

More than half of the nave was occupied by a long chancel built in *opus listatum*, plastered and painted to imitate marble revetment. Initially, the chancel area was about 17 meters long from north to south, and 3.55 m. wide. From it, near the south end of the nave, wing walls traversed what remained of the nave, and continued in the aisles. Subsequently the chancel was extended northward for an additional 11 meters, but the extension, enclosed by walls like the original chancel, was narrower, being only 2.90 m. wide. The height of its flanking walls, at least 1.40 m., made it into a narrow passage; a kind of *dromos* or *solea*.

#### d) THE THIRD CHURCH

The Third Church once again used the foundations of its predecessors and consequently had much the same dimensions. However, the level was raised roughly 1.30 m. above that of the Second Church, that is 2.30 m. above the First Church. Also, the orientation was again reversed, returning the entrance to the south end, as it had been in the First Church. Lateral entrances led into the aisles but they had no end doorways to the south, the present ones being of fifteenth-century date<sup>2</sup>.

Like its predecessors, the Third Church was a basilica. The clear length of nave and aisles was 40.50 m.; their clear width totalled 30.50 m. This suggests that a foot of 30.5 cms. was used, resulting in a width of 100, and a length of 133 feet. The north end of the nave terminated at the apse which still stands, its half-dome decorated with the mosaic of Gregory IV. The upper walls of the nave were carried by two colonnades, each of twelve columns. This number is confirmed by the thirteen windows of the clerestorey, all of which are preserved to some extent, and by the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis* which states that Gregory IV gave the church 26 curtains "to hang under the arches".<sup>3</sup> The last reference also proves that the columns of the Third Church carried arches, and not an architrave. The column shafts, as we know from Marangoni,<sup>4</sup> differed in size and material and thus were apparently spoils. It is likely that they had previously done duty in the Second, and before that, in the First Church. Nothing is known of capitals or bases, but the distance from center to center of the columns measured 3.10 m.

In the clerestorey walls, small round-headed windows corresponded with the spacing of the columns below. These windows still exist, though slightly changed in the fifteenth century (fig. 194). Their original width was 1.20 m. (4 feet), the distance between them 1.90 m., (roughly 6 feet). The windows were surmounted by double rings of brick voussoirs, above which the wall of the Third Church continued for another 75 cm.; a total height of 14 meters, or more than 45 feet. At the foot of the apse, beneath the level of the nave, a horse-shoe crypt was laid out, its straight southward arm ending below the High Altar. The south end of this arm communicated, through a cataract, with a niche which presumably contained the relics at the foot of the High Altar.

(1) See above, pp. 217-218, dig. 772-795.

(2) See above, p. 219, dig. 1464-1470.

(3) See above, p. 218, dig. 827-844; cf., also CROSTAROSA, *Basiliche cristiane*, 1898, p. 71.

(4) See above, p. 223.

## e) LATER ADDITIONS

A campanile was built at the south end of the church in the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>. It rose, not as is usual, over the aisle, but in the south-east corner of the nave. The reason for the anomaly is unknown. Apparently the main portal was remodelled at the same time, and provided with the lion protomes, which are still extant. A new pavement seems to have been laid in the nave as witness the remnants of cosmatesque floor seen by Ugonio<sup>2</sup>. It is likely that all these changes took place around the middle of the twelfth century; certainly a new canopy was erected over the High Altar in 1154<sup>3</sup>.

The church was incorporated in the Palazzo Venezia and was extensively remodelled in the fifteenth century. The side walls were rebuilt, with rows of alternating round and square niches, while the clerestorey windows were enlarged and filled with "Gothic" tracery. Rectangular piers were placed behind the columns, the side aisles were vaulted, the coffered wooden ceiling of the nave was inserted, and doors were placed at the south ends of both aisles. In the eighteenth century the nave was redecorated, the colonnades were replaced by engaged columns, and the platforms of the altar and of the chancel were raised. The crypt was rediscovered in 1843, but it was not reopened and restored until 1947, when the remnants of the older churches below the level of the present nave were also excavated.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

The brief reports published, so far, on the excavations at San Marco, have classified the structures preceding the First Church as pre-Constantinian, the First Church as fourth, and the Second Church as fifth century<sup>4</sup>. The Third Church, which essentially still stands, has always been recognized as a ninth-century structure.

There is very little evidence, archaeological or documentary, for dating the earliest structures on the site, as represented by walls A-D and by the *cantharus* mosaic which was inserted between walls A and B, prior to the building of the First Church. To be sure, a fragment of brick and *reticulatum* wall, which was incorporated in wall A, furnishes a *terminus post quem* about the middle of the second century for wall A, (and possibly for the walls B-D, provided they are all contemporary, which is not certain). Neither the *opus listatum* of wall A, nor the small amount of brickwork identifiable in walls B-D, are enough for a precise estimate of date; though they would seem to be later than the end of the second century. On the other hand, the *cantharus* mosaic seems to be of early fourth-century, and possibly of Constantinian date. Similar mosaics are frequent enough throughout the fourth century<sup>5</sup>.

Only a comparatively short time could have separated the laying of this mosaic from the building of the First Church. The levels are nearly the same and, as will be remembered, the mosaic was incorporated into the pavement of the right aisle of the church. Regarding the date of the First Church, Pope Mark I (336) is reported in the sixth-century version of the *Liber Pontificalis* to have built a basilica on the site; and the list of donations in the *Liber Pontificalis*, including land grants in the close vicinity of Rome, sounds as if it was based on an original document. On the

(1) SERAFINI, *Torre Campanarie*, p. 178-180, and fig. 480.

(2) UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 158<sup>v</sup>. "Il pavimento nell'alto dell'altare è intarsiato, e da segno che già simile fusse il piano di tutta la chiesa".

(3) See above, pp. 218-219, dig. 1154.

(4) FERRUA, *opp. cit.*; MONTINI, *op. cit.* p. 224.

(5) See M. MIRABELLA ROBERTI, "La posizione dell'altare nelle più antiche basiliche di Aquileia e di Parenzo", *R. A. C.*, XXVI (1950), p. 185 f.

other hand, the archaeological evidence is too scarce for us to assign a precise date to the remnants of the First Church which have survived. The technique of construction of the few pieces of wall surface which are visible is too indefinite to provide clear testimony, but it does not preclude a fourth-century date. On the other hand, the *opus sectile* pavement fits a date in the fourth century very well, and possibly in its first half. Similar pavements in the rooms preceding the Lateran Baptistery are assigned to the second half of the third century, or *ca.* 300<sup>1</sup>. Other specimens of the same kind of pavement are known in a construction near Via Merulana<sup>2</sup>, in a number of fourth-century houses at Ostia, and in the Temple of Venus and Rome<sup>3</sup>. The pavement of the Basilica of Maxentius, large tracts of which were still preserved in the early nineteenth century, was particularly close<sup>4</sup>. Apparently of Constantinian date, it had squares enclosing smaller squares, diamonds and circles, of different kinds of marble, and is very similar to that of San Marco.

Finally, the placing of the altar in the middle of the nave of the First Church, and the laying out behind it of a platform one step higher, presumably for the clergy, would seem to be characteristic of the earlier part of the fourth century. Not only does this position of the altar appear to coincide with what Eusebius describes in the Cathedral of Tyre<sup>5</sup>, it is also definitely established for a number of fourth-century churches on the Adriatic coast: for Aquileia, prior to 314; for Orsero, in the first half of the fourth century; for Parenzo, after 378<sup>6</sup>; and for the Basilica Ursiana at Ravenna, *ca.* 400<sup>7</sup>. Likewise, in a number of North African churches, the altar rises in the nave, either in the middle, or in front of the apse. Beginning with Orléansville in 324, the custom seems to prevail throughout the fourth century and, perhaps as a Constantinian survival, into the fifth century. Among numerous examples one might mention churches 1 and 3 at Sabratha, both dating from the fourth century; the great basilica at Tebessa, of the late fourth century; the earliest church at Djemila, earlier than 411; Kherbet Guidra, before 444; and still later, Morsott<sup>8</sup>. The famous late fourth-century mosaic from Tabarca, which represents the exterior and interior of a church, clearly shows the altar standing near the middle of the nave, rather than in front of the apse<sup>9</sup>. Nor was the custom of placing the altar in the middle of the nave unknown in Rome. At S. Maria in Trastevere, prior to the remodelling of the church under Gregory IV, the altar stood low down in the middle of the building, so that the congregation used to crowd around it "in an inconvenient and unseemly manner"<sup>10</sup>. If it could be proved that the position of the altar in the nave of S. Maria in Trastevere went back to Pope Julius (337-353), who built the first church on the site, it would support an early date for the First Church at S. Marco as well. It may be relevant, that an excavation below the pavement of the twelfth-century nave in S. Maria in Trastevere, undertaken in 1863-1866 revealed, together with Gregory IV's *schola cantorum*, remnants

(1) G. B. GIOVENALE, *Il Battistero Lateranense (Studi di antichità cristiana, I)*, Rome, 1929, p. 61 f., fig. 28-29, inclines to date them about 300; A. M. COLINI, "Storia topografica del Celio", *Mem. Pont. Acc.*, VII, Vatican, 1944, p. 360, prefers the second half of the third century.

(2) COLINI, *ibid.*, p. 11, fig. 255.

(3) H. D'ESPOUY, *Monuments antiques*, Paris, 1906, II, Pl. 90.

(4) VALADIER and L. CANINA, *Aggiunte e correzioni all'opera sugli edifizii antichi di Roma dell'Architetto A. Desgodetz*, Rome, 1842, part I, Pl. XX and p. 20, where it is described, "son le traces del pavimento fatto con lastre di marmo di varie specie..." See also A. MINOPRIO, "A Restoration of the Basilica of Constantine", *Papers Brit. Sch.*, XII (1933), pp. 1 ff., esp. p. 9 and Pl. VII.

(5) EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.*, X.iv.44, ed. Ulton & Lawlor, Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1932, pp. 426-427.

(6) MIRABELLA ROBERTI, *op. cit.*, p. 189 f.

(7) G. BOVINI, "Qualche appunto sull'antica cattedrale di Ravenna", *Felix Ravenna*, LXI (1953), p. 59.

(8) J. BRAUN, *Der Christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, pp. 385 f., gives a long, if incomplete list with reference to GSELL, *Les monuments antiques d'Algérie*, Paris, 1901. For Djemila, see Y. ALLAIS, *Djemila*, Paris, 1938, for Sabratha, J. WARD PERKINS, "The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania", *Archaeologia*, XCV (1953), pp. 1 ff. Further examples are found in A. BERTHIER, *Les vestiges du christianisme dans la Numidie Centrale*, Algiers, 1942.

(9) P. GAUCKLER, "Une chapelle de martyrs à Tabarka", *Monuments Piot* XIII (1906), p. 188 ff., Pl. XVII, and J. WARD PERKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 57 f.

(10) LP, II, 80; "nam prius altare in humili loco situm fuerat, pene in media testudine circa quod plebs utriusque sexus conveniens, pontifex cum clero plebi confuse inmixto sacra misteria celebravit...".



of an older building, possibly the church of Julius I, which included a pavement composed of marble plaques of various colors arranged in a geometric pattern<sup>1</sup>.

We thus assign the First Church to a date before the middle of the fourth century. The few months of Mark's pontificate, January 16 to October 6, 336, are obviously too short a period for the erection of a building as large as the First Church. It seems more likely that he gave the congregation a house which he owned on the site; the remnants of which may be represented by the walls preceding the First Church, including the *cantharus* mosaic. Or perhaps the construction of the First Church was begun under Mark's pontificate and was continued, after his death, in the pontificate of Pope Julius.

It is not easy to assign a date to the construction of the Second Church. The fifth-century date suggested, though possible, seems to have little solid foundation. Documentary evidence is entirely lacking, and archeological evidence is scarce. Only the tooling of the mortar in the brick construction of the walls gives a possible clue; for the inward and downward striking of the mortarbeds resembles a similar technique used in the apse of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, despite the greater thickness of the mortar in the latter church<sup>2</sup>. That apse dates from the sixth century, and is possibly as late as the second half of that century<sup>3</sup>, and it seems quite likely that the Second Church of S. Marco should also be assigned to about the same time. Moreover, the level of the Second Church floor being about half-way between the First Church and the Third Church, suggests that its date too, should be about half-way between that of the others.

It cannot be definitely established whether the chancel was built at the same time as the Second Church or not, but it is likely that the older part of the chancel is contemporary with the construction of the church. In fact, the tooling of the *opus listatum* in the chancel walls, and of the brickwork in the perimeter walls of the church, is similar. At first glance it would seem that neither the first, shorter chancel, nor its northward extension, can reasonably be assigned to a period earlier than the sixth century. The long, narrow shape of the first chancel already classifies it as a *solea*; corresponding with the enclosed pathway which, in sixth-century Constantinople, projected from the chancel of Hagia Sophia towards the ambo<sup>4</sup>. Whether this element had earlier forerunners in the East or not, it was in the sixth century that it spread from Constantinople along the coast of Asia Minor to Greece, Dalmatia and Istria, and as far as Rome. There, it appears in the lower church of S. Clemente, between 533-535, wider than in the Eastern examples but clearly recognizable, enclosed by *cancelli* and slightly raised above the floor of the nave<sup>5</sup>. The chancel at S. Marco, in its first form, seems to offer a close parallel to that of S. Clemente, whether it be a few decades later in date, or not. Some *solea* may have existed as early as the middle of the fifth century, e.g., in the Cathedral of Verona and in the north hall of the post-Theodosian Cathedral at Aquileia; but the great majority are of sixth-century date<sup>6</sup>.

The extension at S. Marco of this first *solea* by a second one, a *pro-solea* as it were, has parallels. In the basilica of Dermech, in one of the suburbs of Carthage, exactly the same enlargement of a first by a second *solea* has taken place<sup>7</sup>. In Rome, a similar chancel enclosure occurs at S.

(1) DE ROSSI, *B. A. C.*, IV (1866), p. 76, "nel pavimento primitivo osservo un partito di figure geometriche in marmi di varie colori...".

(2) See above, vol. I, p. 304.

(3) RENATE and WALTER SCHUMACHER, "Die Kirche San Giovanni a Porta Latina", *Kölner Domblatt*, XII-XIII (1957), pp. 22 ff., suggest this date instead of the earlier one proposed by myself, *loc. cit.*, I think a late date quite possible.

(4) See for the following G. XYDIS, "The chancel barrier, *solea* and ambo of Hagia Sophia", *Art Bull.*, XXIX (1947), p. 1 ff., esp. p. 14 f.

(5) See above, vol. I, p. 118, Pl. XIX.

(6) B. FORLATI TAMARO, "La basilica paleocristiana di Verona", *Rendiconti Pont. Accad.*, 30-31 (1950), 117 ff., and M. MIRABELLA ROBERTI, "Osservazioni sulla basilica postteodosiana settentrionale in Aquileia", *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini*, III, Milan, 1957, p. 874 f.; XYDIS, *op. cit.*

(7) P. GAUCKLER, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie*, Paris 1913, pl. I.

Pietro in Vincoli. Like the enclosure at S. Marco, it is composed of two parts: a main area, 4.25 m. wide, projecting from the transept into the eastern bays of the nave, continued west ward by a narrow *pro-solea*, only 3.30 m. wide.

At S. Marco, the differences in masonry technique between the first *solea* and its extension, are so small that little time need have separated their respective construction. Indeed, the painted decoration of the *pro-solea* makes any date after 580-590 unlikely. Likewise, the *opus listatum* masonry of the *pro-solea* with its occasional insertion of two or three brick courses, recalls quite closely that of the clerestory walls of San Lorenzo f.l.m. (579-590) <sup>1</sup>.

The date of the Third Church is established by the biography of Gregory IV in the *Liber Pontificalis*, by his dedicatory inscription in the mosaic of the apse, and by the characteristics of the building technique in the foundation walls and in the clerestorey; characteristics which find their exact parallel in other late eight- and ninth-century churches in Rome.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

Obviously the importance of the First Church is twofold. Presumably already begun under Constantine, it appears to be the earliest known example of a parish church laid out as a basilica, with a nave and aisles, prior to the middle of the fourth century. Secondly, the building appears to provide our first hint of the liturgical lay-out of an early parish church in Rome.

The importance of the Second Church, on the other hand, lies in the fact that it furnishes in its chancel plan one more parallel in Rome to the liturgical lay-out of Byzantine chancels, presumably in the course of the sixth century.

The Third Church, finally, furnishes yet another instance of the ninth-century renaissance of Early Christian prototypes. In this respect it may be compared with many other churches, including the remodelling of S. Anastasia, S. Cecilia, S. Francesca Romana, S. Prassede, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, S. Maria in Domnica, and S. Martino ai Monti.

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(1) See above, p. 67.



## S. MARIA ANTIQUA<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

The ruins of the classical buildings which later became the church of S. Maria Antiqua (pl. XVIII) occupy the space on the south side of the *Forum Romanum*, between the western escarpment of the Palatine and the huge rectangular brick structure which is sometimes called the Temple, and sometimes the Library of Augustus<sup>2</sup>. They consist of a first court, later used as an atrium, an inner court, later used as a nave (fig. 198), and a *tablinum* with three chambers, of which the central one

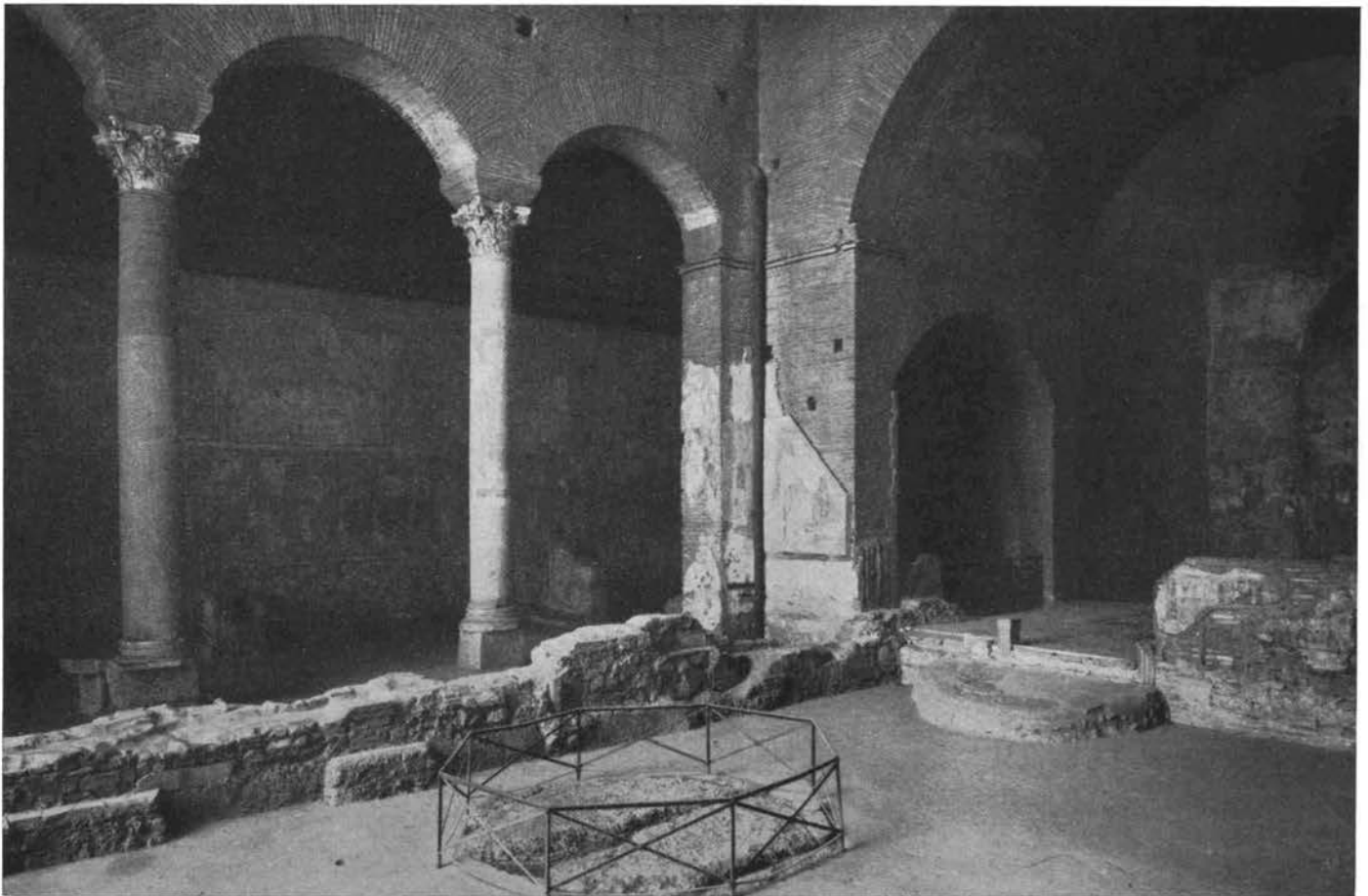


Fig. 198 — S. Maria Antiqua. Interior (Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.).

was used as the *presbyterium* of the church. The walls of the building can be dated, by brick stamps and bricklayer's technique, to the Antonine period.

Ample documentary evidence attests the conversion of the building into a church, but it starts late, with a reference in *De locis sanctis martyrum*, datable ca. 635-642<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless it should be

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(1) Selected bibliography: G. McN. RUSHFORTH, "S. Maria Antiqua", *Papers of the British School At Rome*, vol. I, London, 1902, pp. 1-123; W. DE GRÜNEISEN, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911; EVA TEA, *La Basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua*, Milan, 1937, with full bibliography, pp. 369-377; P. J. NORDHAGEN, "The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua, and their Date", *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Inst. Romanum Norvegiae*, vol. I, Oslo, 1962, pp. 53 ff.

(2) R. DELBRUECK, "Der Südostbau am Forum Romanum", *Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 8 ff.; G. LUGLI, *Il Centro monumentale*, Roma, 1946, pp. 185 ff.

(3) G. B. DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea*, Vol. I, 1864, p. 143; "Basilica quae app sca Maria antiqua". For the date of this text, see above, vol. I, p. 137, n. 4.

noted that the church already bore the epithet "old", *antiqua*, at that time. Additional, nearly contemporary, evidence of the ecclesiastical use of the building is provided by a layer of the mural decorations which is not by any means the oldest. This series of paintings, which depicts the Church Fathers, refers to the anti-monothelite council held at the Lateran in October 649, and therefore can be safely dated in the pontificate of Martin I (649-653)<sup>1</sup>. Half a century later, John VII (705-707) provided an *ambo* and a chalice, built a residence for the popes on the hill nearby and redecorated the church with other murals<sup>2</sup>. Stylistic factors enable us to identify the latter with certain paintings seen on the walls of the *presbyterium*<sup>3</sup>. The murals of the transennae enclosing the chancel have likewise been attributed to the pontificate of John VII, or to a slightly earlier period<sup>4</sup>. A set of murals in the left hand side chamber was donated, at the time of Pope Zacharias I (741-752) or slightly earlier, by Theodotus, the *primicerius* of the lawyers of the Roman Church and "*dispensator Sce Dei genetricis ... qui appellatur antiqua*"<sup>5</sup>. Both Zacharias' and Theodotus' portraits appear in the murals, but the portrait of Zacharias seems to have been painted over an earlier layer<sup>6</sup>. In any event, Theodotus' position of *dispensator* suggests that, by the second quarter of the eighth century, S. Maria Antiqua was linked to a *diaconia*<sup>7</sup>. The fresco in the main apse is dated in the pontificate of Paul I (757-768) by his portrait and by an identifying inscription<sup>8</sup>. A few decades later, between 772 and 795, Hadrian I decorated the walls of the atrium with frescoes, including his own portrait as donor<sup>9</sup>. Apparently at the same time, or perhaps slightly earlier, the wall of the left aisle was covered with similar murals<sup>10</sup>. A further mention of the church occurs in the late eighth- or early ninth-century *Itinerarium Einsidlense*<sup>11</sup>. Textiles and other liturgical ornaments were donated by Leo III to "*diaconia ... Dei genetricis quae appellatur Antiqua*"<sup>12</sup>, and even to the "*diaconia Antiqua*"<sup>13</sup>, rather than to the church proper. Finally, under Leo IV (847-855), the church was abandoned, apparently having been rendered useless by an earthquake in 847<sup>14</sup>. Its privileges and possessions, perhaps including a venerated icon, were then transferred to the newly established church of S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana)<sup>15</sup>.

The state of the building when it was excavated showed that everything worth taking had been removed; even many of the paving stones. In course of time the artificial canyon, in which the church lies, filled up with earth and by the nineteenth century the nave was buried ten meters deep. In the fourteenth century a chapel named *S. Maria de Inferno*, or *S. Maria libera nos a poenis inferni*, was built above the ruins of the Roman atrium<sup>16</sup>. This chapel gave place in 1617 to the

(1) GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141; M. AVERY, "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome", *Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, 1925, p. 132.

(2) L. P., I, p. 385; John VII "*Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter fecit et super eandem ecclesiam episcopium quantum ad se construere maluit...*" See also the inscriptions on the *ambo* (below, p. 263).

(3) E. KITZINGER, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Munich University, 1934, pp. 43 ff.

(4) *IBID.*, pp. 20-21.

(5) TEA, *op. cit.*, p. 222; KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 43.

(6) KITZINGER, *ibid.*, p. 43.

(7) See also F. NIEDERER, *The Roman Diaconiae* (Diss. New York University), New York, 1950, p. 88, and J. LESTOCQUOY "Administration de Rome et diaconies du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle" *R. A. C. VII*, 1930, pp. 275, 281-2.

(8) GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 and 150; KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

(9) RUSHFORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 103; GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, p. 93; KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(10) KITZINGER, *ibid.*

(11) LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, 1891, pp. 497-99.

(12) L. P., II, pp. 14, 19, 26.

(13) *IBID.*, p. 12.

(14) RUSHFORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

(15) Regarding the icon, see P. CELLINI, "Una Madonna molto antica", *Proporzioni*, III, 1950, pp. 1 ff.; KITZINGER, "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century", *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 132 ff., and the recent paper by C. BERTELLI, "La Madonna del Pantheon", *Boll. d'Arte*, 1961, pp. 24 ff.

(16) HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 339. The chapel and an adjoining building seen from the West are shown in a drawing of the Forum of ca. 1550, formerly in the Liechtenstein collection, which in 1960 was on the Swiss market (Auction catalogue Klipstein and Kornfeld, n. 98, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister*, 1960, n. 123, pl. 20).

church of S. Maria Liberatrice, designed by Onorio Longhi, and built at the expense of Cardinal Marcello Lante<sup>1</sup>. Excavations of a sporadic nature took place throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the earliest recorded being in 1526<sup>2</sup>. Part of the *tablinum* was brought to light in 1702, by workmen salvaging marble in the garden of the church of S. Maria Liberatrice<sup>3</sup>. A sketch was made (fig. 199), but the ruins were reburied a few months later.

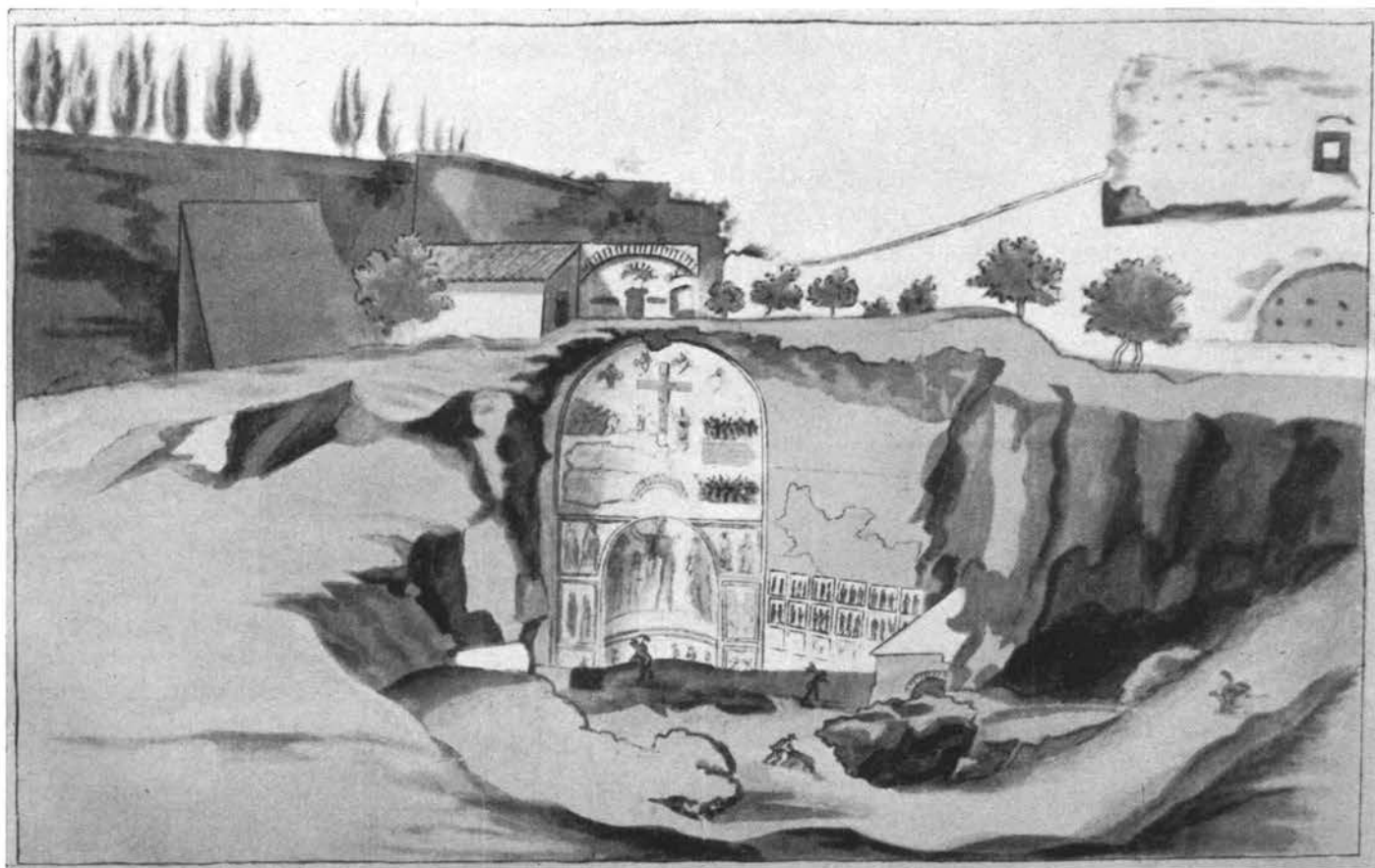


Fig. 199 — S. Maria Antiqua. Excavations of 1702 (Francesco Valesio, Archivio Comunale Roma)

The site was finally excavated by Giacomo Boni in 1900, after S. Maria Liberatrice had been pulled down<sup>4</sup>. The state of the buildings when first excavated is illustrated in the drawing (pl. XIX) made by Antonio Petrucci, the architect in charge of the restoration, published here by kind permission of the *Soprintendente alle Antichità di Roma (IV)*.

While the history of the church can be traced through documentary evidence and inscriptions from only a little before 650, the archaeological evidence goes back further. The mid-seventh-century layer of murals to the right of the apse, showing the Church Fathers, was by no means the first Christian mural decoration in the building. Underneath it two earlier layers can be discerned: the remnants of an Annunciation, including the famous Angel and, beneath this, the Virgin Enthroned with the Child in her arms (*Maria Regina*). In the latter, the Virgin was originally flanked by two angels, but the one on the left side was apparently cut off when the apse was enlarged to its present size.

A date in the first half of the sixth century, based on stylistic grounds, has been generally accepted for this painting<sup>5</sup>. The Annunciation, which partly covers it, has been assigned to various

(1) G. D. FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1633, pp. 316 f.; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 222, gives the dedicatory inscription of 1617; NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838, Parte moderna*, vol. I, p. 377.

(2) LANCIANI, *Storia Scavi*, vol. I, p. 225.

(3) GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, p. 34. See also TEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5; and DE ROSSI, *BAC*, vol. VI, 1868, pp. 16 and 90.

(4) TEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-20.

(5) AVERY, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff; KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 40.

dates in the period between 550 and 660, that is, the whole period between the *Maria Regina* which preceded it, and the Church Fathers who are painted on top of it. Opinions vary between "a few decades prior to 649" <sup>1</sup>, "in the first half of the seventh century" <sup>2</sup>, and "probably after 570 and before 650" <sup>3</sup>. A date in the last decades of the sixth century would therefore be possible. In any event, it should be pointed out that the representation of the Annunciation presupposes the use of the structure as a church; whereas the representation of the Enthroned Virgin (*Maria Regina*), while indicating that the building was under Christian auspices, perhaps does not necessarily prove its use as a church <sup>4</sup>.

The scope of this *Corpus* does not allow us to enter into a lengthy discussion of these paintings, and we confine ourselves to the analysis of the structure and to the adaptation of the building for Christian use.

### 1. THE ROMAN STRUCTURE

The Roman structure is set out axially on the site, and measures 19.0 m. by 50.3 m. internally. At the north end, a central gateway 5.0 m. wide leads into a square outer court, surrounded by high brick walls which are decorated with round and square niches. An even wider opening, directly opposite the first, leads from the outer to an inner court, 19.0 m. wide and 21.0 m. long, comprising a central *impluvium* surrounded by a *quadriporticus* (fig. 200). An octagonal concrete pedestal at the center of the *impluvium* may have supported a fountain. The surrounding porticoes were roofed with barrel vaults, and opened to the *impluvium* through large single arches at the ends and narrower triple arches at the sides. At the corners of the *impluvium* the arches rest on L-shaped brick piers and the triple side arcades originally had square brick piers, although we now see columns in their place.

Continuing the axial lay-out to the south of the *quadriporticus*, a broad opening <sup>5</sup> now leads to a central chamber or *tablinum*, 8.0 m. wide and 6.8 m. from north to south. The central chamber is flanked on each side by smaller chambers which are entered through narrower openings, lying opposite the side walks of the *quadriporticus*. The three chambers are roofed with high barrel vaults. A rectangular niche in the middle of the south wall of the *tablinum* originally terminated the main axis of the Roman building; it has been replaced by a wider apse, but the width of the original niche can be estimated from the diameter of the relieving arch which is seen in the wall above. A similar rectangular niche is seen in the left hand side chamber, but the right hand chamber, which was smaller, has none. In addition to the entrances which led into the three chambers from the *quadriporticus*, there were also doorways in the lateral walls, leading from one chamber to another.

A wide doorway in the west side of the atrium, and another near the north-west corner of the *quadriporticus*, led to the great *cella* of the adjacent Temple or Library. These doorways were

(1) KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.

(2) AVERY, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

(3) NORDHAGEN, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

(4) See below, pp. 263 ff.

(5) The building was modified in classical times and the original form of the opening is not known. It seems clear that formerly there were smaller openings where the single broad one now stands. The roof of the central walk of the *quadriporticus* is a broad vault, spanning east-west, its axis parallel to the main axis of the building. At each side, the vault springs from the apex of a lower cross-vault which spans the *quadriporticus* walk between the corner-pier and the south wall. The greater part of the vault system is modern, but enough evidence survived in the ruins for the reconstruction to be reliable (TEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17). However, it is evident that the south walk was originally roofed with a different scheme of vaulting. The brick face of the south wall rises to a higher level than the springing of the cross-vaults. Pet-rignani's drawing (Pl. XIX) shows the higher springing line and also the roughly cut horizontal channels into which the springers of the lower vaults were subsequently inserted. The same illustration also depicts a large block of travertine which overhangs the broad opening in the south wall of the *quadriporticus*, resting on a projecting fragment of brickwork at the level of the original vault springing (TEA, *op. cit.*, p. 237). The style of brickwork shows that the alterations to the vaulting and the south wall were already effected before the end of the second century, and have nothing to do with converting the building into a church.



Fig. 200 — S. Maria Antiqua. The quadriporticus (Photo: Anderson).

symmetrically arranged on either side of the main axis in the latter building. Another opening, near the south-west corner of the *quadriporticus*, communicated with an adjoining chamber to the south of the *cella*. Other openings on the east side of the outer court and the *quadriporticus*, gave access to a long ramp which winds up to the Palatine.

Regularly spaced holes for metal cramps show that the walls of the *quadriporticus* and the three end chambers were originally revetted with marble plating for a height of five metres, but nothing remains of this decoration. The upper part of the walls, and the vaults, were coated with white plaster, decorated with red painted panels. The pavement of the *quadriporticus* was *opus spicatum*; the pavements of the *tablinum* and side chambers remain unknown. At an early date, before the building was finished, rough passages about 1.50 m. high were hacked through the walls which divide the *tablinum* from the side chambers. Afterwards the openings were sealed up with thin walls of *opus listatum*. The peg-holes of the original marble revetment appear on the surface of the sealing walls, and it is evident that the passages served some quite temporary purpose, and were closed up before the marble decorations of the building had been finished.

A more important change was made to the three end chambers when the openings which led



from the *quadriporticus* to the side chambers were blocked up, and the doorways leading from the latter to the *tablinum* were reduced in width. The brickwork of these alterations differs notably from that of the Antonine period, having mortar-beds 2 to 3 cm. thick instead of 1½ cm. It seems likely to date from the fourth century. Similar brickwork occurs in a wall which at one time blocked the passage between the north-west corner of the *quadriporticus* and the adjoining *cella*.

The latest significant alteration to the classical complex (that is, in the period preceding the *Maria Regina* stratum of mural paintings) consisted of the redecoration of the *quadriporticus* and the end chambers. The walls were encrusted with *opus sectile*, and the vault of the *tablinum* was covered with mosaics<sup>1</sup>. In applying the *sectile*, after removing the original marble revetment, the walls were coated with a layer of cement about 5 cm thick, and plates of terracotta were then set in the surface of this cement, almost touching one another (see fig. 202). The plates were cut out of large tubes or vases, some 20 to 40 cm. long and 8 cm. wide. This revetment (*opus testaceum*) was the background for the surface decoration of *opus sectile*. The *sectile* revetment extended to cover the new brickwork which had been built to reduce the width of the doorways of the side chambers, and cannot be earlier than that modification (probably fourth century). The surface decoration of *sectile* has perished, except for portions of a white marble skirting with a moulded capping which surrounds the *tablinum* for a height of 35 cm. above the present pavement, and for part of a narrow vertical margin of green porphyry which survives at the south-east corner of the same chamber (fig. 203). Nevertheless, although the decorative surface has gone, something of the former *sectile* pattern is discernible from the arrangement of the terracotta plates, which are disposed to follow the main outlines of the surface lay-out. Thus, a row of large panels separated by pilasters appears on the side walls of the *tablinum*, the capitals of the pilasters being about five meters above floor level<sup>2</sup>. They seem to have been crowned by a *sectile* entablature, the cornice of which was partly in relief, to judge by the deep countersinking of the *testaceum* at the appropriate level. Fragments of *opus testaceum* are seen on the walls of the *tablinum* and in the left hand side chamber; also on the corner pier at the south-east corner of the *quadriporticus*, and on the outer walls of the *quadriporticus* in the same region. Presumably the *opus testaceum* once revetted the whole of the *quadriporticus*. No trace of it is now found in the right hand side chamber.

## 2. THE BUILDING USED AS A CHURCH

### a) STRUCTURAL ALTERATIONS

In converting the Roman building into a church, only two major changes were necessary. To create an apse on the centre-line of the nave the rear wall of the former *tablinum* was quarried away and a roughly semicircular apse, 4.75 m wide, 2.00 m deep and 6.20 m high was formed in the thickness of the Roman masonry. The floor of the apse is 0.35 m above the level of the pavement in front of it. There was no need to build the apse wall externally, because the different orientation of the adjacent *Horrea Agrippiana* makes the Roman wall abnormally thick at that point.

The other major change was to substitute columns for the square piers which sustained the *quadriporticus* arcades. To give the columns on the west side sufficient height, the lowest courses of the brick piers were retained. On the east side, rectangular blocks of travertine were substituted for the brickwork at the base of the columns (fig. 198). All four columns have granite shafts, and marble caps and bases of the Corinthian order. An important indication of the date of this change

(1) RUSHFORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 1; TEA *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(2) We cannot agree with DELBRUECK (*op. cit.*, p. 27) when he assigns to this place certain marble pilaster capitals which were found, loose, in the excavations. The *sectile* had been destroyed centuries before the church was abandoned and there is no reason why the capitals should have remained in the building. Moreover, they seem too heavy for use in *opus sectile*.

is afforded by three coins of Justin II (565-578) which were discovered *in situ* beneath the southern column on the east side <sup>1</sup>.

In this way, the colonnades and side aisles of a church were created in what had formerly been the lateral walks of the quadriporticus, while the middle part of the quadriporticus, presumably

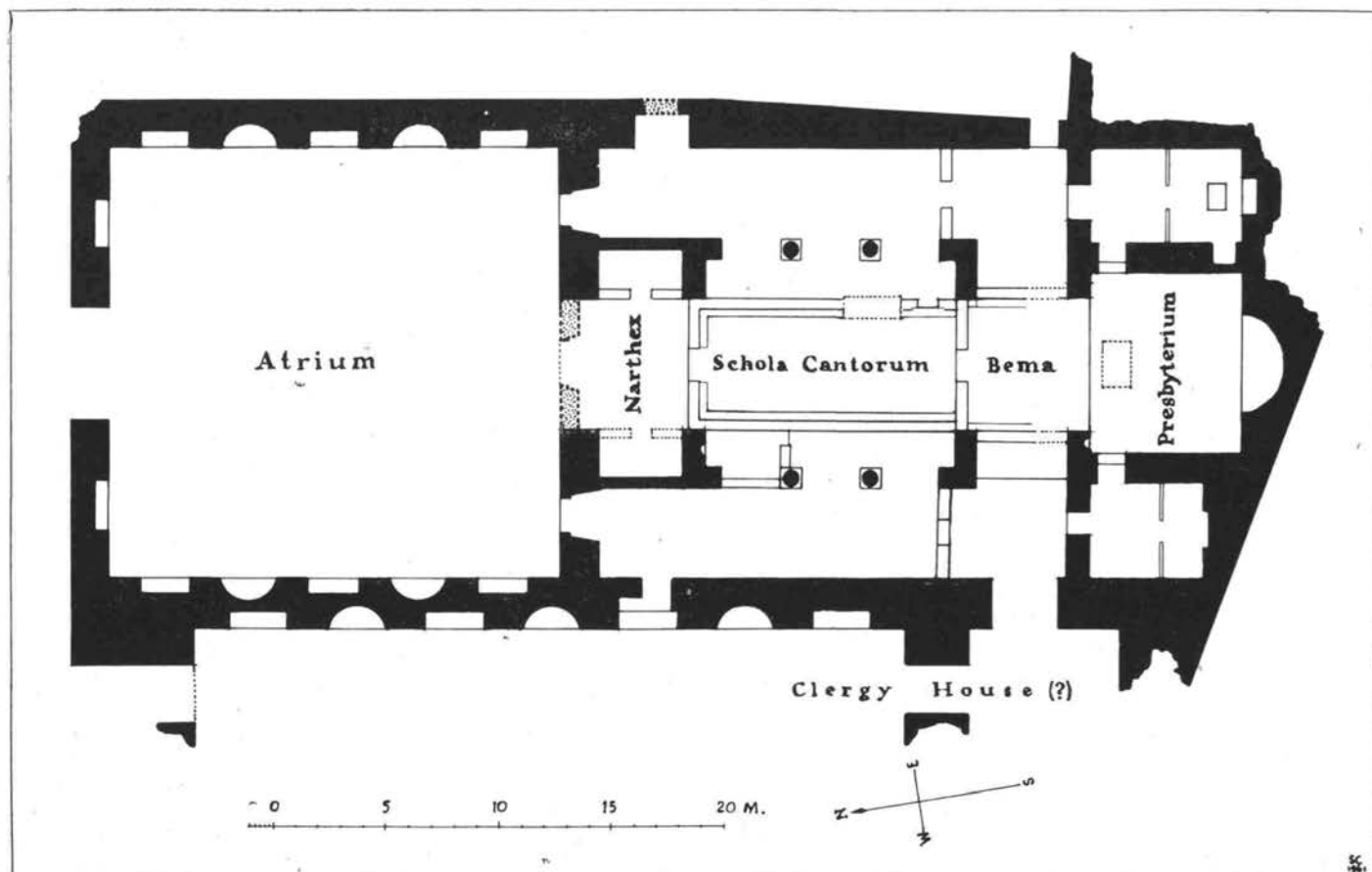


Fig. 201 — S. Maria Antiqua. General plan.

roofed over, now became a church nave. Presumably at the same time, the *tablinum* was provided with an apse and was turned into the *presbyterium*, while the south walk of the quadriporticus became the *bema* (fig. 201).

#### b) PAVEMENTS

As far as we know, all the pavements of the Roman building were *opus spicatum* (fig. 210). It occurs beside the octagonal pedestal in the middle of the quadriporticus at a level which we take as zero ( $\pm 0$ ). The same type of pavement is seen in several places in the four walks of the quadriporticus, about 25 cm. higher ( $+ 0.25$ ).

The pavement of the *presbyterium* is evidently later in date. It is *opus alexandrinum*, laid in panels one metre square, separated by narrow margins of white marble (fig. 202). The level varies between  $+ 0.49$  and  $+ 0.53$ . The grid of squares does not properly fit the space in which the pavement lies, and a row of half panels occurs along the east wall, and still narrower panels against the south wall. Some of these truncated panels are *opus alexandrinum* but others have simple patterns executed in coarse mosaic, with tesserae of purple and green porphyry about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cm. square (fig. 203). The fact that the floor pattern does not fit the dimensions of the *presbyterium*, in either direction, is

(1) G. BONI; *cit. TEA, op. cit.*, p. 19.



Fig. 202 — S. Maria Antiqua. *Opus alexandrinum* and *opus testaceum* at the north-west corner of the *tablinum* (Photo: Corbett).

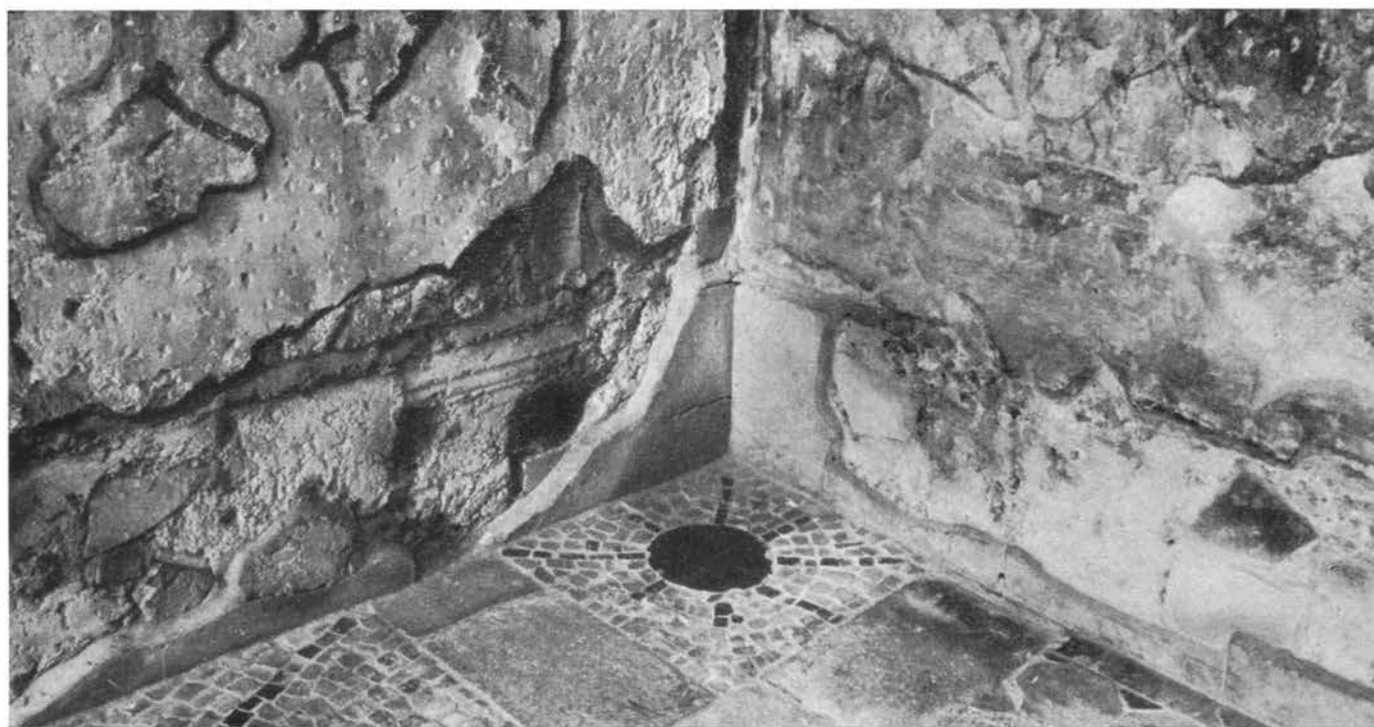


Fig. 203 — S. Maria Antiqua. *Opus alexandrinum* and *opus sectile* at the south-east corner of the *tablinum* (Photo: Corbett).

proof that the *alexandrinum* pavement originally belonged in some other building and was transferred to its present location. In both kinds of panel, *alexandrinum* and mosaic, the tesserae butt up to the skirting of the wall revetment and do not pass beneath it; and in places where the skirting plates are lacking, the paving material extends to touch the mortar backing of the former plates. Hence the pavement must have been laid at a time when the wall decorations were dilapidated and incomplete.

The *alexandrinum* pavement of the *presbyterium* also extended into the middle part of the south side of the quadriporticus, where a fragment of it is seen protruding from the eastern edge of the *bema* floor (fig. 204). Its level is the same as the higher part of the *presbyterium* pavement (+ 0.53 m).

The greater part of the *bema* is paved with another floor, at a slightly higher level (+ 0.59 m).

It, too, is divided by marble strips into square panels but, instead of *opus alexandrinum*, each panel contains a pattern executed in coarse mosaic of the same kind as was seen in some of the narrow panels at the edge of the *presbyterium* pavement. The correspondence of the different floor levels in the *bema* and *presbyterium* is uncertain, but it seems likely that we have strata of paving belonging to two distinct periods. The first period is represented by the *alexandrinum* (with some coarse mosaic patching) which we see in the *presbyterium* and beside the *bema* at and below level + 0.53 m; the second period is represented by the mosaic pavement of the *bema* at + 0.59 m. Thus we have to suppose the former existence, in the *presbyterium*, of a pavement at the upper level (+ 0.59 m) which has now vanished. Such a thing might have occurred if the floor in question was made with big marble slabs, which were worth the expense of removing when the church was abandoned<sup>1</sup>. Evidence that the southern part of this missing floor was level with the top of the former *sectile* skirting board (about 33 cm. above the *alexandrinum* level), is seen in the fact that the painted plaster decoration to the left of the apse curves forward at the base, as though to meet the horizontal plane of the floor (fig. 203).

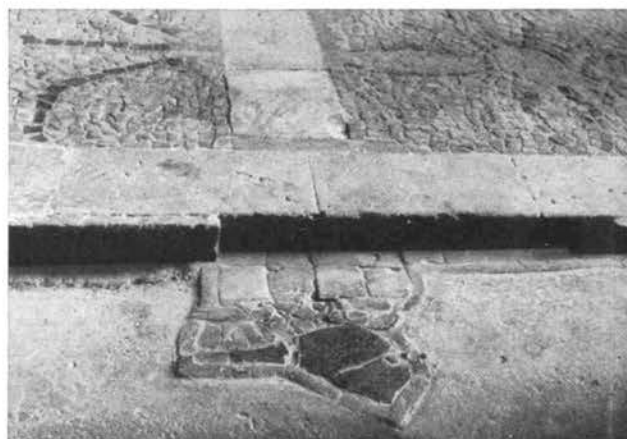


Fig. 204 — S. Maria Antiqua. Mosaic pavement of the *bema* superimposed on a lower stratum of *opus alexandrinum* (Photo: Corbett).

The *bema* is bordered on the south side by a modern step going down to the *presbyterium*, and to north, east and west by the remains of transenna walls. The panelled mosaic pavement of the *bema* does not lie symmetrically in the church, but extends some two meters further to the west than to the east of the centre line. The westward extension is separated from the central zone by a transenna wall which stands on the surface of the floor and is evidently later, but it replaces an earlier railing of wood or metal, which was contemporary with the mosaic floor. This vanished feature is indicated by the exceptional breadth of the marble strip which divides the panels, where the railing formerly stood. The longitudinal dividing strips are all 30 cm. wide except this one, which is 40 cm; thus clearly differentiating the central part of the *bema* from the western extension. The railing is further indicated by part of a metal peg, embedded in the wide marble strip, visible where the strip is no longer hidden by the later transenna wall (fig. 205). To the west of the transenna the *bema* pavement extends for 1.65 m., after which the floor stops abruptly. The mosaic patterns show that this was indeed the edge of the floor, and

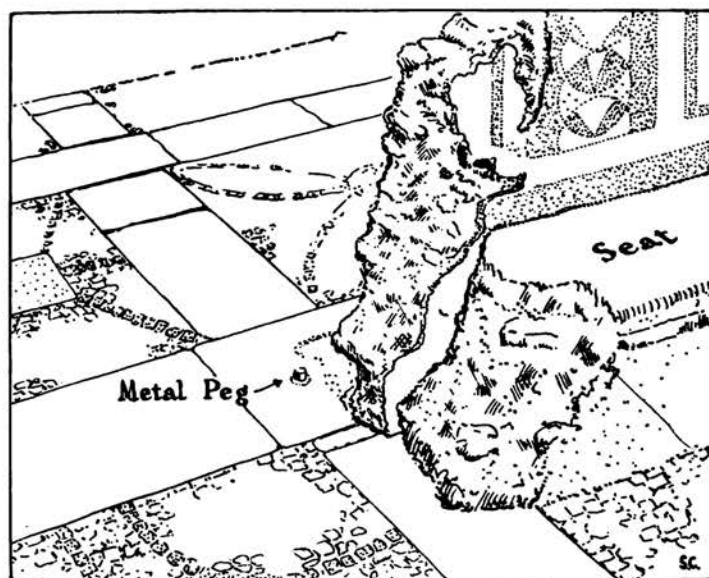


Fig. 205 — S. Maria Antiqua. Traces of early metal transenna and secondary masonry transenna, west side.

(1) TEA remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 39) “... *Il piano reca le tracce di grandi lastre marmoree*...”, but does not adduce any evidence to support the assertion. Petignani's drawings show no such traces.

that some feature at this point formerly divided the *bema* from whatever lay to the west. Since there is no trace of a wall, the feature in question is likely to have been a step.

The nave of the church, previously the *impluvium*, was paved with miscellaneous material including some very large granite slabs (2.80 m long) and smaller pieces of white marble. Most of the pavement has been removed, and the granite slabs which remain are smashed into fragments, presumably by the collapsing vaults. The nave floor varies in level between + 0.44 and + 0.53 m. The side aisles had marble pavements at about the same level, superimposed on the *opus spicatum*. Only a few fragments remain in the left aisle, and none in the right. In the narthex, which occupied the middle part of the north walk of the former quadriporticus, the Roman *opus spicatum* seems to have been retained.

### c) TRANSENNAE

Numerous partitions were inserted in the quadriporticus during its use as a church. The *bema* was bounded by transennae on its north, east and west sides. The northern one separates it from the nave and consists of a low wall with a central opening 1.48 m wide. The opening has a stepped marble threshold and is flanked by posts made of fluted rectangular marble pillars, broken off short. The wall to the east of the opening has perished, but the one on the west side rises 1.10 m above the *bema* floor and is 0.44 m thick; the brickwork was concealed beneath a revetment of painted plaster. Where the eastern end of the vanished east transenna abutted against the south-east corner pier of the quadriporticus, a patch of the *opus testaceum* of the former *sectile* revetment remains in position (fig. 198), proving that, when the transenna was built, some of the old revetment survived, though denuded of its surface decoration. Subsequently, the *testaceum* was stripped off the corner pier, except where the transenna protected it. On the other hand, the west end of the same transenna stands close to the brickwork of the south-west corner pier, without any intervening *testaceum*. We conclude that the walls of the quadriporticus were still partly covered with the dilapidated remains of the former revetment when the transennae were built.

The transenna which bounds the east side of the *bema* is slightly higher than that to the north. It is 0.40 m thick and 1.30 m high, and it stands on the lower *bema* floor stratum (+ 0.53 m), but it has the upper stratum of mosaic (+ 0.59 m) laid against it. It is therefore contemporary with, or possibly earlier than, the upper stratum of pavement. The evidence set out in the preceding paragraph about the survival of certain areas of *testaceum* on the south-east corner pier, is confirmed at the point where the northern extremity of the east transenna meets the same pier.

As noted above, the western extension of the *bema* pavement was at first separated from the central zone by a light screen or railing. Later this feature was replaced by a masonry transenna wall, most of which still survives. It resembles the transenna wall which marks the eastern boundary of the *bema* in everything except that it is built on the surface of the mosaic floor stratum, whereas its counterpart is built on the stratum below. In its present state, the south end of the transenna is broken away, leaving a gap 0.80 m wide between the ragged end of the masonry and the south wall of the quadriporticus; but the paintings on the transenna show that the opening did not exist when the church was in use (fig. 206). At the left hand edge of the surviving decoration we see the beginning of a third picture which must have closed the gap completely. At first the inner wall-faces of all three *bema* transennae were vertical, but masonry seats were built against them at a later date. The painted decorations are not earlier than the seats.

The frescoed decorations of these transennae have been assigned to the pontificate of John VII



Fig. 206 — S. Maria Antiqua. Masonry transenna on the west side of the *bema* (Photo: *Soprintendenza Foro Romano*).

(705-707) or a little earlier<sup>1</sup>, but they do not necessarily date the masonry, which could have existed without paintings.

When the lateral walks of the quadriporticus became the aisles of a church, the southern end of each walk was partitioned off, to some degree, by a transverse feature. In the west aisle, the remains of the cross partition are difficult to interpret with certainty (fig. 207). The original height of the wall is not clear, and we are not sure whether the central opening, which now exists, is an original feature or a secondary breach; in the latter case, perhaps made only to facilitate the removal of other features, when the church was abandoned. A rectangular mortice hole, cut in the Roman brickwork of the right hand side wall, two metres above the remains of the cross wall, suggests the possibility of a *pergula* capped by a horizontal marble lintel. Unfortunately the brickwork of the L-pier, where the other end of this lintel would have rested, is broken, but it is possible that a similar mortice hole existed there. The considerable difference in level between the floors on each side of the cross partition argues in favour of the theory that there was no opening originally. The broken flagstones on the south side of the partition show that the floor level of the area in the corner of the quadriporticus, which the partition defined, was 25 to 30 cm. higher than the floor level of the west aisle. It was also at least one step higher than the *bema* floor to the east, as noted above. On the west side of this corner area a spacious doorway, present in the Roman structure, leads to a side chamber of the adjacent "Library of Augustus". There is no evidence to show whether this opening was closed up, or left open, during the Christian period. To the south of the corner area, a narrow doorway is cut through the secondary wall which at one time sealed the original entrance to the corner chamber.

While the south-west corner of the quadriporticus thus seems to have been separated from the west aisle by a marked change in floor level and a partition wall or *pergula*, not necessarily with

(1) KITZINGER, *Römische Malerei*, pp. 20 and 50, n. 52, tentatively suggests a date before John VII. NORDHAGEN favours that pope's reign.

an opening, the corresponding corner on the left side of the church was an open extension of the left aisle; the partition being a transenna, standing only 1.38 m high above the aisle floor, with a well defined opening 1.30 m wide in the middle (fig. 208). Inside the transenna, the church floor was a little higher than in the aisle. To the left, a narrow doorway broken through the Roman wall



Fig. 207 — S. Maria Antiqua. Transenna at the south end of the west aisle (Photo: Corbett).

led by a flight of ten steps to the Palatine ramp<sup>1</sup>. This opening is now sealed with modern brickwork. To the south of the corner area which the transenna defines, a wide opening was created by demolishing most of the brickwork which had formerly sealed the original doorway, so that the chamber on the left hand side of the former *tablinum* once again became the terminal feature of the left aisle.

A *schola cantorum* occupies the central part of the nave, in front of the entrance to the *bema* (fig. 200). On each side and at the north end it was enclosed by walls, 0.30 m thick and 1.25 m high (measurable at the north-west corner), with seats 0.33 m wide inside. The masonry is mainly brick, but a few large blocks of marble are included here and there. Walls and seats were plastered, and the walls were decorated with frescoes which closely resemble those of the left aisle, and also those of the atrium, which date from the pontificate of Hadrian I (772-795). The side walls of the *schola* butt up against the transenna which marks the north side of the *bema*, without bonding, and therefore seem to be posterior. Marble posts attached to the masonry of the left side of the *schola* probably represent an *ambo*, and between this and the *bema* there seems to have been a cupboard or recess, framed in marble. The right hand wall of the *schola* exists only at the north-west corner, elsewhere it has been destroyed. The north wall survives from the north-west corner as far as the flank of the central entrance, whence the breadth of the latter may be calculated as having been about 2.80 m. The north-east corner is missing. The pavement of the *schola* (+ 0.44 m

to + 0.53 m) was high enough to conceal the remains of the octagonal Roman pedestal in the middle.

In the north walk of the former quadriporticus the remains of three inserted walls are visible. On the left side of the narthex, the space which corresponds to the breadth of the corner pier was separated from the left aisle by a high brick wall. It stands directly on the *opus spicatum* and is 0.34 m. thick. Mortice holes in the contiguous Roman walls show that it was originally at least 3.10 m. high, though it has since been cut down to 1.50 m. On the east side, this wall is painted with hanging curtain decorations which also appear opposite, on the left side wall of the aisle. The west face of the first wall is now bare brick, but symmetrically placed cramp holes show that it was formerly revetted

(1) TEA, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

with marble. The cross wall, together with the Roman walls to north and south, seems thus to have formed a small exedra at the left hand end of the narthex. In front, the exedra was defined by a low transenna wall 0.73 m high and 0.34 m thick, with a central opening about 0.90 m wide<sup>1</sup>. A horizontal slot, cut in the Roman brickwork of the north side of the exedra, 0.85 m above the floor, seems to have housed the edge of a marble shelf or table.

Another transenna separates the right aisle from the narthex, and thus seems to create another exedra balancing the first. Its brickwork resembles that of the left hand exedra, but there is nothing to show how high it originally rose; it is now cut off about 0.30 m above floor level. There is no sign of a low transenna in front of this exedra.

Finally, two low walls partition off a small chapel in the north-west corner of the former *impluvium*. The floor of the chapel is raised about 6 cm. above the general nave level. It was entered on the south side, and a little niche hacked in the wall of the corner-pier shows where the altar once stood. On the east side, the chapel is bounded by the *schola cantorum*.



Fig. 208 — S. Maria Antiqua. Southern end of the east aisle (Photo: Corbett).

#### d) CHAPELS FLANKING THE PRESBYTERY

The south-east corner chamber of the Roman building was originally decorated with marble plating to a level five and a half metres above the floor and, above that, with white plaster decorated with painted red panels. In a second phase the marble plating was replaced with *opus sectile* mounted on *opus testaceum*. This decoration sealed up the square niche which originally opened in the centre of the south wall. In a third period, the *testaceum* was removed for a height of 3.0 m, and the wall surfaces were redecorated with a fresco cycle, the majority of its paintings depicting the martyrdom of SS. Quiricus and Julitta. The original entrance in the north wall, which had been walled up in the intermediate (*sectile*) period, was reopened, and the chapel became the terminal feature of the left hand aisle. The square niche was also reopened, and a crucifixion scene painted therein. On the right side of the chapel a small wall cupboard was created by unsealing and slightly enlarging the passage which had been breached through the west wall, and subsequently sealed up with *opus listatum* (above, p. 253). The chapel was divided by a marble chancel screen 1.10 m. high with a gateway 0.60 m wide at the centre. The threshold stone of the gateway and the extremity of the right transenna slab survive; the latter embedded in a vertical channel roughly cut in the Roman brickwork. The base of a marble altar lies *in situ* in the southern part of the chapel. It has a small relic chamber near the middle, and grooves for the ends of the vertical plates which formed its front and sides. The original doorway in the west wall, through which this corner chamber communicated with the former *tablinum*, was made slightly narrower during the period of the *opus sectile* decoration and continued in use throughout the Christian period. The date of the fresco cycle

(1) Petignani omits this wall from his drawing, but it is unquestionably ancient.



is established by the portraits of the donor, Theodotus, and Pope Zacharias I (741-752), the latter apparently replacing a portrait of Gregory III (731-741). Hence the decoration of the chapel, and presumably the installation of its marble fittings, must have been started before Gregory's death, and finished in or soon after 741<sup>1</sup>.

The corresponding chamber in the south-west corner of the Roman building was also furnished as a chapel. There is no evidence to show whether its walls had formerly been revetted with *opus sectile*, or not, but during the *sectile* period the doorway which connected it with the *tablinum* was reduced in width, and the doorway in its north wall was sealed up, exactly as the south-east chamber. When the south-west chamber was turned into a chapel, a shallow rectangular niche was opened in the south wall, and the side walls were decorated with paintings of medical saints. Vertical channels, roughly cut in the brickwork of the side walls, show that the chapel was divided by a marble transenna about 1.40 m high. The pavement has been entirely removed, but in the middle of the chamber there is a circular well, 1.30 m in diameter. As the well lies just in front of the place where the central gateway of the transenna must have been, we presume that it dates from an earlier period. The doorway in the east wall, leading to the *presbyterium*, remained as it had been in the preceding (*sectile*) period. The north doorway, which had been sealed up in the *sectile* period, was partly reopened and a passage was made so that the corner chapel could be entered from the chamber in the corner of the former quadriporticus, on the west side of the *bema*. The frescoes in this chapel are assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the second half of the seventh century<sup>2</sup>, but it is not clear whether the transenna and the unblocking of the north doorway date from the same time, or later.

#### e) OTHER FEATURES

A doorway near the north-east corner of the Roman quadriporticus gave access to the ramp which led to the Palatine. Painted decorations of the Christian period, which line the sides of this opening, cease at a vertical line 0.55 m from the outer face of the wall, showing that the opening was either entirely blocked up by a wall 0.55 m thick, or else was partly restricted by some kind of door frame, which would produce the same vertical edge in the plaster revetment.

Traces of a small edicula are found near the middle of the left hand wall of the *presbyterium*. A deep rectangular niche, 0.47 m wide and 0.67 m high, is chiselled out of the Roman brickwork (fig. 209). Its horizontal upper edge is 1.54 m above the *opus alexandrinum* pavement. Two mortice holes above the niche, hacked through the several superimposed layers of *opus testaceum* and painted plaster, and penetrating the brickwork, seem likely to have housed the ends of projecting brackets, on top of which some kind of canopy or cornice probably rested. The brackets would have been about 1.00 m apart and 2.00 m above floor level. We do not know when this edicula was first made, but it still existed in the last period of decoration of the *presbyterium*. The simulated hangings of that period were interrupted where the niche opened, giving place to a panel on which the letters *ΑΓΙΑ* can be read<sup>3</sup>.

Against the wall of the left aisle we see the remains of a small altar or reliquary shrine (fig. 210). It is built of brick, and is 0.65 m square on plan, and 0.75 m high. The internal compartment is lined with plates of marble and the exterior of the altar is coated with white plaster. It is later in date than the latest stratum of wall paintings (hangings), against which it leans.

(1) KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff., 43 ff.

(2) *IBID.*, p. 51, note 55.

(3) Rushforth deduced a painting of the Virgin and Child (*Papers Brit. School*, Vol. 1, p. 58).

While the monument was being excavated, a paving stone which lay in the nave, directly in front of the gateway to the *bema*, was found to be an inverted slab of white marble, octagonal in shape, measuring 1.05 m × 0.74 m, and 0.13 m thick. The vertical end faces were decorated with inscriptions “IOHANNES SERVVS SCAE MARIAE” and “ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΩΤΟΚΟΥ”. The upper surface of the slab has dowel holes at each corner, some still containing fragments of metal dowels which must have been for the fixing of vertical members, presumably a parapet. The inscriptions refer to John VII, of whom the *Liber Pontificalis* records “*ambonem noviter fecit*”<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. CHRONOLOGY AND RECONSTRUCTION

Four important phases are recognisable in the various changes which were made to this building during the Early Christian period.

a) *The first half of the sixth century.* The apse had not been made and the expanse of the south wall of the central *tablinum* was interrupted only by the original rectangular niche. The *Maria Regina* painting extended from the right hand side of the niche to the corner of the chamber. Probably another painting balanced it on the left side<sup>2</sup>. The floor of the *tablinum* was covered with the *opus alexandrinum* pavement which still exists. It had been transferred from some other place, and did not fit the area accurately; where necessary it was patched with coarse mosaic. Outside the area of the *tablinum* the *alexandrinum* pavement also extended, at the same level, to cover the central bay of the quadriporticus on the south side.

b) *Transformation of quadriporticus and tablinum into a church (after 565).* Although, in the stage outlined above, the *tablinum* was decorated with a religious picture, it need not have been a church. The structural alterations which seem to mark a definite transformation into a Chri-



Fig. 209 — S. Maria Antiqua. Remains of an aedicula, east wall of the presbyterium (Photo: Corbett).



Fig. 210 — S. Maria Antiqua. Side altar in the left aisle (Photo: Corbett).

(1) *L. P. I*, p. 385. For the reconstruction of the *ambo*, see RUSHFORTH, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.

(2) L. BERTELLI, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, Roma, 1961, pp. 52 ff.

stian church, are the creation of an apse where the *tablinum* niche had previously been, and the conversion of the side walks of the quadriporticus into the aisles of a church, by substituting column shafts for the original brick piers. We presume that the *impluvium* was roofed over at the same time, to create the church nave. From now on we use the word *presbyterium* for the chamber which was formerly the centre *tablinum*. Also in this phase of development we place the elevation of the *bema*; for which purpose a new pavement of marble and mosaic was laid, about 6 cm. above the level of the *opus alexandrinum*, in the south wing of the quadriporticus. The design of the mosaic panels is close to those which existed in the church of Pelagius II (579-590) at S. Lorenzo f. l. m.<sup>1</sup> We presume that the *presbyterium* was also repaved at the same time, but this pavement has disappeared, possibly because it was made with large slabs of stone which could be salvaged when the church was abandoned. The coving at the base of the plaster against the south wall<sup>2</sup> indicates that this missing floor lay about 33 cm. above the *alexandrinum* pavement. The north and east sides of the *bema* were defined by masonry transennae. The east transenna stands on top of the *alexandrinum* pavement, and the mosaic pavement laps up against it; clearly it was built before the second floor was laid, but the two operations may have been practically contemporaneous. In the case of the north transenna, which divides the *bema* from the nave, the precise sequence of construction is less clear, but we presume that the pavement and the transenna wall are more or less coeval. On the other hand, the west side of the *bema* was certainly not defined by a masonry transenna when the mosaic floor was new; instead, the mosaic pavement continued westwards for another two meters before terminating at the riser of a step, or steps, which led to a higher level now destroyed.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, although there was no masonry transenna, the westward extension of the *bema* was marked off from the central area by a light railing of wood or metal. Thus the original *bema* consisted of a central portion, nearly square, with a narrow extension on the west side only, which was separated from the main part by a railing.

The date when the quadriporticus was converted into a church is supplied by the coins of Justin II (565-578) which were discovered underneath one of the column bases. It is more likely to be a precise date than a *terminus post quem*, because the coins can scarcely have reached that position by chance, and therefore seem to have been deliberately placed there to record the date when the columns were erected<sup>4</sup>.

When the *tablinum* niche was enlarged into the present apse, part of the *Maria Regina* painting had to be sacrificed. Presumably the Annunciation scene was painted at this time, to conceal the assymetry of the truncated panel.

c) *Middle of the seventh century.* In the third phase the metal or wooden railing, which had divided the middle part of the *bema* from the western extension, was replaced by a masonry transenna wall, corresponding in height and thickness with the wall which already existed on the east side. As there was no opening in this transenna wall<sup>5</sup>, the *bema* was now cut off from its former western extension, and the only way to pass from one to the other was by going through the southwest corner chamber. We therefore assign to this phase the reopening of the north doorway in that chamber. The paintings in the chamber (medical saints) are dated by style to the second half of the seventh century<sup>6</sup>. The paintings of the Church Fathers (soon after 649) belong to the same period.

d) *The eighth century.* The paintings on the *bema* transennae are dated by style *ca.* 700, and the seats in front of them must have been built before the paintings were executed, but possibly as part

(1) See above, p. 125 and figs. 27, 47.

(2) See above, p. 257.

(3) See above, p. 258.

(4) See above, p. 254 f..

(5) See above, p. 258.

(6) See above, p. 262.

of the same programme. The *ambo* presented by John VII (705-707) probably stood in the nave which, at that time, had no *schola cantorum*. Later, when the *schola* was built, the *ambo* was broken up and its marble base was used in the *schola* pavement. This seems unlikely to have occurred within a generation of John's death, whence we date the *schola* as not earlier than the second quarter of the century. The paintings on its walls were probably executed under Hadrian I (772-795), and the *schola* could be as late as that date. Meanwhile, we have the securely dated decoration of the south-east corner chapel, which was executed in 741, or possibly a little earlier.

The main lines of the church as it stood towards the end of the eighth century can be reconstructed quite easily (fig. 201). The Roman atrium was used as a graveyard, as is shown by the numerous graves which were cut in the surrounding walls. It might be expected that the large Roman archway, leading from the atrium to the former quadriporticus, would have been partly walled up and provided with a doorway, but no trace of such a feature survives, and it seems possible that S. Maria Antiqua continued the tradition of many fifth-century churches, wherein the entrance facade was an open arcade<sup>1</sup>. The Roman walls on each side of the central archway were broken through to make entrances leading to the side aisles. A narthex lay immediately inside the central entrance. It was flanked by exedrae; the left hand one with a chancel wall in front of it. There was no way from the narthex to the side aisles. The narthex was separated from the nave by the end wall of the *schola cantorum*, which had a gateway in the middle and probably a step. The *schola* walls were 1.25 m high and had seats along the inside. It is doubtful whether there were any openings, through which the *schola* could be entered from the side aisles. The left wall of the *schola* retains traces of a construction which was probably an *ambo*, though certainly not the one supplied by John VII, which is too small. At the south end of the *schola*, the nave was separated from the *bema* by another transenna wall, with a central gateway and another step. In its latest form, the *bema* was bounded to east and west by transenna walls with seats, and was only a little wider than the *schola cantorum*, although we must remember an earlier stage when there was a transenna wall on the east side only, and the right hand side was demarcated by a light railing, beyond which the *bema* pavement continued for a short distance. To the south of the *bema*, a wide arch opened into the *presbyterium*, which was identical with the *tablinum* of the Roman structure, except for the apse cut in the rear wall. The floor of the *presbyterium* was apparently even higher than the *bema*, though this no longer appears to be the case since the pavement has been removed.

The left aisle was entered from the atrium, and possibly also from the Palatine ramp. The triple arcade of the former quadriporticus, remodelled in the sixth century with columns in place of the original brick piers, served as the left hand colonnade of the nave, through which the aisle was linked to a narrow zone of the nave, outside the *schola cantorum*. There may have been no direct access from the aisle to the *schola*. Half way along the aisle, a small altar stood close to the left hand wall. Near the south end, the aisle was crossed by a transenna wall with an opening in the middle, which led through to an intermediate zone and thence, through a wide doorway, into the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, which occupied the south-east corner chamber of the original Roman building. The chapel was divided into two parts by a stone chancel screen, and had a small altar in the southern part, standing in front of a square niche. A doorway in the right side wall led through to the *presbyterium*.

As with the left aisle, the right aisle of the church was not entered from the narthex, but only from the atrium. It was shorter than the left aisle, terminating at a transverse pergula which may or may not have had an opening at the centre. As before, the triple arcade of the quadriporticus led from the aisle to the part of the nave which lay outside the *schola cantorum*. In the northern part of the area there was a small side chapel, enclosed by transenna walls. The pergula at the south end of

(1) G. MATTHIAE, "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora", *Boll. d'Arte*, XLII, 1957, pp. 101 ff.

the aisle divided it from the area, in the corner of the former quadriporticus, which lay to the west of the *bema*. Since the later transenna wall completely separated this area from the *bema*, and the *pergula* may have had no opening, it is possible that communication with the rest of the church was solely by way of the chapel on the west side of the *presbyterium*. A wide opening in the west wall of the corner area (already present in the Roman period) gave access to the adjoining building, which we have called the Temple or Library of Augustus for want of a better name. It seems probable that some kind of monastery or clergy house was built in the ruins of this ancient structure, and the raised area to the west of the *bema* thus appears to be a passage or antechamber, lying between the clergy house and the south-west chapel. Consequently the latter may be recognisable as a sacristy.

#### 4. FUNCTION OF THE SANCTUARY AND ITS RELATION TO THE PALACE ON THE PALATINE

Ever since the discovery and identification of S. Maria Antiqua and its rich mural decoration, scholars have been vexed by a number of problems. The designation of the church as S. Maria Antiqua as early as 640 seemed to show one of two things: either the church claimed to be the oldest sanctuary of the Virgin in Rome (even older than S. Maria Maggiore, which had been dedicated by Sixtus III between 432 and 440)<sup>1</sup>; or else it was linked to the oldest among the Roman *diaconiae*<sup>2</sup>. Neither hypothesis carries much conviction. Nothing proves the adaptation of the ruins as a church before the building of the apse, which took place in 564-578 or perhaps even later; even the *Maria Regina* mural cannot go back before 530, and it only proves the Christianization of the ruins, not their use as a church<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand *diaconiae* are not supposed to have been developed in Rome before the late seventh century, long after the first document refers to S. Maria Antiqua; however this is a moot point<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps a third hypothesis may be considered: namely, that the church could possibly have enshrined an icon which either was, or by 640 was considered to be, the oldest icon of the Virgin in Rome. The icon now at S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana) was presumably transferred from S. Maria Antiqua in 847-855<sup>5</sup>. One recent writer has dated it in the late seventh or early eighth century<sup>6</sup>; another estimates that it is coeval with the icon of the Pantheon, *ca.* 611<sup>7</sup>. In either case the appellation S. Maria Antiqua in 640 would make no sense; but if it were possible to assign the icon to an earlier period, say the middle, or even the last quarter of the sixth century, its designation as the oldest icon of the Virgin in Rome and, by transfer, the designation of the church as S. Maria Antiqua, would be justified. The experts in the field of early medieval painting must decide whether this hypothesis is tenable.

Their decision will depend on other circumstances concerning the church, which are undoubtedly relevant. One, the lavish care bestowed on its decoration, starting at the latest in the sixth century and continuing throughout the eighth century; and the connection of the church with the Imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill, until at least the early eighth century. Indeed, the Roman ramp, which ascends to the Palatine from the southeast corner of the quadriporticus, has led to an hypothesis that the ruins of S. Maria Antiqua were originally the guard room, protecting the entrance to the Imperial residence. This is unlikely, because the ramp was obviously laid out, not as a main approach, but as a service corridor. However, it may have become the main entrance to the palace later, when the original facade and main gate, facing north at the summit of the hill,

(1) CECHELLI in: F. CASTAGNOLI, C. CECHELLI, G. GIOVANNONI e M. ZOCCA, *Topografia e urbanistica di Roma, (Storia di Roma, XXII)*, Bologna, 1958, pp. 269 ff.

(2) F. NIEDERER, *op. cit.*, p. 88 and J. LESTOCQUOY, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 281-282.

(3) See above, p. 263 f.

(4) See below, p. 305 f.

(5) KITZINGER, "On Some Icons", *op. cit.*, pp. 147-150.

(6) KITZINGER, *ibid.*, p. 136.

(7) BERTELLI, *Boll. d'Arte*, XLVI, 1961, p. 28.

had become unusable. Under such circumstances the structure which now is S. Maria Antiqua, might have become a state apartment at the level of the forum, albeit closely linked with the upper palace. It is not clear when this change might have occurred, or whether the redecoration of the structure with *opus sectile* (whatever its date) was linked to this new function.

It is likely that the change took place at the time of the Byzantine reoccupation of Rome, in the middle of the sixth century. Doubtless Justinians' viceroy, be it Belisarius or Narses, would have demanded an approach to his palace comparable with the Chalke Gate in Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. It would also be natural for him to place this "propylaea" under divine protection, and to dedicate it specifically to the Virgin, the protectress of the frontiers of the Empire, under whose patronage Rome had been reconquered from the Arian Goths. Hence it is not surprising that her image, enthroned and adored by angels, appears to the right of the niche in the rear wall of the former *tablinum*. What representation counterbalanced the *Maria Regina* to the left of the niche, is obviously a matter of conjecture; equally conjectural what the niche itself enshrined. One thinks of an icon of the Virgin, but this is sheer hypothesis. In any case, the entrance gate seems thus to have been converted to Christian use, without yet being turned explicitly into a church. It would be natural for the next stage of the metamorphosis to take place soon afterwards; probably when the columns were set up in the nave (564-576, or a little later). In such a case, the name of the Virgin would naturally be attached to the sanctuary — a gate-sanctuary as it were; the entrance chapel of the Sacred Palace which the Byzantine Emperor continued to maintain in Rome. His representatives used the palace on the Palatine throughout the seventh and as late as the early eighth century. But it is not clear whether the change from gate-sanctuary to church took place under the auspices of a Byzantine governor or whether, in the general weakening of the Byzantine authority, the papal administration laid its hands on the gate-sanctuary and transformed it.

Nevertheless S. Maria Antiqua still remained closely linked to the Sacred Palace, which the Byzantine Emperors continued to claim, and where their representatives resided on their visits to Rome during the second half of the seventh and in the early eighth centuries. The exarch Theodorus Calliopa was there in 653; the emperor Constantine II in 663<sup>2</sup>; and the dux Christophorus as late as 712<sup>3</sup>. In the seventh century an imperial *curopalatii* was responsible for the maintenance of the palace buildings. The *curopalatii* Plato, who died in 686, repaired the long stairs of the palace (*longo refecta gradu*), as we learn from his epitaph<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps this was the ramp which ascends from

(1) PROCOPIUS, Buildings, I, X, 11, pp. 84-85 (ed. Loeb Classical Library, 1954); BERTELLI, *La Madonna di S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 52 ff.

(2) *L. P.*, vol. I, p. 338; JAFFE-EWALD, nos. 2078, 2079; see also, E. CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. II, Tübingen, 1933, pp. 568 ff.

(3) *L. P.*, vol. I, pp. 343 and 392; CASPAR, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 641.

(4) See GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note. The epitaph, formerly in S. Anastasia, is known only from the Sylloge of Petrus Sabinus. The text is given by GRÜNEISEN, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 3, by DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, vol. II, p. 442, n. 152, and IDEM, "Des lampes chrétiennes trouvées dans le palais des Césars et autres monuments de l'histoire ecclésiastique du Palatin". *B. A. C.* 1867, pp. 9 ff.

— In Templo Divae Anastasiae —

Ultima funereo persolvens munia busto  
 Quo pater illustris membra locanda dedit  
 Adjecit titulos proles veneranda Joannes  
 Ne tantus quovis esset honore minor  
 Hic jacet ille Plato qui multa per agmina lustrans  
 Et maris undisoni per freta longa volans  
 Claruit insignis regno gratiusque minister  
 Celebremque sua praestitit esse manu  
 Post ergo multiplices quos prisca palatia Romae  
 Praestiterant curas longo refecta gradu  
 Pergit ad aeterni Divina palatia Regis  
 Sumere cum meritis praemia firma Dei  
 Plato V. Ill. Cura palatii Urbis Romae  
 vix. ann. pl. m. LXVI  
 Dep. m. nob. die VII Indic. XV Imp. Dn.  
 Iustiniano Aug. Ano. II p.c. eius Ano. II.

the east side of S. Maria Antiqua. John VII was the son of this Plato, and the *episcopium* or bishop's residence which he built above S. Maria Antiqua was presumably installed in some part of the Imperial palace where he had grown up.

John VII's close personal tie with the palace explains why he spent so much labour and care on redecorating its entrance chapel, S. Maria Antiqua. But it does not explain either the earlier or the later extensive schemes of mural decoration. It is possible that the first fresco cycle, which included the *Maria Regina*, was financed by the Byzantine viceroy. It is also possible that transformation into a church and the decoration with new murals, including the Annunciation, were consequences of the connection with the imperial palace. But it is certain that the third cycle, with the Church Fathers, was ordered and paid for by Pope Martin I and, given its anti-monotheletic character, the cycle was clearly designed to be a challenge to the Emperor's pro-monotheletic policy. Can it be that, in the absence of an Imperial official from Rome, the Church had temporarily occupied the old palace?

The question cannot yet be answered. But none the less it seems to us likely that the repeated redecoration of S. Maria Antiqua, and the gifts showered upon it by the successors of John VII for one hundred and fifty years, long after both Imperial palace and papal residence had disappeared from the Palatine, are best explained by the presence in the church of an ancient and highly venerated icon of the Virgin.

## S. MARIA DE ARACOELI<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer)

A Benedictine monastery named S. Maria in Capitolio is mentioned in numerous documents, beginning in 944 and extending through the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup>. The hypothesis, that there was an earlier Greek monastery on the site, is based on the chance find, near the present church, of a fragment of architrave inscribed *HFOYMENOC*<sup>3</sup>; but the evidence is obviously insufficient<sup>4</sup>. Under the name *S. Mariae et S. Johannis Baptistae in Capitolio* or simply *S. Mariae in Capitolio*, it is referred to time and again in documents from the tenth through the twelfth century<sup>5</sup>. Still under the name of *S. Maria in Capitolio* the monastery was ceded to the Franciscans in 1250, by a bull of Innocent IV<sup>6</sup>. The name *S. Maria de Araceli* is first found in a document of April 6, 1323<sup>7</sup>. Obviously the name is linked with the legend of Augustus and the Tiburtine sibyl, which occurs many times in late medieval literature. The sibyl comes to the emperor in his bed-chamber, shows him a vision of the Virgin with the Christ-child, standing upon an altar in heaven, and tells him that this is the Altar of the Son of God. The story appears, fully developed, in the twelfth-century version of the *Mirabilia*<sup>8</sup>. Slightly later, in the thirteenth century, it is repeated in the relief and inscription of an altar which now stands in the subterranean chapel of S. Helena, at the north end of the transept<sup>9</sup>. In Greek sources the substance of the legend can be traced as far back as the sixth century. In Rome, the story may have become associated with the monastery of S. Maria in Capitolio on account of an inscription, "*A CUBICULO AUGUSTORUM*" which occurs on a Roman column now in the church, and which may perhaps have been seen on the site before the church was built<sup>10</sup>.

The present church is entirely a construction of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; nothing of earlier date is discernible. However, the monastery was certainly founded before 944<sup>11</sup> and it may have existed as early as the first part of the eighth century, under the name

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(1) Selected bibliography: FRA MARIANO, *Itinerarium*, pp. 40 ff.; F. CASIMIRO, *Memorie storiche della chiesa... di S. Maria in Araceli...*, Rome, 1736 (reprinted 1845); HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, pp. 323 f.; A. COLASANTI, *S. Maria in Araceli* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, 2), Rome, n. d. (ca. 1928) with bibliography on pp. 151 f.; M. GUARDUCCI, "Ara Celi...", *Rend. Pont. Accad.* (1947-49), pp. 277 ff.; ARMELLINI-CECCELLELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 663 ff.; 1344 f.; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 210 ff.; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. topografico*, III, passim.

(2) L. ALLODI and G. LEVI, *Il regesto Sublacense*, Rome, 1885, p. 94, n. 54, p. 181, n. 130 and *passim*; KEHR, *It. Pont.* I, pp. 101 f.; HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*; FERRARI, *loc. cit.*

(3) GATTI, *Not. Sc.*, 1892, pp. 407 f.; DE ROSSI, "Le origini della chiesa dell'Araceli", *B. A. C.*, ser. 5, vol. 4, 1894, pp. 85 ff.; GUARDUCCI, *loc. cit.*

(4) FERRARI, *loc. cit.*

(5) KEHR, *It. Pont.* I, pp. 101 f.; HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*; FERRARI, *loc. cit.*

(6) HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*; A. POTTHAST, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin, 1874-75, nos. 14062, 14651, 17671.

(7) HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.* The church is mentioned in connection with a deed of six golden florins: "...*Ecclesie sancte Marie de Araceli pro opere et melioramento fiendo in dicta ecclesia sex florenos auri*". (Rome, *Archivio di Stato*, fondo S. Silvestro, quoted by F. COROBELLESE, "Notizie storico-artistiche di Roma", *Archivio stor. Ital.* XXIII, 1899, p. 336.

(8) URLICHS, *Codex topographicus Urbis Romae*, Würzburg, 1871, pp. 95 f: "*Illico apertum est coelum et maximus splendor irruit super eum (i. e. Augustus). Vidit in celo quandam pulcherrimam virginem stantem super altare, puerum tenentem in brachiis... et vocem dicentem audivit: haec ara filii dei est... Haec visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris ubi nunc est ecclesia sanctae Mariae in Capitolio*". See also *Graphia Urbis Romae*, *ibid.*, pp. 120 f., and elsewhere as listed in FRA MARIANO, *loc. cit.*, p. 41, n. 3.

(9) ARMELLINI-CECCELLELLI, *Chiese*, p. 664, with illustration.

(10) FRA MARIANO, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

(11) The document of 944 has sometimes been erroneously assigned the date 886, as pointed out by FERRARI, *op. cit.*, p. 211, note 4, following ALLODI-LEVI, *loc. cit.*



*S. Maria de Camellaria*<sup>1</sup>, although it is unaccountably absent from the list of donations which Leo III (795-815) made to all the churches and monasteries of Rome<sup>2</sup>. Whatever its date, this monastery would doubtless have contained an oratory and, like the monastery itself, the oratory may have been created inside the classical structures which must have existed on the site, both above and below ground. Hence it has been suggested that the subterranean chapel of S. Helena, in the north transept, occupies the position of the original oratory<sup>3</sup>. The question could be settled only by careful investigation of the site, with excavations.

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(1) A notice dated 731-741 mentions a "*monasterium sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur camellaria necnon et beatorum Johannis baptistae atque evangelistae*". (P. RABINKAUSKAS, *Die römische Kuriale...*, *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, XX, 59, 1958, pp. 42 ff) and a document of Anacletus II, dated 1130-1134, concedes "*monasterio Sanctae Dei genetricis et Virginis Mariae Sanctique Johannis Baptistae in Capitolio totum montem Capitolium... cum porticu camellariae... usque in ortum qui est sub camellaria*" (JAFFE-LÖWENFELD, *Regesta pontificum*, I, Berlin, 1885 ff., n. 8425; see also KEHR, *It. Pont.*, p. 101). Based on this, BISCHOFF (*Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, *Settimane di Studio IV*, *La città nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1959, p. 614) has proposed to identify S. Maria Camellaria with S. Maria in Capitolio — a plausible hypothesis.

(2) See also COLASANTI, *op. cit.*, p. 6 (with misprint "350" instead of "805").

(3) COLASANTI, *op. cit.*, p. 7.









## S. MARIA DE METRIO<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)

A sanctuary named S. Maria de Metrio, served by only one priest, is first mentioned in the thirteenth century, but no location is given. However, the fourteenth and fifteenth-century church catalogues list the church between S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana) and S. Salvatore de Arcu Trasi (the Arch of Constantine)<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, certain writers have proposed to identify S. Maria de Metrio with a group of ruins at the foot of the Palatine, on the south side of the *Via Sacra* between the Arch of Constantine and the Arch of Titus<sup>3</sup>. Either temporary abandonment



Fig. 211 — S. Maria de Metrio. General view of the apse (from SOPRINTENDENZA, *op. cit.*).

or a change of name could explain its omission from the catalogue of Cencius Camerarius in 1192<sup>4</sup>. The strange appellation “*de Metrio*” might be corrupted from Demetrios, a dedication befitting a Greek monastery though no monastery is known in the neighbourhood of this site<sup>5</sup>.

The complex beside the *Via Sacra* consists of a small absidal enclosure built into an earlier *horrea* courtyard, which was excavated in 1872 (fig. 211). The only evidence of Christian use is supplied by the *Soprintendenza* report, which states that certain fragments of marble in the pavement were carved with Christian symbols and inscriptions: “... *alcuni pezzi portano iscrizioni e simboli cristiani*”. None of these fragments can be seen today but the words call to mind the thousands

(1) Selected bibliography: R. SOPRINTENDENZA DEGLI SCAVI, *Scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma... 1871-72*, Rome, 1873, p. 80 ff.; J. W. PARKER, *Archaeology of Rome*. VI, Oxford, 1887, pp. 34 f., pls. XXIV ff.; LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, pp. 170 ff.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1925, pp. 345 ff.; I. A. POPESCU, “Le cosiddette terme di Eliogabalo in Via Sacra”, *Ephemeris Daco-Romana*, IV, 1926, pp. 1 ff.; LUGLI, *Monumenti Antichi*, I, Roma, 1930, p. 180; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 638, 1251.

(2) HÜLSEN, *ibid.*, pp. 33, 48.

(3) HÜLSEN, *ibid.*, and POPESCU, *ibid.*; on the contrary, LANCIANI, *ibid.*, identifies the ruins with the church S. Cesario de Grecis, but this structure must have been located on the top of the Palatine.

(4) HÜLSEN, *op. cit.* pp. 10 ff.

(5) A *monasterium* of S. Semetrios appears in the documents from the pontificate of Gregory the Great to that of Leo IV, and both Hülsen and Lanciani have attempted to equate S. Semetrios, S. Demetrios, and S. Maria de Metrio. This however is untenable, since S. Semetrios was located on the Via Appia near the church of S. Cesario. See FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 96 ff.

of fragments of Christian epigraphy, looted from the catacombs, which found their way to the pavements of Roman buildings during the early middle ages. This evidence is obviously far from conclusive, and the hypothesis<sup>1</sup> that the whole complex of ruins once served as a large church seems quite unwarranted.

The early building history of the site can be summed up along the lines suggested by Popescu. The earliest preserved structure is apparently a concrete wall retaining the cliff of the Palatine; it may have supported the terrace where the Gardens of Adonis were laid out. Towards the end of the first century A. D., a huge row of arches was constructed to sustain an extension of the terrace. In the second or early third century, the space which lay between the arches and the *Via Sacra* was developed as *horrea*, a commercial and residential complex having a courtyard with *tavernae* at ground level and dwellings on upper storeys. Eleven shops on the north side of the structure opened directly to the *Sacra Via*; behind them, nine more shops opened on a narrow court. The opposite side of the court was bounded by a high stone faced retaining wall, behind which stood the substructures of the Palatine terrace. To east and west, the narrow ends of the court were closed by wings of the *horrea* which contained passages through which the court was entered, stairs leading to the upper storeys, and perhaps a few more shops. The narrow ends of the court were shaded by arcaded porticoes with rectangular brick piers, but the site was too narrow to admit porches in front of the shops on the long side. The end porticoes probably had balconies above them, from which the first floor apartments were entered. The two balconies were connected together, at first floor level, by a narrow gangway supported on a row of brick piers which stood against the base of the terrace retaining wall, along the south side of the court. The piers still exist and the coursing of the masonry of the vanished retaining wall, against which they were built, can be seen impressed on their concrete core, although the wall itself has been removed.

At the end of the third century, or early in the fourth, a small bathing establishment was set up at the western end of the court; occupying the shops there, and sealing up the entrance passage. It had a small *caldarium* and the other features of a bath. Probably at about the same time, an ornamental niche was built between two piers of the portico at the opposite end of the court. It blocked up the middle part of the east porch, but the court could still be entered through the lateral archways.

At a still later date, the western end of the court was again transformed by the insertion of the structures which have been interpreted as evidence for the presence of an early church (fig. 212). A spacious apse, built in *opus listatum*, was erected within the framework of the western portico; two of the portico piers were incorporated in the apse wall, and it extended nearly a metre further out into the court. The half-dome was set low enough to allow it to fit underneath the portico vault, this leaving the first floor terrace undisturbed. In front of the apse an area about eight metres square was separated from the rest of the court, and apparently roofed over. To the east, the roofed enclosure was bounded by a stylobate wall, supporting a pair of marble columns, set between end-piers of *opus listatum*. Presumably they were crowned by a triple arcade and constituted the entrance to the enclosure<sup>2</sup>. The southern flank of the enclosure is built of *opus listatum*, apparently coeval with the apse; it develops into a barrel-vaulted exedra, not unlike a transept. In correspondence with this, on the other side of the enclosure, a north "transept" was created by widening the doorway of one of the former shops. Middleton<sup>3</sup> noted that the enclosure was paved with a coarse mosaic,

(1) POPESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.

(2) The masonry of the stylobate seems to be integral with the end-pier and the vertical face of the latter is part of the original plan (*i. e.*, it is not subsequently cut); hence Popescu (*op. cit.*, p. 22) is mistaken in reconstructing a wall at the east end of his church.

(3) MIDDLETON, *Ancient Rome in 1888*, Edinburgh, 1888, p. 141.

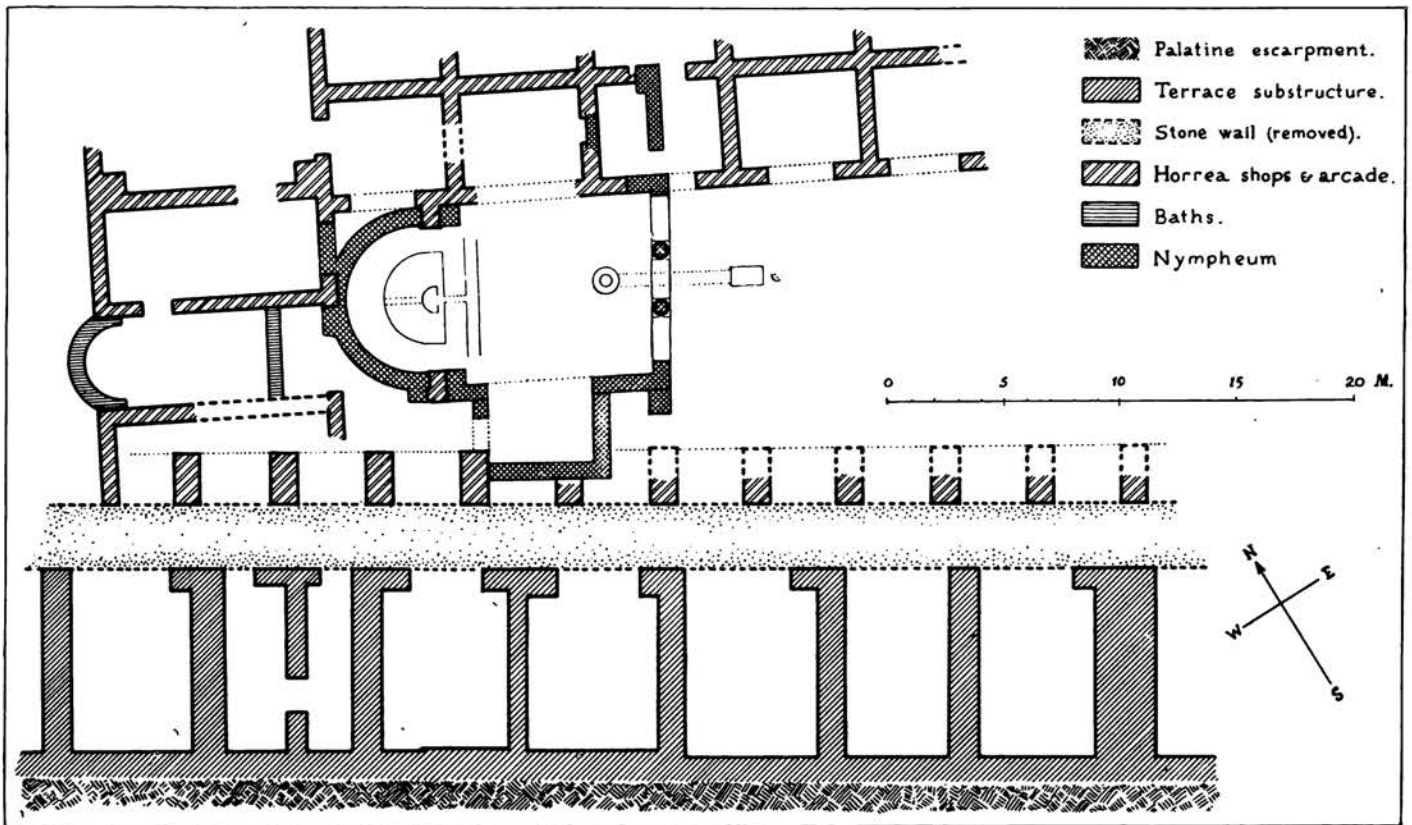


Fig. 212 — S. Maria de Metrio. General plan (Survey: Frankl).

consisting of marble tesserae of various colours, each cube measuring about 0.05 m across, but the level of this pavement is not recorded.

The apse was lined with marble revetment, and was equipped with certain peculiar features, which seem to indicate a *nymphaeum* (fig. 213). A water channel crosses the apse on the chord, and about half a metre behind this channel the apse floor is raised 0.60 m above the rest of the enclosure by a single vertical step. The raised floor is separated from the apse wall by a crescent-shaped trough, 1.10 m wide at the centre and 0.75 m wide at the sides. The trough is 0.60 m deep and its floor and sides were revetted with marble. At the focus of the apse, in the centre of the raised floor, there was a semicircular basin, also lined with marble. The central basin and the crescent-shaped outer trough were connected together by means of a channel, on the axis of the apse, hidden beneath the raised floor. It is impossible to doubt that these troughs were meant to contain water, and a vertical terracotta tube, buried in the masonry at the southwest corner of the apse, may have conveyed water under pressure to some fountain jet which is now lost<sup>1</sup>.

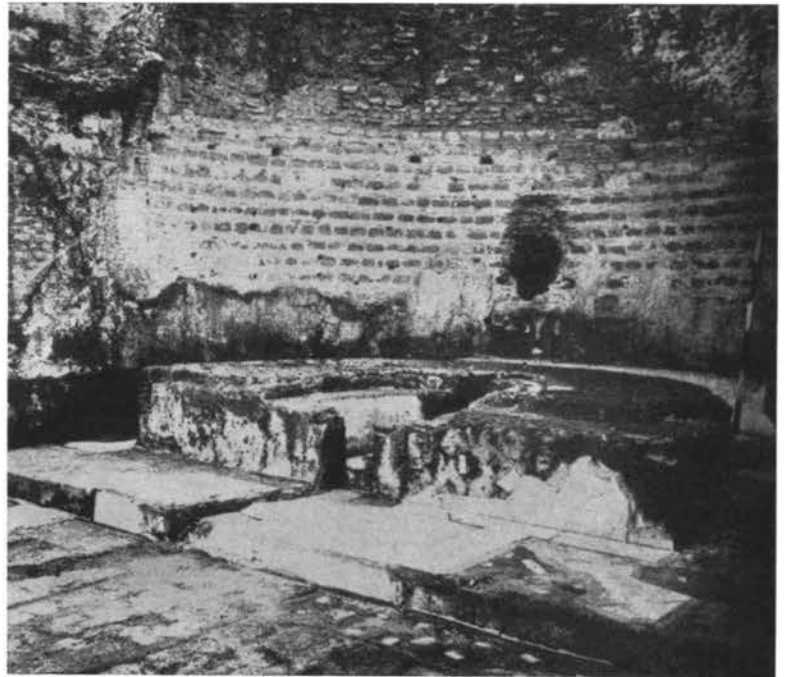


Fig. 213 — S. Maria de Metrio. Apse and fountain shortly after excavation (from Parker, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxv).

(1) A well, sunk in the floor of the enclosure near the triple arcade, may originally have been an ordinary water supply for the *horrea*. However, a flight of steps going down to the water suggests also that the well may have developed some religious meaning. Neither feature is visible today



The floor-level of the cross-shaped enclosure in front of the apse is indicated by the stylobate of the triple arcade. It must have been about a foot higher than the marble pavement at the base of the fountain complex within the apse. Therefore it is possible that, in a later stage of development, the water conduits belonging to the fountain were covered over; an alteration obviously necessary before the structure could be converted to Christian use. Under such circumstances, the fountain may have been dismantled so that its platform could serve as the *bema* of the church. Unluckily there is no direct evidence to show when the floor level was raised, the zeal of the excavators having removed every trace. Hence, the date of the conversion of the site to Christian use must remain conjectural.

## S. MARIA IN AQUIRO<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer)

S. Maria in Aquiro and the buildings of the adjoining orphanage occupy the short eastern side and the south-eastern corner plot of Piazza Capranica in the very center of the old Campus Martius. Both church and orphanage as they stand today date principally from the turn of the sixteenth century. They were erected by the generosity of Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati (1573-1602), who was the cardinal protector of a confraternity for the care of orphans which had been established in the preceding church in 1541<sup>2</sup>. The body of the present church was designed by Francesco da Volterra and consists of chancel, transept, nave and aisles, the nave resting on tall piers and extraordinarily high arcades, the aisles flanked by three chapels each. Construction is supposed to have begun in 1590<sup>3</sup>. After some time work was apparently suspended, possibly as a result of Cardinal Salviati's death in 1602, and it appears to have been resumed only when Filippo Breccioli erected the lower storey of the facade under Carlo Maderna's supervision, perhaps about 1620. Its upper parts were completed only in the eighteenth century by Pietro Camporese the Elder<sup>4</sup>. The garish decoration of the interior dates from a restoration undertaken under Pius IX and completed in 1866<sup>5</sup>.

Nowhere in the present church are there any visible traces of an earlier building. Nevertheless both the historical tradition and older illustrations provide evidence that the present structure merely took the place of an older church whose foundation goes back to Early Christian times. A passage in the biography of Gregory III in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and thus dating 731-741, states that prior to his pontificate the site was occupied by a *diaconia* which also contained a small oratory: (Gregory) ... *basilicam S. Dei Genetricis quae appellatur Acyro in qua antea diaconia et parvum oratorium fuit a fundamentis longiorem et latiore construxit atque depinxit*<sup>6</sup>. Nothing is known as to when and by whom this *diaconia* was established, whether or not it was installed inside a Roman building, and if so, what building it was. In any event Gregory III built a basilica in its place, longer and wider than the old oratory, and had it painted and dedicated to the Virgin. Beginning with the reign of Leo III (795-816), and continuing under Gregory IV (828-844) and Leo IV (847-855), the *diaconia*

(1) Bibliography: FRÀ SANTI, *Cose meravigliose*, 1588, c. 37 v; UGONIO, *Schedario, Barb. lat.* 2161, cc. 75, 115 f.; PANCIOLO, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, pp. 497 ff. (1625, pp. 415 f.); BAGLIONE, *Vite dei Pittori*, Rome, 1642, pp. 48, 348; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, pp. 215 ff.; PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, 1703, pp. 832 ff.; SILVIO IMPERI, *Della chiesa di S. Maria in Aquiro*, Rome, 1866; GIOVANNONI, "Chiese della seconda metà del Cinquecento in Roma", *L'Arte*, XVI (1903), p. 100 (reprinted, *id.*, *Saggi sull'Architettura del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1935, p. 179). HUELSSEN, *Chiese*, 1925, p. 310; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 381.

(2) PANCIOLO, *op. cit.*, 1600, p. 499; 1625, p. 416.

(3) So GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*, However, work may have started as early as 1585 when (PANCIOLO, *op. cit.*, 1625, p. 416) relics of Saint Artemia were found during the remodelling of the High Altar. Indeed, IMPERI, *op. cit.*, p. 37, suggests that work (on the nave?) was completed as early as 1591.

(4) GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*, with reference to BAGLIONE, *ll. cc.*; for Camporese, see THIEME-BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler*, V, Leipzig, 1911, p. 478. Giovanni gives, however, no reasons for his assumptions either of a stoppage of work about 1600 or of the date 1620 for the resumption of work under Breccioli. Baglione only states that Francesco da Volterra "terminò la nave" (*op. cit.*, p. 48); that Filippo Breccioli designed the catafalque for Cardinal Salviati (hence he was connected with the Salviati family as early as 1602); that he was the architect of the Orfanelli; and that he "piantò e compì la fabbrica del Collegio Salviati ed eseguì gli ordini della facciata della loro chiesa in Piazza Capranica" (*ibid.* p. 347). Both IMPERI, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and Pollack in THIEME-BECKER, *loc. cit.*, state that the façade was completed by Camporese; Pollack with the date 1745, when Camporese was only nineteen, Imperi with the date 1774.

(5) Imperi, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff., 113 f.

(6) *L. P. I.*, 119 f.

— its continued existence as “*Sancta Maria in Cyro*” or simply “*in Cyro*” thus ascertained — received gifts of textiles, a corona and a chandelier<sup>1</sup>. The smallness of the gifts hints at the insignificance of the building, even after the remodelling in the time of Gregory III.

The church of Gregory III, however, would seem to have been rebuilt in the twelfth century on a plan which provided for at least three altars. One lateral altar was consecrated in 1179 by



Fig. 214 — S. Maria in Aquiro. *Templum Orfanorum*, from Tempesta's map of Rome, 1606.

pope Alexander III in honor of the Virgin, as witness an inscription read by Martinelli<sup>2</sup>. Another altar was dedicated in 1295 by Cardinal Jacomo Colonna to Saint Nicholas<sup>3</sup>. Apparently it is this church which Bufalini, in 1550, represented on his map as a small colonnaded basilica with a single apse, and which Ugonio some years later described as a basilica preceded by a narthex; the three naves of middling size divided by sixteen columns; the pavement apparently of *opus vermiculatum*; the apse a few steps higher than the nave<sup>4</sup>. Tempesta's map of 1593 still shows the old facade: its narthex, supported by four columns was then surmounted by one or two upper floors served by a staircase at the left end of the narthex (fig. 214)<sup>5</sup>.

Remnants of this medieval building were traced when the sixteenth-century structure was repaired in 1861-1866<sup>6</sup>. The pavement “of Byzantine design ... composed of white and yellow marble, porphyry and serpentine ...” was seen 0.40 m below the present level. The entire medieval church was found to have occupied the area of only the nave of its sixteenth-century successor, and it seems that evidence came to light indicating the placing of the colonnades between nave and aisles. In all likelihood the Early Christian and Roman remnants lie at a greater depth.

(1) *L. P.* II, 12, 19, 77, 121.

(2) MARTINELLI, *loc. cit.*, from a Vatican manuscript (presumably *Chig.* I, V, 167) and following him PIAZZA, *loc. cit.* and IMPERI, *op. cit.*, p. 15. The dates 1180 or 1189 as given by these authors and by MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, XII, Venice, 1841, p. 93 have been correctly revised into 1179 by FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, 1873, p. 433, p. 433, note, and by KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, 85.

(3) MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 216 copied the text of this inscription as well from the same Vatican manuscript.

(4) UGONIO, *op. cit.*, cc. 115 f.: “*Questa chiesa ha di fuori il portico. Dentro è di mediocre grandezza dove sono tre navi spartite da 16 colonne con il pavimento artificiosamente di varie pietre composto (?). Si sale con alcuni gradi all'altar maggiore sopra il quale è la Tribuna... dipinta di nuove pitture. A manca di questa è l'altare di S. Nicolò quale fu consecrato nel 1290 ... per ordine di Jacomo Card. Colonna...*”.

(5) A document of 1525, published by IMPERI, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff., identifies these upper floors as the apartment of the chaplains.

(6) IMPERI, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 52.

## S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl, S. Corbett)

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- 1536 M. VAN HEEMSKERK, *One of the many panoramic views which show the campanile only, pen drawing*; Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, (Hülse-Egger, *Heemskerk*, p. 121, fol. 92).
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- 1577 DU PERAC-LAFRÉRY, *Birds-eye view of apse and north side of nave, engraving*; map of Rome (Ehrle, "La Pianta di Roma del 1577").
- ca. 1593-1625 JAN BREUGHEL, *copy of the drawing by BRIL* (Egger, *Veduten I*, 1911, pl. 57).
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- 1823 G. M. KNAPP, *Ground plan, transverse section, plan of the crypt, and plan and cross-section of campanile; view of the nave looking toward the apse* (*Monumenti dell'antico culto cristiano*, pl. 30 a, b, c, d, e; pl. 31). Some of these plates in Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, Munich, 1843, pl. XXII, XXIII, and Gailhabaud, *Monuments anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1865, II, unpagged.
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- 1893 Photograph before the destruction of the Sardi façade (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Neg. D, 1811), (fig. 220).

## C. — DATES

- 493-534 Brick-stamps of Theodoric (493-526) and Athalaric (526-534), found among the tiles used in the roof of the church. (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 332).
- VII cent. Donations of land to the diaconia by Eustathius and his brother Georgius, according to an inscription in the portico:  
 "HAEC TIBI PRAECLARA VIRGO... DEI GENETRIX MARIA DE TUA TIBI OFFERO DONA EGO HUMILLIMUS SERVULUS TUUS EUSTATHIUS IMMERTUS DUX QUEM... HUIC SANCTAE TUAE DIAC. DISPENSATOREM EFFICI JUSSISTI (follows list) ... ITEM ET EGO GEORGIUS ... OFFERO ... (follows list) ... QUOD VISUS SUM EGO QUI SUPRA AFFERE UNA GERMANO MIO ... DAVIT" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f. and pl. XLV).
- 772-795 Under Hadrian I, a large structure of tufa blocks, in ruinous condition and overhanging the diaconia of S. Maria in Cosmedin, was demolished; the ancient basilica was then greatly enlarged and rebuilt from the foundations, with three apses:  
 "Diaconia vero sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae appellatur Cosmidin, dudum breve in edificiis existens, sub ruinis posita, maximum monumentum de Tubertinos tufos super ea dependens, per annum circuli plurima multitudo populi congregans, multorumque lignorum struem incendens, demolivit. Simulque collectio rudera mendans, a fundamentis aedificans, praedictamque basilicam ultro citroque spatiosae largans, tresque absidas in ea construens praecipuus antistes, veram Cosmidin amplissima noviter reparavit" (L. P., I, p. 507).  
 Inscription on the lintel (of a pergola?), donated by the notary Gregory: "...IS DI ET SCE DI GENETRICIS MA.../... S. DONI HADRIANI PAPE EGO GREGORIUS NO..." (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 3).
- End of VIII cent. The *Itinerarium Einsidlense* refers to the "aecclesia Grecorum" in or near the "schola Grecorum". (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 7; *Monumenti Antichi*, I, 1890, col. 439).
- 795-816 Gifts of a corona and of liturgical vestements by Leo III, to the "diaconia sanctae Mariae qui vocatur Cosmidi" "...fecit coronam ex argento" (L. P., II, 19), "...fecit veste alba olivatica cum tabula de chrisoclabo ..." (L. P., II, 30).
- 827-844 Gregory IV donates a cloth with scenes of the Nativity and Resurrection: "fecit ... in diaconia beate semper Virginis Mariae in Cosmidi vestem de tireo, habentem storia dominice Nativitatis atque Resurrectionis Christi veri Dei nostri". (L. P., II, 77).
- 855-867 Rebuilding of the secretarium, restoration of its portico, construction of an oratory and of a triclinium with side chambers under Nicolas I: "Nam renovavit in basilica Dei Genetricis Mariae quae dicitur Cosmidi secretarium, ibique pulchri operis fecit triclinium cum caminatis ..." (L. P., II, 161). "Pari modo iuxta secretarium porticum renovans illic construxit atque edificavit oratorium in honore sancti martyris Christi Nicolai ..." (L. P., II, 161). Construction of a large lodging for the pope: "fecit hospitium largum ac spaciosum satisque precipuum, ad opus atque utilitatem pontificum, ubi quotiens oportunum fuerit, cum omnibus qui eis famulan-

- tur, amplissime hospitentur*". (L. P., II, 154). Gifts of textiles, curtains, and other liturgical ornaments by Nicolas I. (L. P., II, 152, 153, 158).
- XI cent. (?)** Inscription on the architrave of the main portal: "IOANNES DE VENETIA ME FECIT". (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 6, and pl. XXXIV).
- XI—XIII cent.** References to Sta. Maria in Schola Greca among the *diaconiae* of Rome, in the *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae* (VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, 361), in the Itinerary of Benedetto Canonico (*idem*, III, 231), and in Petrus Mallius' *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae* (*idem*, III, 438).
- 1118-1119** Gelasius II enriches the *diaconia* "quam Sanctam Mariam in Cosmidin vulgariter nuncupant" with gifts of property, gold, silver, and books (L. P., II, 312).
- 1123** Callixtus II consecrates the main altar on May 6, according to an inscription on the mensa: "† ANNO M. C. XXIII. INDĀ. I. DEDICATV̄ EŚ HOC ALTARE P̄ MANVS DŌ CALIXTI. PP. II. V. SV. PONTIFICATVS ANNO MENSE MAIO. DIE. VI. ALFANO. CAMERARIO EIVS. DONA PLURIMA LARGIENTE" (GIOVENALE *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 9; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 306). This event, and the donation of relics by this pope, is also recorded in an inscription in the apse: "IN NOMINE DOMINI... PONTIFICATUS DOMINI CALIXTI II PAPAE, DIE SEXTA DEDICATUM EST HOC ALTARE PER MANUS IPSIUS, UBI RECONDITAE SUNT SANCTAE RELIQUE DE SEPULCHRO DOMINI..." (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 10, FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 305). GRIMALDI also records (*Vat. lat.* 6437, f. 200): "Callistus 2<sup>us</sup> anno V sui Pontificatus die 6 maij consecravit altare maius S. ae Mariae in Cosmedin et inter alias reliquias posuit brachium unum Sci Bonifacii pp. IIII; ex lapide ibi hodie muro affixo".
- Donation of furnishings for the main altar, by the Camerarius Alfanus, according to the inscription which records the dedication by Callixtus II. Alfanus also donates a Bishop's chair, inscribed "ALFANUS FIERI TIBI FECIT VIRGO MARIA" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 8), and perhaps a chancel barrier, according to an inscription formerly in the pavement, but now restored to its vertical position: « ALFANUS FIERI TIBI FECIT VIRGO MARIA / ET GENETRIX REGIS SUMMI PATRIS ALMA SOPHYA » (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 306). Alfanus' tomb was erected during his lifetime in the narthex of the church, as recorded in the inscription: "VIR PVS ALFANVS CERNENS... HOC SIBI SARCOFAGVM NE TOTVS OBIRET FABRICA DELECTAT POLLET QVIA PENITVS EXTRA SED MONET INTERIVS QVIA POST HAEC TRISTIA RESTANT" (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 306).
- XIII—XIV cent.** Gift by one Pascalis of an Easter candlestick, inscribed at the base: "VIR PROBVS ET DOCT PASCALIS RITE VOCATV̄ SVMŌ CUM STUDIO CŌDIDIT HVC CEREV̄M" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n<sup>o</sup>. 14 and pl. XVIII d; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 307).
- 1295-1304** Ciborium of the main altar executed by Deodatus, presumably in the time of Boniface VIII; Inscription on the upper part of the work, "† DEODAT. ME. FEC". (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n<sup>o</sup>. 15 and pl. XVII; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 306).
- 1521** The chapter of S. Maria in Cosmedin grants a group of masons the privilege of excavating in the vaults below, and in front of the church: "subtus concavitates seu voltas et fornices prefate ecclesie S. te Marie de scola greca, videlicet in loco eiusdem ecclesie versus stratam publicam in conspectu mole eiusdem ecclesie..." (LANCIANI, *Scavi*, I, pp. 204 f.).
- 1639** Donation, by the canon Ghezzi, of a mosaic panel depicting the Virgin and Child, originally in the chapel of John VII at St. Peter's (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. 18, and pl. VIII b).
- 1671** Restorations in the church financed by the title cardinal, Leopold Medici, according to an inscription in the forechoir. (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. 19; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 309).
- 1684** Construction of chapel by Canon Stefano Rodolfo Ciatti, (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 21; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 314) and insertion of light barrel vaults above the nave and aisles: "... facciamo spezial menzione del Canonico Stefano Ridolfo Ciatti, il quale ... l'anno 1684, fatta la volta sudetta ... guadagnandosi meritamente con si cospicua generosità il titolo di Ristoratore". (CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, p. 106).
- 1686** Construction and decoration of a chapel by Canon Christophorus Bianchi, according to an inscription on his tomb. (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 24; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 315).

- 1687 Construction and decoration of a winter choir, financed by Canon G. B. Sabbattini Gasparri, according to an inscription in the wall of the forechoir: "D. O. M. / JO. BAPTISTAE SABBATINI GASPARRI FOM. / HVIVS INSIGNIS BASILICAE CANONICO / OB HYEMALEM CHORVM ANNO MDCLXXXVII / AERE PROPRIO EXTRVCTVM ATQUE ORNATVM / CAPITVLVM ET CANONICI / NE TANTI BENEFICII MEMORIA INTERIRET / H. G. A. M. P. P." (CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, pp. 158 ff.; GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 22; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 314).
- 1717 Canon G. M. Crescimbeni restores the crypt, which had been neglected for two centuries. Inscription in the vestibule of the crypt: "CLEMENTE XI. P. O. M. REGNANTE / SUB AVSPICIIS EMINENTISS. PATRIS AC DOM / D. ANNIBALIS HVIVS BASILICAE DIAC. CARD. ALBANI / VETUSTISSIMAM HANC CONFESSI-  
ONEM / IN CVIVS ARA CORPVS S. CYRILLAE V. ET M. FILIAE / DECI IMP. / OLIM CONDITVM ERAT / A DVOBVS FERE SECVLIS CLAVSAM ET IGNOTAM / I. MARIVS CRESCIMBENVVS IN EADEM BASILICA CANONICVS / APERVIT ET PRISCO CVLTVI RESTITVIT / SIBIQVE IN HOC MONVMENTVM VIVENS STRVXIT / ANNO DOMINI MDCCXVII" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 27; FORCELLA, IV, p. 315).
- 1718 Building of a new façade, designed by G. Sardi and financed by Cardinal Annibale Albani, as recorded by an inscription within the church: "ANNIBAL S. R. E. CARD. ALBANO / OB FRONTEM HVIVS SVAE DIACONAE / VESTVSTATE SQVALENTEM / NOVO OPIFICIO / VETERI ADVG STANTI CONFORMATO / AFFABRE RESTITVTAM / CAPITVLVM ET CANONICI / GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM / PP. / ANNO SALVTIS MDCCXVIII" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 30; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 316).
- 1719 By order of Clement XI, the piazza in front of the church is rebuilt at a lower level, having previously been seven steps above the level of the nave. A fountain is erected in front of the basilica: "CLEMENTI XI P. O. M. / QUOD EGESTIS RVDERIBVS / QVAE AD SEPTEM GRADVVM ALTITVDINEM EXCREVERANT / FORVM PAVIMENTO BASILICAE AEQVAVERIT / GEMINOQVE EXTRVCTO FONTE / DIVINO CVLTVI / PVBLICAE VUTILITATI AC URBIS ORNAMENTO /... / ANNO SAL. MDCCXIX" (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 32; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 316).
- 1727 Construction of a baptistery, donation of a font, and erection of an altar in a side chapel under Benedict XIII. (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 34 and 37; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, pp. 317 f.).
- 1871 Restoration of the pavement by Cardinal Spada after damage caused by a flood of the Tiber; inscription on the pavement of the choir (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 67, n. 45; FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 327).
- 1892-1899 Restoration of the church, directed by G. B. Giovenale; demolition of the Sardi façade, of the vaults in the nave and aisle, and stripping of the Baroque decoration (GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 ff.).
- 1961-1962 Restoration of campanile and nave roof.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Maria in Cosmedin stands between the Tiber and the Circus Maximus, close to the open space which was once the Forum Boarium (fig. 215). It is a three-aisled, three-apsed basilica entered through an arcaded narthex. The axis runs from north-west to south-east with the altar at the south-eastern end of the nave but, for simplicity, we will henceforward ignore this, calling the left hand side of the nave the north side, and so forth. The diagonal orientation and many other irregularities in the plan are consequences of earlier buildings being incorporated in the structure (pl. XX).

Important alterations to the church were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As early as 1684 false vaults were inserted in the nave and aisles<sup>1</sup>, and other enrichments were added. A new facade, with baroque stucco decorations, was erected in 1718 by Cardinal Albani,

(1) See above, p. 280, dig. 1684.



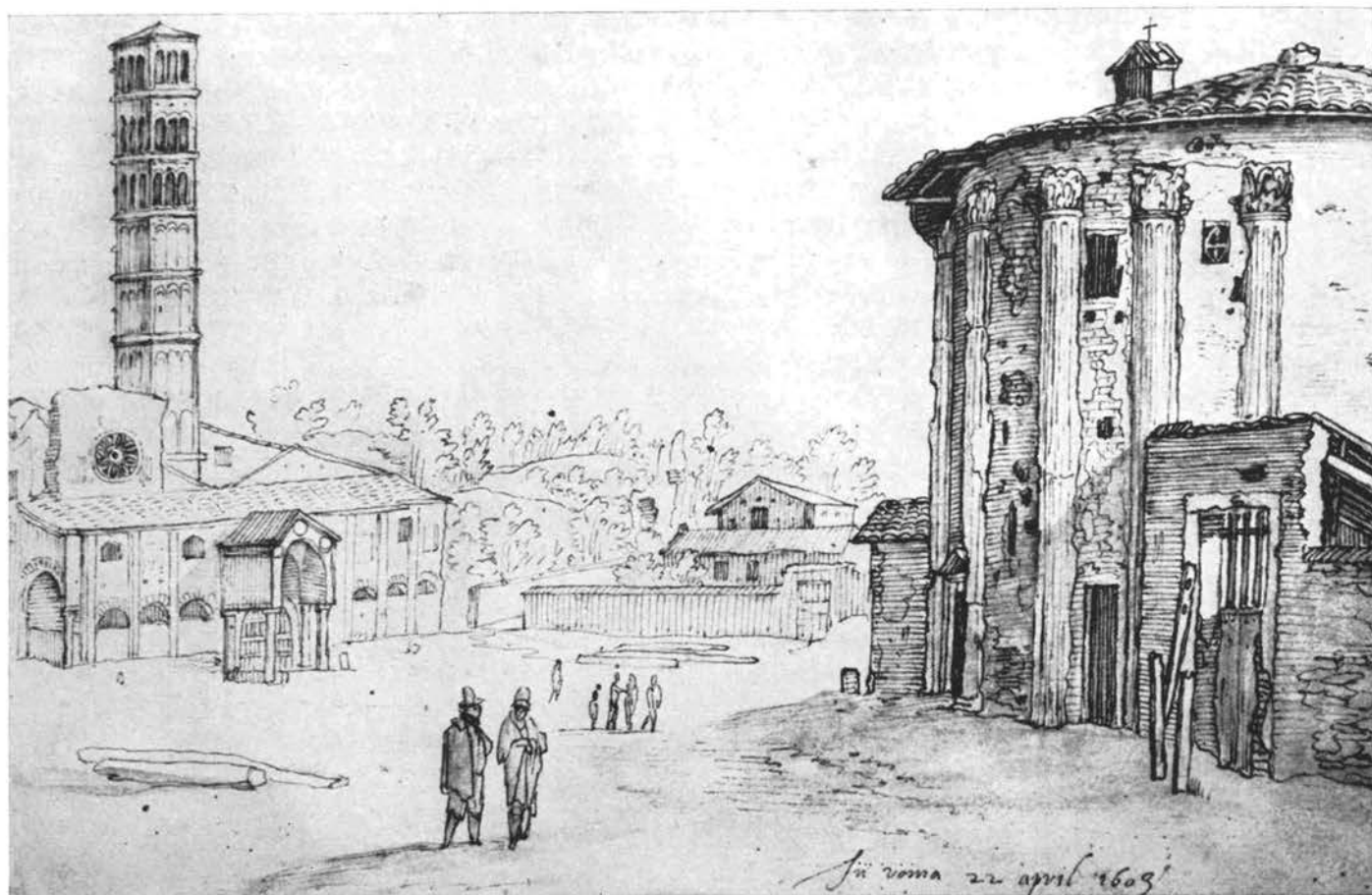


Fig. 215 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Anonymous, View of the *Forum Boarium* in 1603 (Curtis Baer collection, by kind permission of the owner).



Fig. 216 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. G. Van Wittel, facade ca. 1720 (Boymans Museum).

to the design of G. Sardi<sup>1</sup> (figs. 216, 220). Previously, the church had had a facade with a rose window and a great overhanging coved cornice, such as still exist at S. Maria de Araceli and S. Maria Maggiore (figs. 215, 217). However, a programme of restoration during the years 1892-1899 removed most of these alterations and returned the church as far as possible to the form which it had had in the twelfth century. An account of the works, and a detailed architectural survey was published in 1927 by G. B. Giovenale, who directed the restorations<sup>2</sup>.

At the west end, the church is entered through a romanesque narthex; a broad portico of seven arcaded, cross-vaulted bays which extend, on each side, somewhat beyond the lateral walls of the aisles. The central opening is preceded by a vaulted porch resting on four ancient column shafts. The remains of a similar porch with two columns, facing north, are discernible at the north end of the narthex<sup>3</sup>. If the structure was symmetrical, there must have been a third porch at the south end, where the seventeenth-century sacristy now stands. The north porch is now walled up to create the staircase which leads to the up-

(1) CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, Rome, 1715, p. 106.

(2) G. B. GIOVENALE, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Rome, 1927, *passim*.

(3) *IBID.*, pp. 7, 43, and 246.

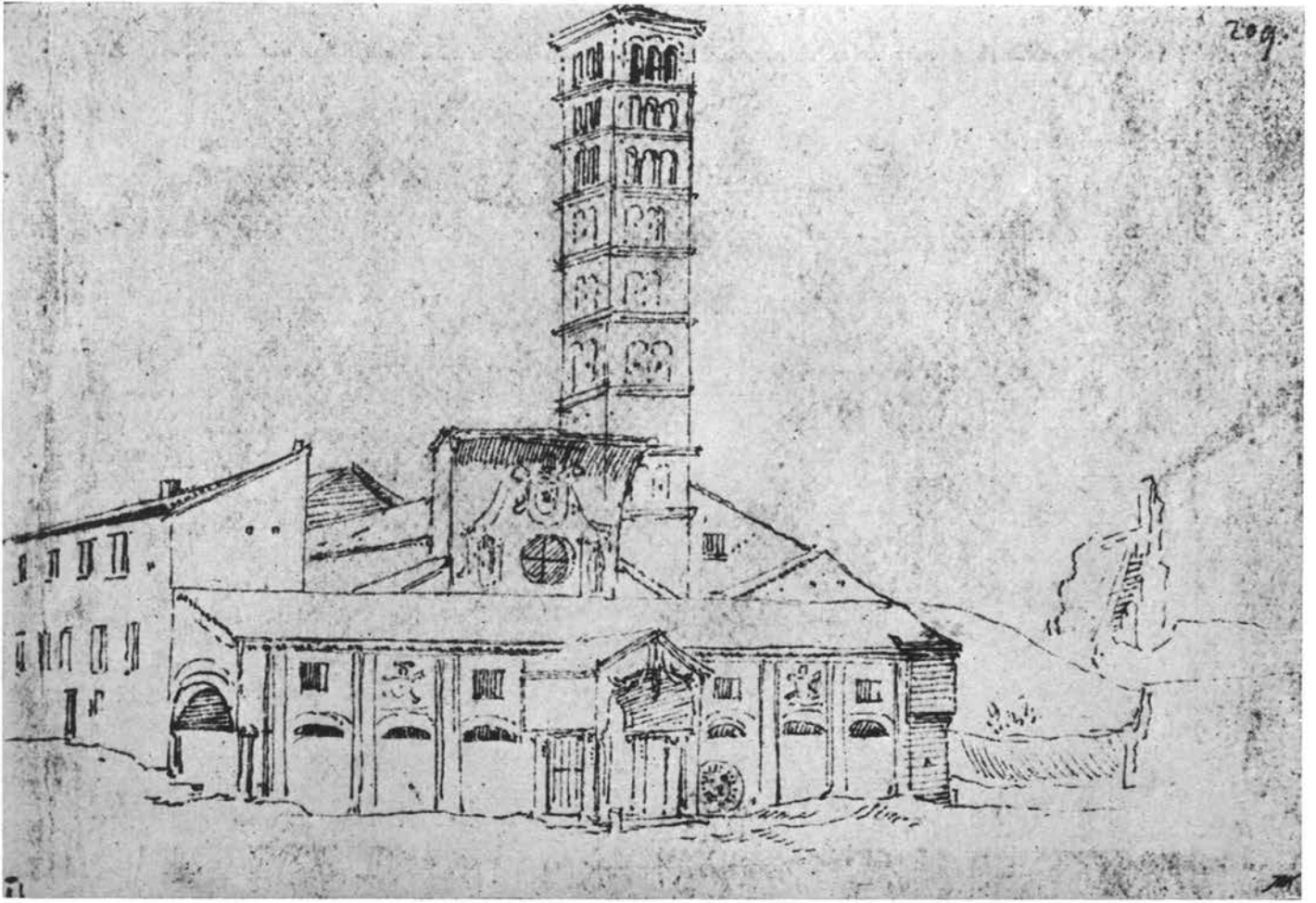


Fig. 217 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Anon. Fabriczy, View of the west front, 1568-1572 (Stuttgart Kupferstichkabinett).

per storey of the narthex; a long, low chamber with a simple lean-to roof, illuminated by six small arched windows. The numerous architectural fragments of the original church which came to light during Giovenale's researches are displayed in this gallery.

As usual, three doorways open into the church from the narthex. The lateral ones, at the end of the aisles, are undistinguished, but the central one has a marble frame decorated with debased classical mouldings and the inscription IOHANNES DE VENETIA ME FECIT. The style of the sculpture suggests the eleventh century. The door-frame was originally somewhat higher and broader, and has been cut down to make it fit in between the Loggia columns, showing that it was originally made for some other place<sup>1</sup>.

Inside the church the nave is flanked by arcades with twelve arches on each side. These are separated by rectangular piers into three groups, each with three columns carrying four arches (fig. 218); the columns are a miscellaneous collection, some fluted, others plain, some with corinthian and others with composite capitals<sup>2</sup>. The arcades support high blank walls which, in the twelfth century, were decorated with picture cycles. At the top, a row of twelve small clerestorey windows opens on each side; these windows do not correspond with the arcades below. There is a single aisle on each side of the nave and, at the east end, aisles and nave terminate in apses (fig. 219).

The campanile stands at the west end of the south aisle and is seen, from the plan, to have been built independently of the nave colonnade on its north side, and of the facade of the church on its

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-9, 290-2, attributing it to the pontificate of Nicholas I (858-867).

(2) *IBID.*, pp. 18-20, 95-110.



Fig. 218 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. General view, interior (Photo: Alinari).

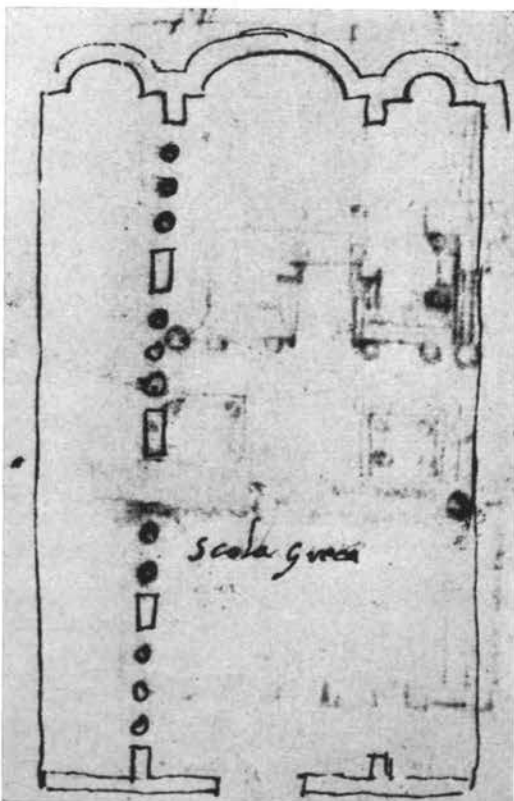


Fig. 219 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. S. Peruzzi, Sketch plan (*Uffizi, Dis. Arch.* 660).

west side <sup>1</sup>. It is obviously a twelfth-century construction, and seems to be nearly contemporary with the narthex; though it must in fact have been built before the narthex was even contemplated. This appears from the circumstance that the west side of the campanile is omitted at the base, and only begins at a height of 5.80 m from the ground, where a brick arch spans the interval between the north and south walls. The purpose of this lofty opening must have been to leave unencumbered a window above the west door of the south aisle, without which the western part of the aisle is very dark. It is clear that the campanile sacrificed a certain amount of strength in order to leave this window open. Nevertheless, the vaulted ceiling of the narthex blocks the same window, whence we conclude that the narthex is later in date than the campanile.

The high altar consists of a marble slab lying across the top of an ancient granite basin. An inscription on the

(1) *IBID.*, pp. 11-17; SERAFINI, *Torri Campanarie*, pp. 188-190. The campanile was restored in 1961.



Fig. 220 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. The west front, about 1895 (*Gab. Fot. Naz.*).

slab<sup>1</sup> records that it was donated by the *camerarius* Alfano and was consecrated in 1123. The same dignitary also supplied the episcopal throne<sup>2</sup> and four cosmatesque transennae<sup>3</sup>; his tomb stands in the narthex<sup>4</sup>. All these features must be more or less contemporary; so too, by analogy of style, are the two ambones and the *opus alexandrinum* pavement. The present chancel screen (apart from Alfano's panels) and the screens which enclose the *schola cantorum* are modern<sup>5</sup>.

A small rectangular crypt lies underneath the high altar. Narrow stairways, on each side of the nave, start close to the colonnades and descend to a transverse passage from which the crypt is entered. The crypt and its approaches are excavated in the heart of a huge mass of quadrate masonry, identifiable as the remains of the podium of a classical building. This structure lies underneath the eastern half of the church. In the western part of the church, the side wall of the north aisle and the west walls of aisles and nave together (*i. e.* the east wall of the narthex), incorporate the columns and arcades of an ancient portico which stood beside the Forum Boarium. In the following pages this building is called the *Loggia*.

(1) See above, p. 280, Dig. 1123.

(2) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-6.

(3) *IBID.*, p. 176.

(4) *IBID.*, pp. 172-4.

(5) *IBID.*, pp. 387-90. In the eighteenth century, the *bema* was flanked by four marble transenna slabs decorated with crosses; see CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, pp. 134-5. Only fragments of them survive today, but it is evident from their style that they date from the sixth century.

## E. – ANALYSIS

### I. STRUCTURES PRECEDING THE CHURCH

#### a) THE SITE

In classical times the place where the church now stands was flanked to the north-west, that is, in front of the present facade, by a street, the pavement of which lies roughly 2.30 m below the narthex floor<sup>1</sup>. From it, opposite the central axis of the church, a narrower street branched off to the north-west, descending to the river bank. A drain named *la Maranna* ran along the south-west or right hand side of the church. It was either a remnant of the ancient *Cloaca circe*, or a conduit diverted by Callixtus II in order to supply water for water mills<sup>2</sup>; it appears as a creek on fifteenth and sixteenth-century maps, such as Bufalini and Tempesta, and was still visible in 1715<sup>3</sup>. A short distance away to the left of the church, Lanciani proposed to locate the Temple of Hercules Victor, underneath the huge modern building which was formerly a flour mill (*Molino Pantanella*); but when the cellars were excavated in 1931 no trace of it was found. Instead, a mithraeum came to light<sup>4</sup>.

#### b) THE TEMPLE

Classical *opus quadratum* is found *in situ*, in the eastern half of the church only. It consists of rectangular blocks of brown Anio tufa, laid in perfectly regular courses with extremely fine joints<sup>5</sup>. The blocks are 0.55 m to 0.65 m in height and breadth, and up to 2.00 m in length. The blocks of each course are set at right angles to those above and below. The greater part of this material lies beneath the level of the church floor, but a few blocks are seen above that level, in the side wall of the south aisle. Of these, two courses appear in a courtyard on the south side of the church and Giovenale was able to identify three more courses at a lower level<sup>6</sup>. The thickness and the true alignment of the blocks has been falsified in the building of the aisle wall; but that they survive from a classical building is proved by the fineness of the jointing and the accurate squareness of the units. Another fragment of wall, with exactly similar masonry and coursing at the same level, occurs on the west side of the same courtyard<sup>7</sup>. Giovenale reports the existence of other blocks of *opus quadratum* on the east side of the church, in a wall which lies parallel to the east wall but some 2.60 m outside it<sup>8</sup>. It is now hidden below ground level. Similar material was also discovered in a wall which crosses the nave, below floor level, near the sixth column (counting from the west and excluding piers) on the left side of the nave<sup>9</sup>. Yet another wall face of *opus quadratum* was found on the north side of the church, in the foundations of the eastern part of the left aisle wall<sup>10</sup>. Thus the four sides of a large rectangular stone structure seem to be defined, lying underneath the eastern half of the church and measuring some 18 m by 21 m (fig. 221). The area which they enclose is solid *opus quadratum* except where the crypt of the church and its approach passages have been scooped out of it, probably enlarging a small original cavity<sup>11</sup>. The walls of the crypt are lined with later

(1) GIOVENALE *op. cit.*, p. 87.

(2) V. KOUDELKA, "Le Monasterium Tempuli", *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 1961, pp. 5 ff., esp. p. 22 and note 52.

(3) CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, p. 17.

(4) C. PIETRANGELI, *Bollettino Comunale*, LXVIII, pp. 143-173.

(5) TENNEY FRANK, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, American Academy in Rome, 1924, p. 28.

(6) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, fig. 92 on p. 299.

(7) E. NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary*, I, London, 1961, pp. 228.

(8) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 358 f.

(9) *IBID.*, p. 298.

(10) *IBID.*, p. 348.

(11) See below, p. 299.

brickwork, but the ceiling is composed of a course of *opus quadratum*, 0.60 m thick, and the floor is the upper surface of another, similar course. The walls of the approach passages show the outlines of four intervening courses (fig. 234). The tufa *opus quadratum* thus forms a huge, nearly solid mole of masonry, which can scarcely be anything but the podium of some ancient building, presumably sacred. The facing of this podium has disappeared, except for a few blocks of travertine and one of marble, identified by Giovenale but now hidden; it seems to have been removed during the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>. The wall of *opus quadratum* which projects to the south of the main structure, and is seen on the west side of the court, may perhaps be explained as a cheek wall flanking the steps by which the podium was ascended. If this interpretation is correct, the structure must have faced towards the south<sup>2</sup>. Nothing remains of the superstructure; it was dismantled in the eighth century and some of the masonry was re-used in the church building which then took its place. Ample evidence of this metamorphosis is found, both in the biography of Hadrian I<sup>3</sup>, and in the structure itself.

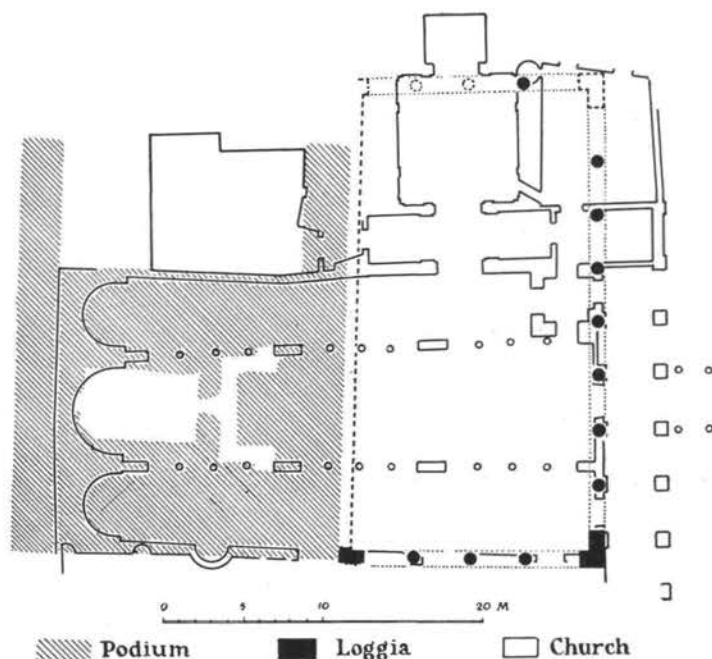


Fig. 221 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Sketch plan showing earlier buildings.

### c) THE LOGGIA

While the eastern half of the church stands on the remains of a classical podium, the western half is built inside the colonnades of a Loggia, 31 m long and 17 m deep, which faced the Forum Boarium while its rear wall was built against the west flank of the podium<sup>4</sup>. This wall was of brick, 0.70 m thick, but only its northernmost extremity survives, built into the north wall of the church. Corner piers at each end of the Loggia facade were also of brick; the left hand one is still intact, and forms the north-west corner of the church. Seven columns stand between the corner piers to form the facade of the loggia. They are 6.90 m high, and well conserved, with attic bases and fluted shafts of white marble. The capitals are all of the composite order; their style suggests a second-century date, except for one, the third from the left, which is considerably earlier. Apparently all parts of the colonnade are spoils from earlier buildings. Small impost blocks above the capitals, formed with one or two courses of brick surmounted by slabs of marble, equalise the differences in height of the columns, and carry the eight brick arches of the facade. To the north, between the corner pier and the rear wall, the side of the Loggia had three columns all of which are still erect, though lacking their arches. Of the capitals, the middle one is Ionic and the other two are composite<sup>5</sup>. The south flank of the Loggia matched the north, with three columns. Only the western-

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

(2) In that case it cannot have been the Temple of Ceres, as proposed by GIOVENALE (*op. cit.*, pp. 352-6) and NASH (*Pictorial Dictionary*, I, p. 227), because that temple stood with its back to the Aventine (LIVY, xl, ii, 1). It may be the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus — see PLATNER-ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary*, p. 255; but LUGLI (*Monumenti* I, p. 375) identifies it as the Ara Maxima Herculis Victoris.

(3) See above, p. 279, dig. 772-795.

(4) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 336 and 343; LUGLI, *Monumenti*, I, pp. 372 f.

(5) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 336, fig. 113.

most remains today, but another one survived until 1687<sup>1</sup>. The south-west corner pier has perished.

The bricks of the north-west corner pier are well matched and of fairly large size (fig. 222). There are sixteen courses to the metre in height and the mortar beds average 2.8 cm. in thickness, giving a modulus of approximately five courses per R. ft. The mortar is struck off neatly at the wall

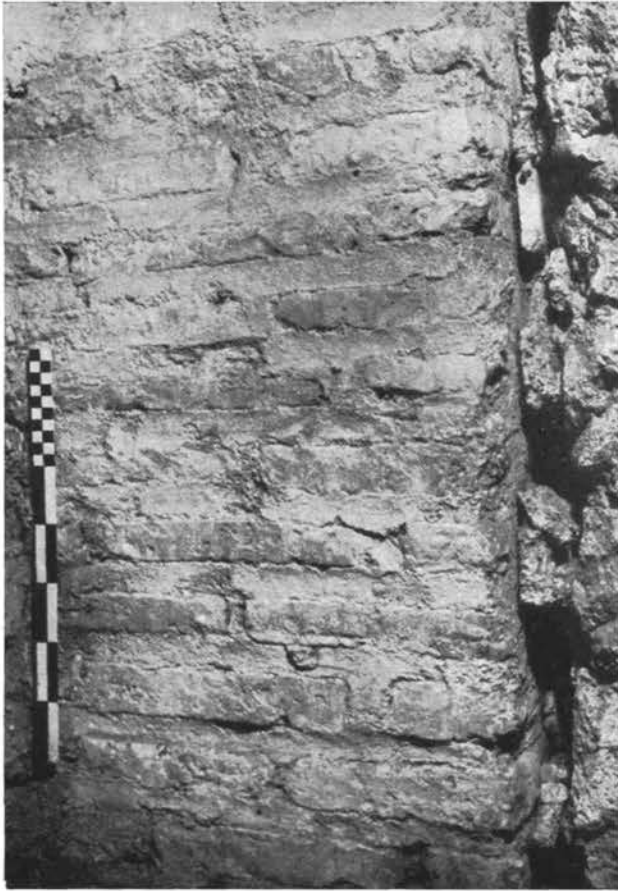


Fig. 222 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Brickwork of the northwest corner pier of the Loggia (Photo: Corbett).



Fig. 223 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Arcades of the Loggia seen from the west (Photo: Corbett).

a single and sometimes with a double chamfer. The intrados are revetted with decorations in moulded stucco, representing foliate scroll work and interlacing tendrils which emerge from baskets. From its style, the plaster work would seem to be no earlier than the second half of the fourth century. The technique of the brickwork accords with this date; witness the masonry of S. Balbina, with mortar beds averaging 3.1 cm in height; or S. Clemente, with slightly higher mortar beds ranging from 3.2 to 3.9 cm.<sup>2</sup> The thinner mortar beds in the Loggia may suggest a somewhat earlier date; say, the third quarter of the fourth century. This is the date already suggested by both Stevenson and Giovenale on other grounds<sup>3</sup>.

The Loggia has been identified as part of the *Statio Annonae*, the administration of the state granaries. This identification is based on three inscriptions found nearby, dedicated to the ruling emperors in 337-341, 414, and 425, by the *praefectus annonae* or the *praefectus urbi*<sup>4</sup>. On this basis, it seems quite likely that the Loggia had to do with the *Statio Annonae*, but the hypothesis cannot be accepted as proved.

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(1) CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, p. 2: "un'altra era ... ove è il Coro d'Inverno, che fu levata via per fabbricare esso Coro, ed un'altra una liscia se ne vede accanto alla scala a chiocciola che dalla ... sagrestia porta alle stanze di sopra ..." For the date of the *Coro d'Inverno*, see above, p. 281, dig. 1687. The spiral stair has now become a lavatory, but the column base is still visible.

(2) See above, Vol. I, pp. 91, 129, 130.

(3) E. STEVENSON, *Scoperte a S. Maria in Cosmedin*, *R. Q. Schr.*, 1893, pp. 11 f.; GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 344 f.

(4) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 344 f.

## 2. THE CHURCH

## a) THE WEST WALL

The wall at the western end of the nave and aisles, against which the narthex is built, consists fundamentally of a row of filling walls which block up the five northern intercolumniations of the Loggia facade. The lower part of these walls is hidden by plaster, but the masonry is exposed in the gallery above the narthex, and at this level we are able to examine the Loggia facade, and the filling walls which were built when first the Loggia was transformed for ecclesiastical use (fig. 224). Presumably these alterations created a hall which was part of the *diaconia* mentioned in the inscription of Eustathius<sup>1</sup>, and referred to in the *Liber Pontificalis* as “*diaconia ... quae appellatur Cosmidin*”<sup>2</sup>. For the sake of brevity, we use the word *diaconia* to denote this hall.

Up to a certain height, the *diaconia* walls were built of large, roughly squared, tufa blocks. Giovenale's illustrations show this material in several places which now are hidden by plaster revetment<sup>3</sup>, and the observation can be checked at a higher level, since a few of the blocks rise high enough to be seen in the chamber over the narthex. The blocks are yellow tufa from the quarries of Grotta Oscura, and must be spoils from a more ancient building<sup>4</sup>. Where they appear in the upper storey, they are 0.40 to 0.60 m in height and seem, at this level, to be reserved for the jambs of certain openings which were left in the filling walls. Above the level of the large blocks the *diaconia* walls continue, in masonry of a different character, using small rectangular tufa blocks interspersed with a few courses of brick. Like the large scale masonry below, these blocks are also of yellow Grotta Oscura stone, and are obviously re-used material. Originally, the blocks were shaped with great accuracy and were smoothly tooled. Height varies from 10 to 15 cm, and length from 20 to 45 cm. These blocks were probably culled from the quoins and angles of a building faced with *opus incertum* or *reticulatum*, and the nearby *Porticus Aemilia*<sup>5</sup> seems to be a likely provenance.

The wall which fills the northernmost arch of the Loggia facade is set askew in plan, so that while flush with the brick angle pier on the left it is set back 0.20 m behind the line of the arcade to the right. The filling walls of the other arches of the facade are also set 0.20 m to 0.30 m behind the plane of the arcade. Hence it is clear that the columns and arches of the Loggia were still meant to be seen, after they had been filled in by the *diaconia* walls.

The filling wall of the left-hand arch contains two windows, one above the other. The lower one is 0.95 m wide, and its lintel is 5.55 m above the present floor level. The sill cannot be seen because it is hidden by the vaulting of the twelfth-century narthex. The lintel, which appears still to be the original one, is a wooden beam, 0.11 m thick and 2.40 m long (fig. 225). The upper window is 1.2 m wide and its sill is 6.75 m above the floor of the present church. Its jambs are decorated with painted plaster and formerly continued upwards as far as the intrados of the Loggia arch, obviating the need for a lintel.

The wall which closes the next arch (the second from the left in fig. 224), has a window 1.15 m wide at the same level as the lower one in the preceding bay. The wooden lintel has disappeared, and the opening has been extended upwards in some later modification, but the jambs are discernible, outlined in large masonry blocks. Above it, another opening in the *diaconia* facade occupied the whole lunette of the Loggia arch; which was filled in, almost certainly, with a pierced marble transenna. The transenna which partly fills the arch today is modern, but there is suffi-

(1) See above, p. 279, dig. VII cent.

(2) Dig. 772-795. See also dig. 795-816, and subsequent digests.

(3) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

(4) This type of stone had already ceased to be used as facing material by the end of the Republic. TENNEY FRANK, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

(5) G. GARETTONI, A. M. COLINI, L. COZZA, G. GATTI, *Pianta Marmorea*, Rome, 1955, p. 81.



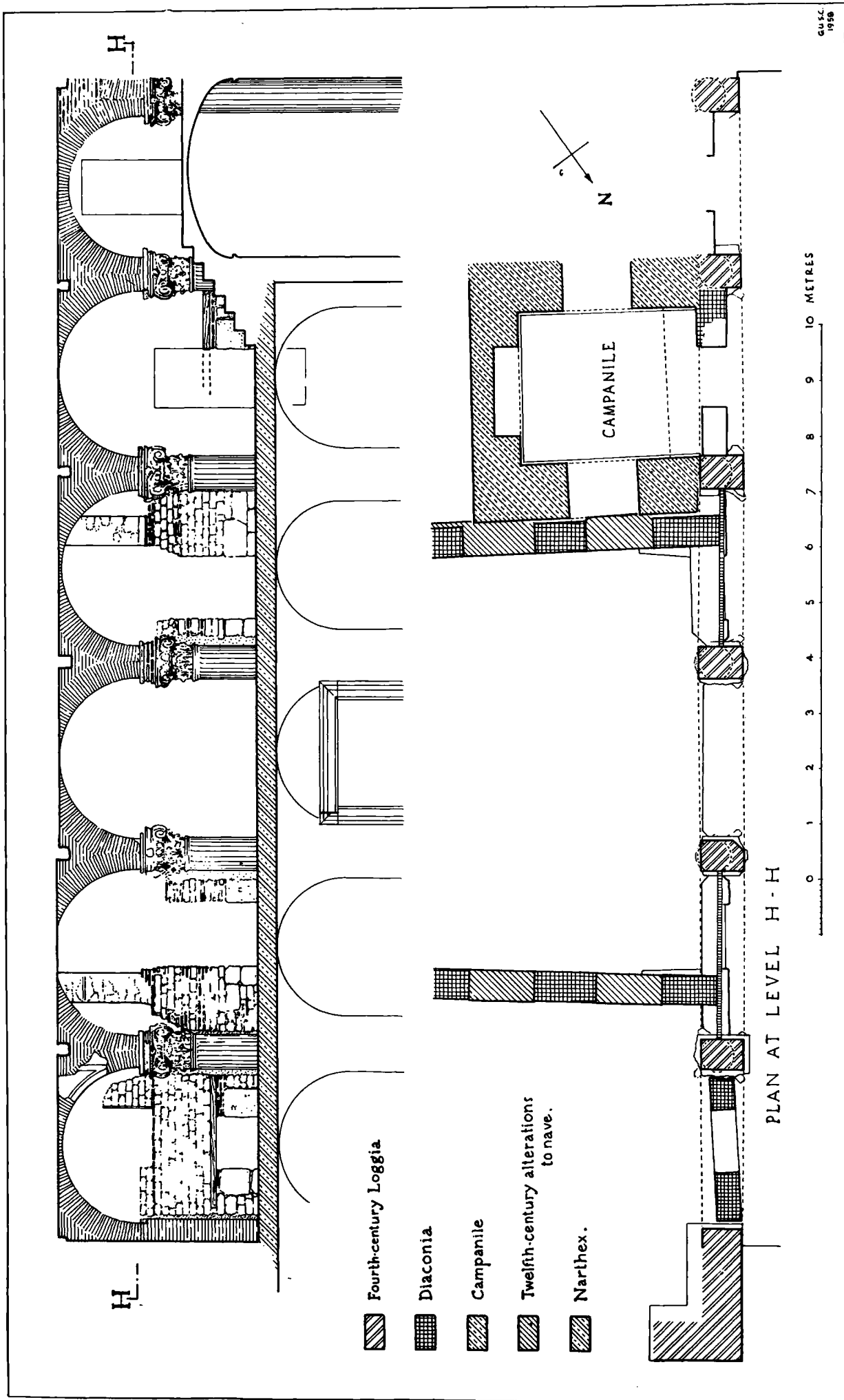


Fig. 224 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. West elevation of the Loggia and plan of the western part of the church.

cient evidence to show that something of the same sort must have existed during the period of the *diaconia*. The proof of this is seen in a lateral wall, which stands at right angles to the facade and intersects the arch, continuing westwards into the arch embrasure, until it terminates in a vertical plane which is only 0.20 m behind the plane of the facade (fig. 226). Obviously, so narrow an interval leaves no space for the closure of the arch by a wall of ordinary thickness. Moreover it is evident that, when the lateral wall was being built, the masons constructed the end of the wall against some smooth vertical surface which already existed. The surface has disappeared, but its former existence is witnessed by the texture of the mortar in the contiguous structure; we can even detect that there was a narrow horizontal fissure in the missing surface, from the mark which it has left, embossed on the mortar. Hence we know that the Loggia arch must already have been closed, when the side wall was built, by some thin but rigid screen. It seems most likely to have been one of those pierced marble window transennae which were commonly used in Roman architecture. On the other hand, the stucco decorations prove that the transenna was not an original feature of the Loggia.

The third Loggia archway corresponds with the axis of the church. It has been re-opened and it is impossible now to reconstruct the former filling. However, we assume that this arch was filled with a wall of the *diaconia*, in which there were windows, like those of the adjacent arch. The fourth arch is similar to the second one, but reversed. Here again we find a rectangular window below, and an open lunette above, with the extremity of an abutting lateral wall continuing to within 0.20 m of the facade; indicating a former transenna, against which the side wall ended. The fifth Loggia archway stands in front of the twelfth-century campanile. Its filling wall is modern, except for a small portion of early masonry in the lower right hand corner, partly masked by a flight of steps. A modern doorway at the

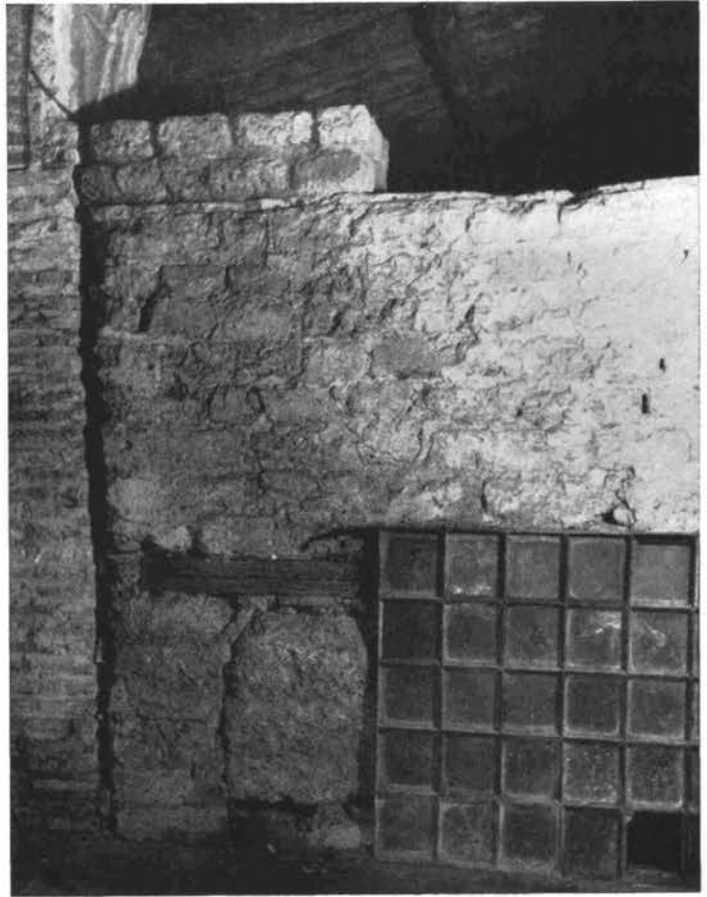


Fig. 225 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Wall of the *diaconia* in the left hand arch of the Loggia facade (Photo: Corbett).

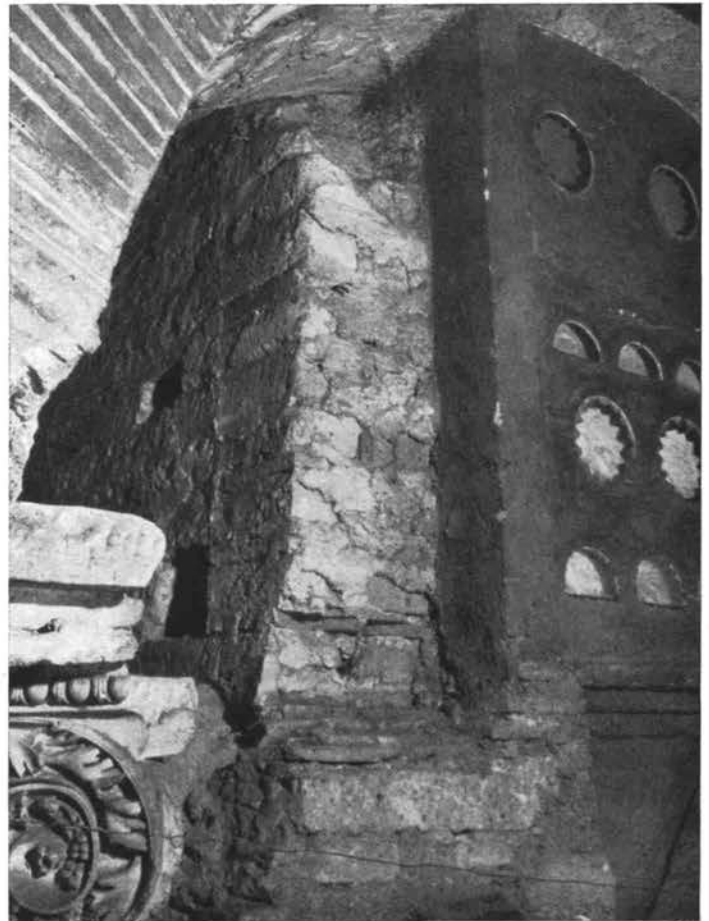


Fig. 226 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Side wall of the *diaconia* intersecting the second arch from the left in the Loggia facade (Photo: Corbett).

centre of the archway leads into the campanile, and a large yellow tufa block, which exists on the right hand side of this doorway, is part of the jamb of another window in the series which we have been describing. The sill of this window, and part of the opposite jamb, are seen in the narthex below, over the doorway of the south aisle. A photograph published by Giovenale<sup>1</sup> shows the remains of this opening before the modern doorway was built, and reveals a timber beam which was probably the original lintel.

#### b) SIDE WALLS OF THE NAVE

We now turn to the walls of the church which stand at right angles to the Loggia facade. Internally, examination of the masonry is denied us by modern plaster revetment, although Giovenale saw it and recorded its characteristics (pl. XXI). Externally, the clerestorey walls are visible and, in addition, an important zone of the nave walls may be seen in two low attics which lie between

the lean-to roof of each side aisle, and the modern wooden ceiling (pl. XX). Here, in a horizontal strip about one and a half metres high, running the full length of the church, the exterior face of each nave wall is seen, bare of revetment. It is obvious that the masonry of the eastern half of the church is totally different from that in the western half, indicating two distinct phases of construction. In the western part, the nave walls are built with the same masonry as we have already seen in the walls which close the western Loggia arches: small blocks of yellow tufa, with an occasional course of brick. (The extremities of the side walls have been noted above, at the point where they impinge on the Loggia facade and bear witness to the former existence of transennae). On each side of the nave, at this level, the walls are pierced by six arched openings; Giovenale was able to examine them completely, and the upper segments of the arches are still visible in the plaster-free zone which we are now considering<sup>2</sup>. Each arch corresponds with one of the clerestorey windows in the upper storey of the nave. The arches are built with alternating brick and tufa voussoirs (fig. 227), and the latter are insufficiently tapered, as though originally made for arches of greater span;



Fig. 227 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Arched opening in the side wall of the *diaconia* (Photo: Corbett).

additional evidence that they are re-used material. The apex of the arches is about 7.00 m above the present nave floor, and their breadth varies from 1.20 m to 1.50 m. The sill level of the openings is problematical but, if we are right in recognising one of them in a photograph published by Giovenale<sup>3</sup>, it was some 4.40 m. above the floor. Thus the height of the arches would have been some

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII (a).

(2) In addition, a larger portion of the westernmost arch on the south side can be examined where it appears at the back of an opening in the campanile wall (fig. 227). Also, in replastering the interior of the nave, Giovenale omitted two small rectangles of revetment from the north wall, in order to demonstrate the shoulder of one of these arches and the junction, about the middle of the church, between the yellow tufa masonry of the west half, and the different construction in the eastern part.

(3) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pl. X (b), extreme top. Giovenale himself does not allude to the feature.



Fig. 228 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Correspondence of the *diaconia* opening, the campanile (left) and the wall which seals the opening (Photo: Corbett).



Fig. 229 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. The clerestory (Photo: Corbett).

2.60 m. The twelve arches are sealed up with masonry which bears the characteristic *falsa cortina* tooling of the romanesque period<sup>1</sup>, and this date for the obliteration of the arches is confirmed at the point where the western arch of the south wall coincides with an opening in the north side of the campanile; for it is clear that the masonry which seals the arch is later than that of the campanile itself (fig. 228).

Thus the western half of the nave is flanked, at an intermediate level between the ground and the clerestory, by walls built of re-used yellow tufa blocks in which there were twelve arched openings, six on each side of the nave. In the eastern half of the nave, on the other hand, the walls at the same level are built in a totally different manner. Here we find the masonry composed of small fragments of brick, very unevenly coursed, and with no definite style of pointing. At this level, Giovenale discovered a further series of arched openings, integral with the brickwork, slightly lower than those in the western half of the church, and therefore not now seen in the aisle attics. A little smaller than the yellow tufa openings, they are 1.10 m wide, and the apex of each arch is 6.70 m above the nave floor. The sills have disappeared in subsequent alterations to the lower part of the nave walls; the nave arcades at this end of the church having been rebuilt no less than three times<sup>2</sup>. Giovenale's drawing (pl. XXI) records five of these arches in the south nave wall. Four corresponding arches are still visible in the north wall; they were left open in Giovenale's restorations for the sake of their painted embrasures<sup>3</sup>. In spacing, all these openings are evidently intended to correspond with the windows of the clerestory above them. Ultimately, they too were sealed up with romanesque brickwork<sup>4</sup>.

The clerestory zone of the nave side walls is visible externally where it protrudes above the aisle roofs (fig. 229). Throughout the whole length of the church, the masonry at this level is of the same poor quality as was noted in the eastern half of the intermediate zone below. The bricks are all

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.* p. 93.

(2) First in the twelfth century; then at an unknown date, probably in the eighteenth century; finally in 1899, restoring the romanesque form.

(3) Presumably the fifth arch was destroyed in one of the many alterations to this part of the church. It must have been close to the east wall.

(4) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 248 and fig. 21 on p. 96.

small, broken fragments, stones are sometimes used in place of bricks, and haphazard courses of herring-bone work appear. The window heads are formed with single arches of short bricks, 18 to 20 cm. long, rarely set true to radius. There are twelve small, arched clerestory windows on each side of the nave. The six windows at the eastern end of the row are 0.70 m. wide, 1.30 m high, and about 2.30 m from centre to centre. The six at the western end have the same width, but are 1.45 m high, and about 2.80 m from centre to centre. Thus, although the masonry in this zone is continuous from one end of the church to the other, the division of the nave into two halves, noted in the differing masonry of the intermediate zone, is repeated in the clerestory zone by differences in the window spacing. In the eastern half the windows are closer together, and a little smaller than those of the western half. The spacing corresponds with that of the intermediate zone arches; those in the eastern half of the church being contemporary, while those of the western half were set at wider intervals, to match the intervals of the yellow tufa arches, which already existed when the clerestory was built.

Since there were only five arches in the eastern half of the intermediate zone, there is one clerestory window with no corresponding intermediate level opening beneath it. In place of the seventh intermediate arch (counting from the west) Giovenale found only a blank area in the nave wall, built in the low-grade brickwork of the eastern half of the church.

At ground level, the colonnades on which the nave walls rest are a miscellaneous collection of re-used shafts, bases and capitals. They vary in height from 2.78 m. to 3.06 m. and are unequally spaced, with interaxial measurements varying from 1.85 m to 2.32 m. Rectangular piers divide the colonnades into three groups on each side, each group having three columns and four arches. About half the capitals are re-used spoils, and half are romanesque reproductions<sup>1</sup>. In the first group, on each side of the nave, the middle column has a fluted shaft and a classical capital, sculptured with Genii and Victories<sup>2</sup>, while the flanking columns are less elaborate<sup>3</sup>. In the second group, on the left side, the central column has a capital of the composite order, richly carved in sixth-century style<sup>4</sup>. The third group of columns, on each side of the nave, is modern reconstruction using ancient elements. Until 1892 there were only two columns where there are now three; apparently an attempt to ease the constricted area of the choir. No record exists to say when this alteration was effected, but it must have been done after 1719 since Crescimbeni's illustrations show three columns, and he makes no reference to the change. On the other hand, Sarti's engraving of 1829 shows two columns; hence the change is likely to have been made during the eighteenth century. Giovenale restored the arrangement of three columns.

For our knowledge of the arcades which these colonnades support, we have to rely entirely on Giovenale, as none of the masonry remains exposed. He discovered that all twelve archivolt on each side of the nave, and the piers which divide them into groups, are later in date than the walls which they support<sup>5</sup>. The brickwork of the arcades in the western two-thirds of the church is characteristic of the romanesque period, and is contemporary with the masonry which seals the arches of the intermediate zone. The latter, and the clerestory walls above, must therefore have been propped up on scaffolding while the arcades and colonnades were built underneath them. Presumably this was done in the eleventh or twelfth century, as part of the programme of remodelling which culminated in the reconsecration of 1123.

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f.

(2) *IBID.*, fig. 9 on p. 21.

(3) *IBID.*, p. 19, analysing the whole series of columns.

(4) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

(5) *IBID.*, pp. 247-254; but it must be noted that the present writers disagree with many of the conclusions reached from the facts presented.

The lateral walls of the nave are thus seen to have been built in three distinct stages (fig. 230). a) The yellow tufa masonry with six arches, at intermediate level; evidently part of the earliest ecclesiastical structure to be built inside the Loggia. b) The eastward extension of this building, in brick, with slightly smaller arches at about the same level; together with the heightening of the

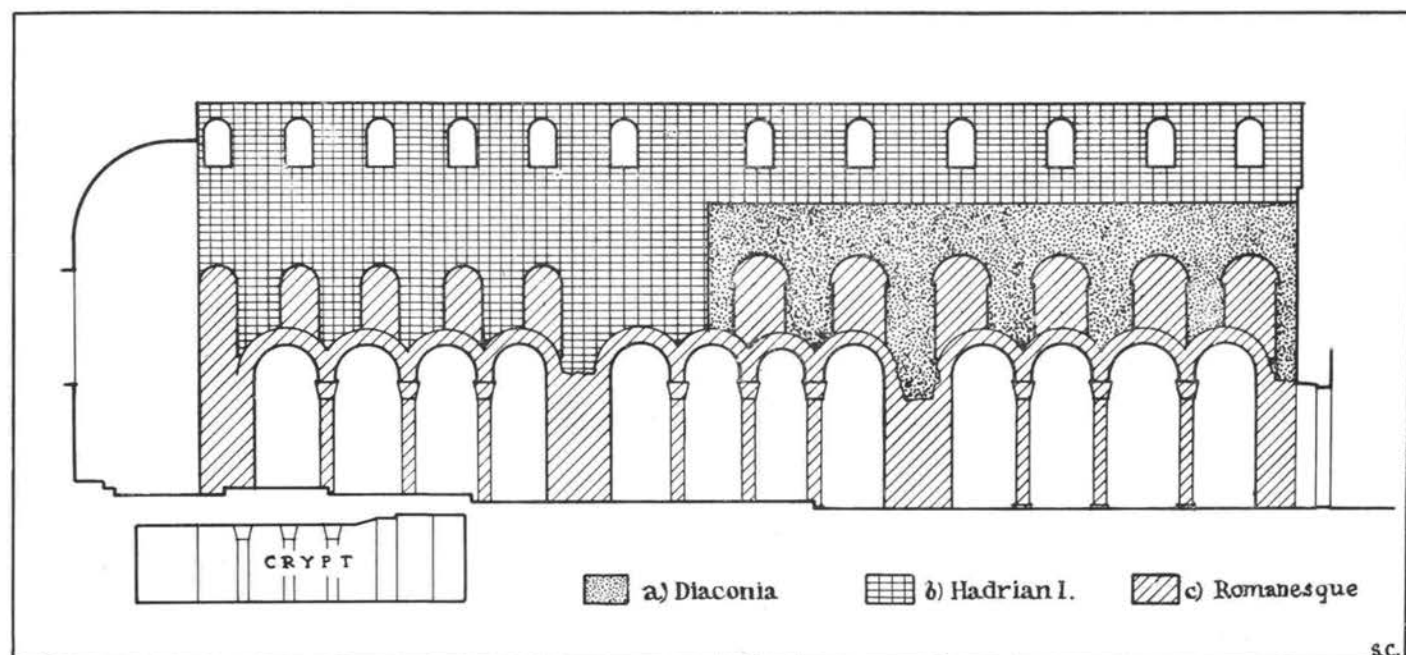


Fig. 230 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Stages of construction in the side wall of the nave.

nave by the addition of a clerestory. c) The blocking up of the arches of the intermediate zone, and the insertion of the present nave arcading, beneath pre-existing walls. Obviously the brick-built clerestory and eastward extension of the yellow tufa walls, are part of a structural programme for the enlargement of the original building. Now, the vertical division between the two structures (where, in the intermediate zone, the tufa walls end and the brickwork begins) corresponds exactly with the line, on the ground, where the rear wall of the Loggia formerly backed up against the side of the podium. This suggests that the earlier church building was confined to the area of the Loggia, and that the enlargement took place when it became possible to extend the church across the place where the temple had previously stood. This is precisely what the *Liber Pontificalis* records in the biography of Hadrian I<sup>1</sup>. The eastward extension of the original church building, in brickwork of indifferent quality such as might well be expected in the eighth century, is unquestionably the work of Hadrian I. For the sake of brevity, therefore, we will anticipate our conclusions, and henceforward call this part of the building the eighth-century church, or the church of Hadrian I.

Although the romaneseque remodelling of the nave colonnades destroyed almost every trace of what existed at ground level in the eighth century, a few factors may be noted which will be useful in our reconstruction (below, p. 299). The nature of the lower zone of the side walls in the earlier *diaconia* hall is indicated in the drawings which Giovenale made when the masonry was stripped of its plaster revetment. At the point where the western end of the south wall joins the west facade, Giovenale's long section (pl. XXI) shows a vertical pier made of four large stone blocks, which we suppose to be remains of an earlier structure, preserved by being incorporated in the brick end-pier of the romaneseque arcade. Perhaps rather less definitely, the same drawing indicates the remains of another stone pier, which seems to be part of the south side of the *diaconia*, incor-

(1) See above, p. 279, dig. 772-795.

porated in a pier of the romanesque colonnade about ten metres to the east of the first pier. Again, the earlier structure is shown in Giovenale's fig. 77, on p. 252, which depicts the end-pier at the north-west corner of the nave. The pier is divided into two parts; a pillar of large stone blocks, 0.57 m thick and 0.65 m deep, enlarged to its present size by the addition of some 0.40 m of romanesque

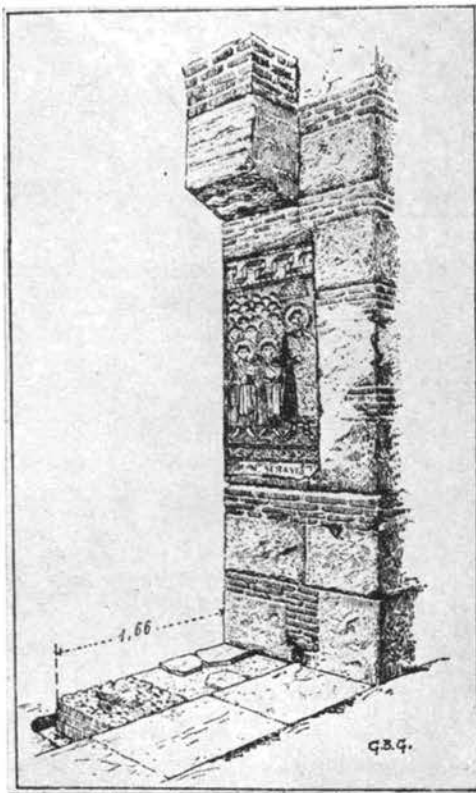


Fig. 231 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Remains of eighth-century nave trabeation (Giovenale, *op. cit.*, fig. 28).

brickwork. Another feature which may belong to the *diaconia*, discovered by Giovenale and still exposed, is a horizontal wooden beam, embedded in the north face of the first pier on the left side of the nave<sup>1</sup>. As it survives, the beam is 1.05 m long, 0.12 m thick, and lies 3.15 m above the present floor. Beneath it and to each side the masonry of the pier is brick, but with no proper face; that is to say, the original brick-face stood a few centimetres to the north and has been shaved back to the present alignment. A second timber member rests on the beam, at right angles to it, and is flanked by small blocks of stone. Above this course we see the regular construction, in yellow tufa blocks, of the original *diaconia* hall, into which the brick arcades of the romanesque remodelling are inserted.

To the east, in Pope Hadrian's extension of the church, the supports which flanked the nave were so radically changed in the romanesque period, and again in the eighteenth century, that reconstruction is barely possible. Nevertheless, it does appear that the upper walls of Hadrian's nave were supported on horizontal architraves and not on arcades. A fragment of the trabeated lintel still protrudes from the east wall, on the north side of the central apse. It is a beam of travertine, 0.55 m high and 0.40 m wide, broken off 0.40 m from the wall-face from which it protrudes. At present it is hidden by plaster revetment, but it was seen during Giovenale's restorations (fig. 231). The end of the lintel stone was built into the wall between the two apses, and there was no pilaster or end-pier beneath it. The underside of the stone was about 3.40 m above the general level of the nave floor.

### c) EXTERNAL WALLS OF THE AISLES

We turn now to the left hand wall of the north aisle. The original brick corner pier of the Loggia still forms the north-west corner of the aisle and a narrow brick pilaster, which is all that remains of the Loggia rear wall, is seen about half way along the aisle. Between these two brick features are spaced the three marble columns which composed the north side of the Loggia. The arches, which they must once have supported, have disappeared. Giovenale noted the masonry of large blocks which formerly closed the intercolumniations, presumably remains of the walls which were built when first the *diaconia* was created inside the Loggia<sup>2</sup>. At present, only two of the blocks can be seen, the others having been plastered over. To the right, in the eastern half of the church, the north wall continues beyond the area of the Loggia, in much the same alignment. The inte-

(1) Although our interpretation of this member differs from Giovenale's, his view, that the beam is part of the scaffolding which supported the walls while the romanesque colonnades were being built, must not be hastily rejected. The two explanations seem equally valid.

(2) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

rior is plastered, but the outer face can be inspected. The lower portion incorporates a brick wall which belonged to some building of unknown purpose, standing close to the classical podium; it is later than the podium, but earlier than the eighth-century extension of the church. Although the bricks are rather small, and vary considerably in thickness, the coursing is level and there are exactly five courses to the R. ft. Where the mortar survives, it is flush with the bricks and neatly pointed. The north face of this wall is interrupted by two semicircular niches, 1.40 m wide, 2.70 m high and 3.40 m apart<sup>1</sup>. The niche heads have archivolts of brick, 0.32 m wide, bordering very roughly executed concrete half-domes (fig. 232). A few peg holes in the brick face may suggest marble revetment, but this is very doubtful. The niched brick construction rises to a level about 4.50 m above the church floor. Above this level, rest two courses of large, brown Anio tufa blocks, each course 0.60 m high. The tufa is the same material as we encounter in the podium; apparently having been salvaged from the ruins of that structure, and used again in the eighth-century extension of the church. Naturally, the big blocks would be used in the courses nearest the ground. In the eastern half of the north aisle, above the pre-existing wall with the two niches, the aisle is illuminated by a row of five round-headed windows, 2.30 m high, 1.10 m wide, and 1.15 m apart. The large tufa blocks are used here to form the piers between the windows (fig. 233) while the base of each window embrasure is cut down into the brickwork of the wall below. Above the two courses of tufa blocks, the eighth-century aisle wall continues upwards in brickwork of the same poor quality as was noted in the clerestory.

On the opposite side of the church, the external wall of the south aisle has five more arched windows, corresponding with those of the north aisle. These too are built of brick in their upper parts, and of large tufa blocks from the podium in the courses which are nearer the ground<sup>2</sup>. Below the window sills the wall is built of similar material, except where a few blocks of the original podium structure, *in situ*, are incorporated in the eighth-century wall. A doorway, 1.70 m wide, opened in the south wall of the eighth-century church, just beside the surviving fragment of podi-



Fig. 232 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. exterior of north wall of left aisle; remains of earlier niche (Photo: Corbett).



Fig. 233 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Eighth-century windows in the north aisle, exterior (Photo: Corbett).

(1) We rely on Giovenale (*op. cit.*, pp. 348-9 and fig. 118) for certain data which are now hidden below floor level. However, there does not seem to be enough evidence to justify his interpretation of the wall with niches as one side of a hall ("Tribunale della Annona"). Might not the niches equally well have ornamented the side of an open street or piazza?

(2) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 299, and fig. 92.



um<sup>1</sup>. The western half of the south wall (in the area of the Loggia) has not been examined, but it is likely that the north wall of the vestibule of the Winter Choir contains masonry from the first ecclesiastical building.

The east wall of the church comprises the three apses built by Hadrian I. They are built of large tufa blocks (podium debris), with a few courses of brickwork interspersed. On removing the plaster decorations, Giovenale discovered the remains of arched two-light windows in the central apse and the southern. The present windows, and most of the wall paintings now seen in all three apses, are modern imitations.

#### d) THE CRYPT

The crypt (fig. 234), beneath the church floor in the eastern part of the nave, is a rectangular compartment, about 7.20 m by 4.00 m in plan and less than 2.50 m high. It has the plan of a mi-



Fig. 234 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Interior of the crypt, facing west (Photo: E. Nash).

nute basilica, with colonnades dividing it into nave, aisles and transept, all of equal height. At the east end the chamber terminates in a small apse. The brickwork which lines the walls is characteristic of the eighth-century work noted elsewhere in the church. On three sides, the brick lining is formed into a series of sixteen round-headed niches, each divided horizontally by a marble shelf.

Of the six columns which support the crypt ceiling, the first two shafts on the right hand side are grey marble, and the third is grey granite. On the left side, one shaft is grey granite and the other two are red granite. All the capitals are travertine, roughly blocked out in the composite form. Perhaps to increase rigidity, or perhaps only because they happen to be too long, the bases of the column shafts are embedded in holes in the *quadratum* floor, for the depth of one course of masonry, and they actually stand on the cou-

urse beneath the one which appears to support them. In the eastern part of the crypt the line of each colonnade is continued by a brick pier, similar in workmanship to the brickwork of the walls. A vertical joint seems to show that the piers were originally intended to be smaller than they are at present, but the style of pointing shows no difference of period in the enlargement and it may be no more than a builders' mistake. Beyond the piers lies the small "transept" and apse. Low brick transennae join the piers to the side walls and divide the aisles from the "transept". The apse, 1.80 m in diameter, contains a small marble altar made of a Roman cippus<sup>2</sup>. In the

(1) On the opposite side of the church, a large niche in the north wall of the north aisle seems likely to take the place of a corresponding doorway.

(2) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

right hand side wall of the "transept", the masonry has been scooped out to create a shelf, rather like a loculus, while to the left of the altar a row of projecting stone blocks forms a low seat, 0.60 m high. From their alignment, they seem to be blocks of the podium, still *in situ*.

The access passage and stairways are a modern amplification of the approaches which Crescimbeni laid out in 1717<sup>1</sup>. The original entrance seems likely to have been a stair on the center line of the church, landing on the floor of the crypt two or three metres to the east of the present doorway. This is indicated by a deep chamfer in the edge of the *quadratum* ceiling block which lies across the western pair of columns.

Being underneath the floor of the eighth-century part of the church, the crypt lies inside the core of the Roman podium. Its floor, which seems at first sight to be paved with large, rectangular stone flags, is really the upper surface of a course of the podium *opus quadratum*, 0.60 m thick. A least two more courses lie beneath it<sup>2</sup>. The narrow passage and stairways, through which the crypt is approached, are carved out of four intervening courses of the same kind of masonry. It is remarkable that the ceiling of the crypt is composed of a single course of *quadratum*, 0.60 m thick, supported by the columns and brick piers which divide the chamber into nave, aisles and transept. The plan of this ceiling (inverted) shows how barely the columns suffice to support these massive blocks (fig. 235). For instance, one large unit near the middle of the ceiling rests on only a small part of one capital. Since the blocks are over half a meter thick it is inconceivable that they were laid on top of the columns in an ordinary sequence of construction. There is only one way for such a structural combination to come into existence; the ceiling blocks must have existed before the columns were installed, having been sustained originally by some other, more solid support. On the other hand, this hypothetical support cannot have been an uninterrupted core of *opus quadratum*, because no builder would have left the top course in position while removing the masonry underneath it. Therefore there must already have been some kind of chamber in the heart of the podium, for Hadrian I's builders to enlarge. It is possible that the present ceiling rested, originally, on a masonry or brick barrel vault which was removed as the crypt was formed, the columns being inserted one by one to take its place. In any case, it is clear that some cavity in the podium core was turned to advantage in building the crypt. It should be noted also, that the *quadratum* of the crypt ceiling and floor only occurs in the nave and right hand aisle of the crypt; in the left hand aisle both floor and ceiling are of concrete. This interruption in the continuity of the podium may have been caused during the building of the crypt.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

The evidence set out in the preceding analysis enables us to reconstruct the architectural history of the church in its main outlines. In the first place we have the Loggia, built in, or soon after the end of the fourth century A. D., close by the podium of an ancient pagan sanctuary. The reconstruction of the Loggia is clear in nearly every respect. Briefly, it was

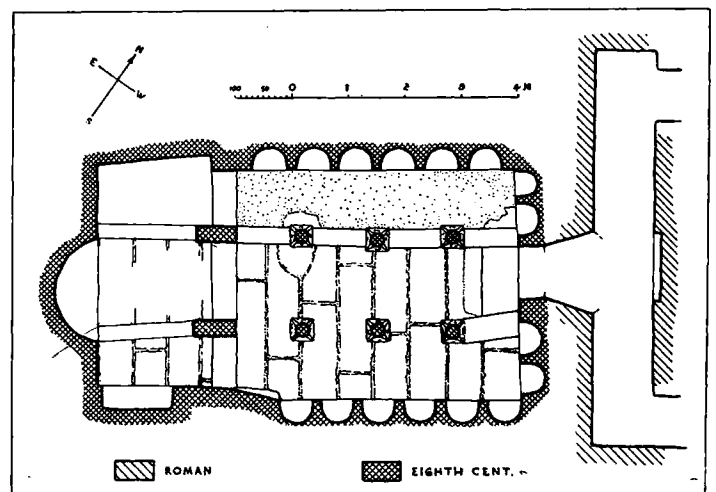


Fig. 235 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Ceiling of the crypt.

(1) CRESCIMBENI, *Stato*, pp. 67-69.

(2) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 297: "Scavando al disotto del pavimento di essa cripta per una profondità di m. 1.20, abbiamo traforato due strati di parallelepipedi, ed intaccato un terzo".

a roofed space, measuring 31 m by 17 m, with a wall on one of its long sides, flanking the podium, and open colonnades on the other three sides.

#### a) THE DIACONIA HALL

At an unknown date, the Loggia was walled up and sub-divided, in order to create the ecclesiastical building which is described in the biography of Hadrian as “*diaconia ... virginis Mariae, quae appellatur Cosmidin*”. The masonry used in this alteration was taken from older buildings, and consists of yellow Grotta Oscura tufa; large blocks in the lower courses, and smaller blocks, with some brick reinforcement, in the higher parts. The west end of the new structure coincided with the front of the Loggia, which faced the Forum Boarium. The Loggia arcades were blocked up but the outlines of the columns and arches were allowed to remain visible on the facade of the new building. Inside the Loggia, more than half of its area was taken up by a hall, so arranged as to lie trans-

versely across the former space; one end wall coinciding with the wall at the back of the Loggia, the other with the columned facade (fig. 236). This hall was roughly 17 m long, 7.40 m wide and 8.70 m high. It has been envisaged by Giovenale as a single nave, lit by the twelve arched openings which survive in the upper part of its side walls<sup>1</sup>. Unquestionably, it had low rooms on either side. These may have been separate chambers, which communicated with the central hall through doorways; but it is equally possible that the side rooms were aisles. In this case the *diaconia* hall would have been a small basilica. However, the upper walls of its nave were probably supported, not by columns, but by rectangular stone piers with timber beams. What may possibly be remains of both these features have been noted

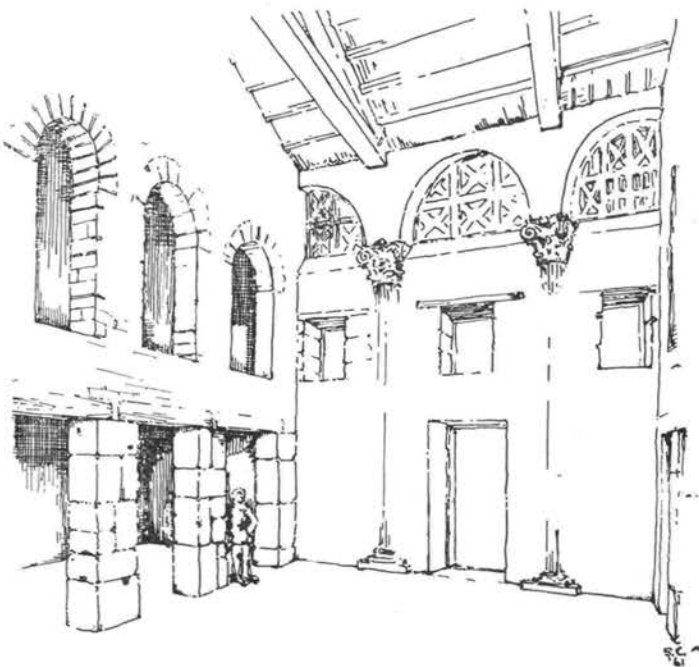


Fig. 236 — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Interior of the *diaconia*, conjectural reconstruction.

above<sup>2</sup>, although it must be admitted that, in each case, the evidence is slender. On the other hand there need be no doubt about the higher part of the hall, since its side walls are still in existence. Each side wall was pierced by six arched openings, 2.60 m high, at least 1.20 m wide, and not less than 4.40 m above the floor. Nevertheless these openings were certainly not windows; the hypothesis is excluded by the presence of other windows in the blocking walls of the Loggia facade, which prove that there were chambers on either side of the hall, at the level of the six openings. Such upper chambers may have been galleries, forming an integral part of the hall; or they may have had some distinct purpose and have communicated with the nave, through the six openings, merely for better illumination. The nave itself was illuminated from the west, by semicircular windows inserted in the arcades of the Loggia facade and by smaller rectangular windows below them. To either side of these, at the level of the galleries or upper rooms (as the case may be), other rectangular windows opened in the blocking walls

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 f.

(2) See above, p. 295 f.

of the arcades. They are higher than the arches in the side walls. It is probable that the Loggia roof remained intact at this stage, sheltering the whole *diaconia* hall irrespective of its internal partitions. To the east, the hall must have terminated against the rear wall of the Loggia, beyond which lay the ruins of the podium sanctuary; hence it is impossible to reconstruct an apse at the east end of the hall, as Giovenale proposes. Inside the hall, the bases of a pair of columns, axially placed at a short distance from what would have been the east wall, may be the remains of an altar; either as pedestals of a large stone table, or else as supports of a ciborium<sup>1</sup>. In the eighteenth century four marble transennae, decorated with crosses in the style of the sixth century, flanked the choir<sup>2</sup> and it is possible that they were used originally in the *diaconia* hall. However, since such slabs are not difficult to transfer from one place to another, it is a waste of time to speculate whether, or how, they might have been used in this church, or in its eighth- and twelfth-century successors<sup>3</sup>.

The north side of the *diaconia* hall was formed by walling up the north flank of the Loggia. Its south side, to be symmetrical, would have been where the south aisle wall still stands, but it has not been identified as yet. We do not know what was done with the southern part of the Loggia, outside the *diaconia* hall. It could have been walled up to create other chambers, or it may have continued to be an open Loggia, serving as a porch outside the hall. If so, the main entrance to the hall would probably have been in the south wall.

#### b). THE CHURCH OF HADRIAN I

Under Hadrian I (772-795), the ruins of the Roman building on the east side of the *diaconia* were pulled down, the rear wall of the Loggia was removed, and the *diaconia* hall was extended eastwards across the site of the former podium. The remains of the podium were used as foundations for the eastward extension of the building, and many heavy stone blocks from its superstructure were used again in the new church walls. The extension more than doubled the size of the former hall, increasing it to a total length of nearly 35 m. In plan, the new church was a basilica, with a nave and two aisles. At the east end, nave and aisles terminate at apses, built of large stones from the pagan structure, each apse having at its centre a two-light window<sup>4</sup>. The *diaconia* hall was heightened by the addition of a clerestory, which also continued in the eastern extension. There were twelve clerestory windows on each side. The six windows in the western part of the clerestory were set directly above the six arched openings of the *diaconia* side walls, and thus at slightly uneven spacing, ranging from 1.70 m to 2.45 m. The new windows in the eastern extension, on the other hand, were spaced at regular intervals of 1.65 m. At ground level, colonnades with horizontal stone lintels prolonged the sides of the *diaconia* hall, whether the latter were walls or rows of piers; either seems possible. The colonnades of the eighth-century extension have perished in the twelfth-century remodelling, but their existence can scarcely be doubted in view of the three apses. Moreover, a fragment of the trabeation has survived, incorporated in the end pier of the romanesque arcade, to the left of the main apse<sup>5</sup>. The spacing of the eighth-century

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 256, takes them as a *protiro* in front of the romanesque *schola cantorum*.

(2) CRESCIMBENI, *Istoria*, pp. 134 f.; GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

(3) Generally speaking it seems that, when the churches of Rome were refurbished in the cosmatesque period, most of the marble fittings which previously adorned them were removed to the masons' yards, and were subsequently redistributed for use as paving stones. Only thus can we account for the entire lack of consistency in the distribution of dark-age sculpture in Roman churches.

(4) The window of the central apse is a modern reconstruction, based on the remains of the original which Giovenale discovered (*op. cit.*, p. 160). In the right hand apse, the original window was better conserved (*ibid.*, p. 392), but that of the left hand apse is entirely modern.

(5) GIOVENALE (*op. cit.*, pp. 294-313) proposes a different reconstruction for the eighth-century extension. He interprets the surviving fragment of the eighth-century architrave as the lintel of a doorway, and thence seems led to presume that the three apses belonged each to a separate chapel, divided by longitudinal walls at ground level, but interconnected above by the small arcades. To the west of this triple church

columns is shown by the spacing of the clerestory windows; they must have been set at centers about 2.30 m apart. The aisles of the eastern extension were lit by five windows on either side of the church. In the western part of the building, the old galleries (or upper chambers) of the *diaconia* hall continued to exist; at least, their openings into the nave must still have been visible, because the new clerestory windows were spaced to correspond with them. On the other hand, the galleries cannot have been made to continue into the new extension, since they would have cut the side apses in half. Nevertheless, to continue the rhythm of the upper arcades, the nave walls in the new eastern part of the church were provided with arches, somewhat smaller than those of the *diaconia*, at the level where galleries might have extended, but for the apses. These little arcades may have been purely ornamental, but it is also possible that they were intended to accommodate reliquaries, flanking the high altar. The spacing of the arches is the same as that of the clerestory windows, and must also repeat that of the former ground-level colonnades which no longer exist. The interval which occurs in the arcading of the upper level at the beginning of the eastward extension, where one arch seems to have been omitted from the series, may conceivably correspond with flights of stairs, built in the side aisles of Hadrian's church to give access to the *diaconia* galleries or upper rooms; but such an arrangement is purely hypothetical. If there were no such stairs, the upper rooms of the *diaconia* must have been provided with parapets at the eastern end, to take the place of the Loggia rear wall, once that had been removed.

Below the chancel of the new church extended a crypt, which still exists substantially in its original form. It is hollowed out of the masonry of the podium and, for the reasons set out above (p. 299), must take the place of a smaller chamber which already existed in the pagan structure.

### c). THE ROMANESQUE ALTERATIONS

The last phase of development that has to be mentioned, was the drastic remodelling of the church in the twelfth century. The plan remained almost unchanged, but the galleries in the western portion of the nave, that is, in the former *diaconia*, were abolished and their arched openings to the nave were walled up to make space for wall paintings<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, arcades were inserted throughout the whole length of the church, to take the place of the former trabeated colonnades (and possibly the side walls of the *diaconia* hall, if they still existed). Presumably this difficult structural feat was performed in order to eliminate certain irregularities in the nave, which resulted from its having been built at two different periods. Thus remodelled, the church was provided with new cosmatesque pavements, ambones, *schola cantorum* and chancel screens. Soon afterwards, a campanile was built in the south-west corner of the church, partly blocking up the first two arches of the south aisle. Lastly, the two-storied narthex was added to the front, hiding the ancient facade in which, until then, the columns and arches of the original Loggia may still have remained visible<sup>2</sup>. The tomb of Alfano the *camerarius*, whose pious generosity paid for many

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the old *diaconia* hall is supposed to have had side aisles, corresponding with the side chapels of Hadrian's extension, and communicating with the nave through arcades. In order to allow these arcades reasonable proportions (since no trace of an arch is seen at the appropriate level in the surviving masonry of the *diaconia* side wall), Giovenale had to assume that the *diaconia* floor was 1.75 m below that of the Hadrianic extension. This, in turn, led to the further assumption that the Loggia columns formerly stood on pedestals (pp. 341-2). In support of this last theory Giovenale discovered a pavement of *opus signinum* at a depth of 1.75 m below the present floor (pp. 297-8), and he took this to be the original pavement of the *diaconia*. Although Giovenale's reconstruction is extremely ingenious, we venture to think that the alternatives outlined in these pages supply a simpler solution to the problem, and make fewer demands on the imagination. As for the stratum of *opus signinum*, might it not date from the period before the Loggia was built?

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-240.

(2) We have no evidence for any structural alterations to the façade, prior to the building of the romanesque narthex. At some date, the façade seems to have been re-plastered and decorated with painted panels; a fragment of this decoration appears in fig. 223. When this was done is uncertain, but it seems likely to have been part of Hadrian I's work. The present roof gable and the triple window of the west wall are entirely modern. We have no information about the appearance of the façade in the romanesque period.

of these improvements, was placed in the narthex. Still later, the upper part of the western facade was remodelled. A rose window was made in the centre, above the narthex roof, and the nave roof was concealed behind a huge projecting *cavetto*, comparable with the ones at S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Aracoeli.

## G. - CHRONOLOGY

Both the romanesque remodelling of the church and the construction of its eighth-century predecessor are well documented. The former is known to be earlier than 1123, from the dedicatory inscriptions of Alfano on the altar, chancel screens and bishop's throne, all of which give that year, and thus a *terminus ante quem* for the work. The year when the remodelling started cannot be established, but it seems unlikely to be earlier than 1120. Even that year is early for the use of the *falsa cortina* technique, which is found on all the twelfth-century wall faces at S. Maria in Cosmedin<sup>1</sup>. As for the eighth-century building, it is quite precisely dated between 772 and 795, through the biography of Hadrian I in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The setting of the relevant passage in the sequence of the biography suggests that the work did not take place early in his reign, yet not after 785<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps the year 780 may be suggested as reasonable.

The hall of the *diaconia* is harder to place. Obviously, the Loggia provides a *terminus post quem*, but the late fourth- or early fifth-century date for this building is based merely on brickwork characteristics and the style of the stuccoes, and only supplies a vague limit. The documents adduced by Giovenale, as evidence of a sixth-century date, are weak testimony when taken individually: a beautiful capital, supposedly of Ravennate origin; the sixth-century chancel screens illustrated by Crescimbeni; many tiles found in the roofs of the church, bearing kiln stamps from the reign of Theodoric (493-526) and Athalaric (526-534)<sup>3</sup>. But these are all movable elements, not least the chancel screens<sup>4</sup>, and the brickstamps of roof tiles are even more suspect than they might be, since it is possible that the *diaconia* continued to use the old Loggia roof, to give it protection from the elements. The building techniques may give a firmer hint. Admittedly, the small yellow tufa blocks are spoils from a much older building, and therefore of no help, but the technique of alternating brick and tufa voussoirs in the arches of the intermediate zone, is significant. Its use at S. Maria in Cosmedin is unique among the Early Christian buildings of Rome. The technique has its roots in classical Roman construction, and is often found in the provinces, from Sicily and Campania to Gaul, although rare in Rome itself<sup>5</sup>. It continues into Christian times, both in Gaul and in the neighbourhood of Naples. The apses of S. Giorgio Maggiore, and S. Giovanni Maggiore, and the Baptistery at Nocera Superiore provide examples<sup>6</sup>. Unluckily, the chronology of Early Christian building in the Naples region is not well established: S. Giorgio is traditionally, but uncertainly dated about 400, in the episcopate of Severus (368-408); S. Giovanni in that of Vincentius (554-557); while the baptistery of Nocera has been assigned (we think rightly) to the second half of the

(1) Notably in the filling walls of the gallery arcades, and the campanile (fig. 228).

(2) See *L. P. I*, pp. 512, and 522, n. 119.

(3) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 f.

(4) See above, note 3 on p. 301.

(5) Pompei, Casa della Regina Carolina (LUGLI, *La tecnica edilizia Romana*, Rome, 1957, pl. CXC VII, 2); Catania, Thermal building, now S. Maria della Rotonda (G. AGNELLO, *I monumenti bizantini della Sicilia*, Florence, 1951, fig. 67); Bordeaux, amphitheatre (CREMA, *Architettura Romana*, Turin, 1959, fig. 662).

(6) DE ROSSI, "L'abside della basilica Severiana di Napoli", *B. A. C.*, ser. 3, V (1880), pp. 144 ff; IDEM, "La basilica di S. Giovanni Maggiore a Napoli", *ibid.*, pp. 161 ff.; see also, *ibid.*, ser. 3, I (1876), pl. X; B. CAPASSO, "L'abside della antica basilica di S. Giorgio Maggiore" in: *Napoli, Commissione municipale per la conservazione dei monumenti*, Naples, 1881; M. STETTLER, "Das Baptisterium zu Nocera Superiore", *R. A. C.*, 17, (1940), pp. 83 ff. At S. Giovanni Maggiore, the masonry in question occurs in an arch which seems to antedate the present arcade of the apse; this latter attributed to the years 554-577 on account of the monogram of bishop Vincentius on an impost block. But is the block original or in second use?

sixth century, on stylistic grounds. The technique appears also in Sicily, at S. Salvatore in Catania<sup>1</sup>. Thus the construction of arches with alternating brick and stone voussoirs is a technique which might well have come to Rome from Southern Italy, to be employed once, and once only, in the Greek quarter<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the mere use of stone in the construction of the walls, and the precision of the workmanship, combine to indicate the employment of masons not from Rome. The ratio of openings to intervening piers in the gallery arcading suggests a late fifth or early sixth-century date. Lastly, if the hall was really a small basilica, with piers carrying an architrave to support galleries, the building type itself would indicate the sixth century, and Byzantine influence; though, in this case, the latter would come not so much from Naples and Sicily, as from Constantinople itself, or from Greece or the southern Balkans, where basilicas with trabeated colonnades and galleries were common in the sixth century<sup>3</sup>.

Admittedly, our knowledge of building technique in Rome, between the late fifth and the eighth century, is sadly limited. Nevertheless, the factors set out above combine to suggest a sixth-century date for the *diaconia* of S. Maria in Cosmedin, adding validity to the otherwise insufficient data, such as the brick stamps and the marble *cancelli*. Consequently, we see no reason to reject the date — suggested by Giovenale, thirty-five years ago, and generally accepted since — that the *diaconia* hall was built inside the Loggia, about 550 A. D. At the same time, we would stress that the technique of construction, and perhaps the overall design of the building, bespeak influences from the Greek part of the Empire, especially Southern Italy.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

### a). THE DIACONIA HALL

The technical characteristics of the sixth-century building point to the Greek-speaking provinces of Italy, and especially Naples and Sicily. Hence, it would not be surprising if, as is possible, the building turns out to have been a basilica with aisles and galleries. As is well known, this building type was common in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Aegean coast, throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, and possibly even from the fourth century. It penetrated with the Byzantine armies under Justinian into the reconquered western provinces, from North Africa to Rome. In Rome, Pelagius' basilica of S. Lorenzo *f. l. m.* is the first definitely established example<sup>4</sup>. It may have been preceded by the galleried basilica of SS. Nereo and Achilleo, which was inserted in the catacomb of Domitilla, we think between 523 and 536<sup>5</sup>. If the *diaconia* hall at S. Maria in Cosmedin belonged to this series, as seems likely, it too would rank as one of the earlier members of the group.

Links with the Greek provinces of Italy, with North Africa, or with the eastern coastlands, would be natural in a building which stood in what seems to have been the Greek quarter of the city. At the end of the eighth century the church was known to the compiler of the *Einsiedeln* itinerary as *aeclesia Graecorum*, the church of the Greeks<sup>6</sup>. Admittedly, this was after the church had been rebuilt by Hadrian I, but it seems likely that the name was applied to the church before Hadrian's time. According to the same source, the church was located in the *schola Graecorum*, the street of the

(1) G. AGNELLO, *op. cit.*, fig. 82.

(2) See below, p. 305.

(3) See above, Vol. I, pp. 36; Vol. II, pp. 143.

(4) See above, p. 44 f., and p. 143 f.

(5) But see O. MARUCCHI, *Monumenti del Cimitero di Domitilla (Roma Sotterranea Cristiana, I)*, Rome, 1914, p. 176 f.

(6) See above, p. 279 dig., end VIII cent.

Greeks; and it has been suggested that this quarter, close to the river port, had been occupied by Greeks either during the sixth-century Byzantine occupation of Rome, or at latest in the seventh-century<sup>1</sup>. At present, the question cannot be decided, but to the present writers it seems likely that the terms *schola Graeca* and *aeccllesia Graecorum* go back long before the eighth century.

On the other hand, there is some doubt whether the name *Cosmedin* was applied, either to the Greek quarter as a whole, or to its church, before the time of Hadrian I. In Constantinople, the name *Cosmidion* was used for the neighbourhood of the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian, at Eyub on the Golden Horn, as well as for the monastery itself<sup>2</sup>. Although not linked to a sanctuary of the Theotokos, the monastery in 787 apparently owned a famous painting of the virgin accompanied by the two titular saints<sup>3</sup>. For the church in Rome, the earliest known use of the epithet *Cosmidin* is by the writer of Hadrian's biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*; "... *praedictamque basilicam ultro citroque spatioso largans ... veram Cosmidin amplissima noviter reparavit*"<sup>4</sup>. This sounds as if another such church had formerly existed elsewhere, and that the pope erected "a true *Cosmidin*" in Rome, intended, one may suspect, for the use of a congregation of iconodule refugees which had recently been driven from the "false *Cosmidin*". It is tempting to imagine that the latter was the *Cosmidion* of Constantinople. But churches of the Virgin with the epithet *Cosmedin*, existed elsewhere in the Byzantine world. At Naples, *S. Maria ad Cosmedin* is first mentioned in a late eighth-century source, but it could be much earlier; it was one of the six (or seven) *diaconiae* of Naples<sup>5</sup>. At Ravenna, the Baptistery of the Arians was consecrated to the Virgin in 558, and at some indefinite later date took the name "in *Cosmedin*". It was in the hands of a Greek monastic congregation at least until the fall of the Exarchate, in 752<sup>6</sup>.

If, however, the first church building of *S. Maria in Cosmedin* at Rome dates from the sixth century, it either was not built to be a *diaconia*, or else the accepted date for the origin of the *diaconiae* must be revised<sup>7</sup>. *S. Maria in Cosmedin* is first specifically called a *diaconia* in the inscription of Eustathius which, from lettering and style, has correctly been assigned to the middle of the eighth century. The present consensus is, that *diaconiae* were instituted in Rome sometime between the pontificates of Gregory the Great (590-604) and Benedict II (684-685); and that they were already long established in the latter reign<sup>8</sup>. If this is so, our sixth-century church, with its galleries and upper rooms, must have been built at least half a century before being assigned the function of *diaconia*. On the other hand we need not be surprised at the presence, in the Greek quarter of Rome, in the sixth century, of a building which was in fact a *diaconia* even if the name had not been invented. *Diaconiae* are already heard of, in Naples, Ravenna and Pesaro<sup>9</sup>, in the last decade of the sixth century and the first years of the seventh. These three seaports all had Byzantine connections and the Greek community of Rome was apparently in close contact with two of them. The silence of offi-

(1) GIOVENALE, *op. cit.*, p. 304; CH. DIEHL, *Étude sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat...*, Paris, 1888, p. 278.

(2) R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, III, Les églises et monastères*, Paris, 1953, pp. 296 f; W. UNGER, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte (Quellenschriften zur Kunstgeschichte, XII)* Vienna, 1878, pp. 235, 244 f; J. P. RICHTER, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte (Quellenschriften...)*, Vienna, 1897, pp. 150 ff. The term *Kosmidion*, for convent and neighborhood, appears in the sources only since the eleventh century, but it may have been used long before for the fifth-century foundation. The identification of the *Kosmidion*, with a street or square in Constantinople (e. g. Duchesne, *L. P.*, I, p. 520, note 90), must be discarded.

(3) RICHTER, *op. cit.*, p. 154; JANIN, *loc. cit.*

(4) See above, p. 279, dig. 772-795.

(5) *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, MGH, SS. *Rer. Longob. VIII* (1878), p. 404; H. MARROU, "L'origine orientale des diaconies Romaines", *Mél. Ec. Franc.*, 57 (1940), pp. 95 f., esp. p. 103. Since 1636, its place has been taken by *S. Maria a Porta Nova*, see P. SARNELLI, *Nuova Guida di Napoli*, Naples, 1782, pp. 49 f.

(6) G. FABRI, *Memorie sagre di Ravenna Antica*, Venice, 1664, pp. 244 f.; C. RICCHI, *Guida di Ravenna*, Bologna, 1923, p. 21.

(7) DUCHESNE, *L. P.*, I, p. 364, n. 7; *IBID.*, II, p. 253, n. 7; J. LESTOCQUOY, "Administration de Rome et Diaconies...", *R. A. C.*, VII, (1930) pp. 261 f.; H. MARROU, *op. cit.*, *passim*. F. NIEDERER, *The Roman Diaconiae*, (diss. New York University, N. Y., 1950).

(8) H. MARROU, *op. cit.*, p. 96, n. 3.

(9) GREGORY THE GREAT, *Epistolae*, V, 25; X, 8; XI, 27, the last two being dated 601.



cial sources need not surprise us, if the *diaconia* was privately established. But in any case, we feel inclined to question whether the pontificate of Gregory I need really be accepted as a firm *terminus post quem* for the institution of *diaconiae* in Rome.

#### b). THE CHURCH OF HADRIAN I

Three features characterize the eighth-century church: apses at the ends of nave and aisles; openings in the upper walls of the nave beside the high altar; a hall crypt. In Syria and the eastern provinces lateral apses for the aisles, as well as the main apse at the end of the nave, were common features after the end of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>. The pattern is transferred to the west in the course of the sixth century, apparently by way of the Adriatic ports. The Cathedral at Parenzo, about 550, and the *basilica occidentalis* at Salona are well known examples<sup>2</sup>. The type remains uncommon, until in the eighth and ninth centuries it is generally adopted in northern Italy<sup>3</sup>. Thus it is not extraordinary to find it appearing in Rome in the latter part of the eighth century: first S. Angelo in Pescheria<sup>4</sup>, either 755 or 770, and then S. Maria in Cosmedin, in Hadrian I's rebuilding which we date about 780. However, in view of the widespread if rare use of triple apses at that time, it would probably be a mistake to associate its adoption at S. Maria in Cosmedin with that church's Greek connection.

The openings which pierce the upper walls of the church, in its eastern extension, can be explained in one of two ways. They may be a purely decorative motif, intended to continue the rhythm of the arches in the *diaconia* hall which already existed. Alternatively, they seem to be so distinctly reserved to the chancel part of the new church (by the omission of one opening at the west end of the row) that one cannot help suspecting some other purpose, for instance, that they were meant to accommodate small reliquaries of stone, or some other material. The crypt was presumably designed to receive some of the many relics which Hadrian transferred from the catacombs to the city<sup>5</sup>. The arcaded niches with shelves, in the aisles, announce their function no less clearly than the long, horizontal niche in the transept. They also suggest the models upon which the pope and his architect must have based their design. Arched niches, subdivided by shelves, are commonplace features in Roman *columbaria*; and whether or not the contemporaries of Hadrian I believed such *columbaria* to be pagan or Christian, they found the type eminently suitable as depositories for the martyrs' bones. The transept niche is obviously meant to imitate a *loculus* in a catacomb gallery. On the other hand, the plan of the crypt is quite extraordinary. Only vaguely, by its smallness and its low ceiling, does it suggest a catacomb chamber, such as the double cubiculum of the *coemeterium maius*<sup>6</sup>. But no catacomb chamber, yet found, is subdivided into nave and aisles by colonnades. However, among private funerary chapels and mausolea, the pattern was well known. The mausoleum of Probus Anicius, attached to the apse of Saint Peter's, seems to have been an outstanding example from the late fourth century. Alfarano's plan, and a few hints given

(1) Kalat Siman, ca. 480; Emmaus-Amwas, fifth or sixth century; Gerasa, St. Peter and Paul, ca. 540 and Procopius church, 526-527 (J. LASSUS, *Sanctuaraires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1948, 80 ff.; pp. 129 ff., C. KRAELING, *Gerasa*, New Haven, pp. 251 ff., 260 ff.).

(2) B. MOLAJOLI, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo*, Padua, 1942; E. DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, p. 59.

(3) Milan, S. Ambrogio; Pavia, S. Maria delle Cacce; Bardolino, S. Severo and others (P. VERZONE, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto Medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, *passim*); Torcello, Cathedral ca. 697 (R. CATTANEO, *Architecture en Italie*, Venice 1890, pp. 66 ff. and 185 ff.). Dignano, S. Michele di Bagnole (D. ROSMONDO, "La primitiva chiesa di S. Michele di Bagnole", *Atti e Mem. della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia*, 24 (1908), pp. 352 ff.) and S. Quirino (A. GNIRS, "Grundrissformen istrischer Kirchen", *Jbch. d. K. K. Zentralkommision*, VIII, (1910), Beiblatt, pp. 51 ff.).

(4) See above, Vol. I, pp. 64 ff.

(5) *L. P.*, I, p. 507.

(6) G. MARCHI, *Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane ...*, *Architettura*, Rome, 1844, pls. xxxv-xxxvii.

by Maffeo Vegio, show that it was a small basilica, or rather, a hall church, partly or entirely underground and subdivided longitudinally by two rows of columns with architraves<sup>1</sup>. Admittedly, Vegio's hints are ambiguous, and it is not certain that Alfarano's plan is reliable, since the tomb was destroyed a century before the plan was drawn up. However, until proof is forthcoming to the contrary, we venture the hypothesis that the architect of S. Maria in Cosmedin may well have drawn on the mausoleum of Anicius Probus as a model for the design of his crypt. Nevertheless, the crypt seems to depart from the supposed prototype in one important respect; that is, in inserting a transept between the nave and the apse. In this respect, the crypt seems to be an early example of the Carolingian revival of the Constantinian basilica plan; being nearly contemporary with the first appearance of that plan, on the other side of the Alps, at S. Denis. It may supply additional proof that this architectural renaissance of Early Christian patterns existed in parallel, simultaneously to the north and south of the Alps<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time, the crypt of S. Maria in Cosmedin is obviously an early example, perhaps the earliest, of an architectural expression which became very widespread in the early and high Middle Ages — namely, the hall crypt. Nevertheless its exact form, a tiny church with three naves, remains very uncommon. The only example which comes readily to mind is the nucleus of the crypt of S. Germain at Auxerre, which was designed in 841<sup>3</sup>.

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(1) TIBERII ALPHARANI, *De Basilicae Vaticanae ...*, ed. M. CERETTI (*Studi e Testi*, 26), Rome, 1914, p. 52. *k* on plan; M. VEGIO, *De rebus ... Basilicae S. Petri, AA. SS., Junii*, VII, pp. 78 f., recording the inscription on the marble architraves “*quae columnis in fronte atque utroque ex latere superposita erant*”. Also, see DUCHESNE, *Mél. Éc. Fr.*, xxii, 1902, p. 386.

(2) R. KRAUTHEIMER, “The Carolingian revival of the Constantinian Basilica”, *Art Bulletin*, 1942, pp. 1 f. For S. Denis, see revised plan by S. McK. CROSBY, *L'abbaye royale de S. Denis*, Paris, 1953.

(3) R. LOUIS, *Les églises d'Auxerre*, Paris, 1952, pp. 47 f.

## S. MARIA IN DOMNICA

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl)

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#### b) ILLUSTRATIONS

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- 1577 A. DUPERAC-LAFRERY, *View of the facade and south flank in bird's eye perspective, engraving; Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio* (Map of Rome, ed. F. EHRLE).
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- 1593 A. TEMPESTA, *View of the apse, campanile and northern flank in bird's eye perspective, woodcut; Urbis Romae Prospectus*, (Map of Rome, ed. F. EHRLE).
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- 1866 H. HÜBSCH, *Ground plan and view of the interior looking toward the apse, lithograph; Monuments de l'architecture chrétienne*, pls. IV, fig. 8 and LIII, fig. 2.
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### C. — DATES

- End of VIII cent. Reference in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* to " *santa maria domnica* " (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidl.*, col. 443).
- 795-816 Leo III donates to the *diaconia* of S. Maria in Domnica two embroidered textiles, one decorated with a scene of the life of the Virgin: " *Et in diaconia sanctae Dei genetricis qui vocatur Dominica fecit veste de stauraci* " (L. P., II, 9); " *Verum etiam et in diaconia ipsius Dei genetricis dominae nostrae quae appellatur Dominica fecit vestem rubeam alinthia, habentem in medio tabulam de chrisoclabo cum storia eiusdem Dei genetricis ex margaretis ortam et periclisin de chrisoclabo* " (L. P., II, 14). He further donates a silver and a golden crown, the latter decorated with precious gems, to hang over the main altar: " *...et in diaconia sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Dominica pari modo fecit coronam ex argento, pens. lib. VIII* " (L. P., II, 19). " *Atque in diaconia ipsius Dei genetricis quae appellatur Dominica, fecit regnum ex auro mundissimo, pendentem super altare maiorem, ex gemmis pretiosis ornatum, pens. lib. II* " (L. P., II, 16). Still later, he contributes a textile decorated with a Crucifixion, and a set of curtains: " *In diaconia vero ipsius Dei genetricis quae appellatur Dominica, fecit veste alba oloririca rosata, habentem in medio tabula de tyreo cum storia Crucifixi, necnon et rotas de chrisoclabo, ornata in circuitu de quadrupulo. Fecit ubi supra cortina fundata, ornata in circuitu de blatin* ". (L. P., II, 30).
- 817-824 Paschal I rebuilds the church in its entirety, after the threat of imminent collapse of an older building. He decorates the main apse with a mosaic, contributes a silver

ciborium and a silver panel (*propiciatorium*) for the altar. He adorns the confessio with silver grills outside and inside and also contributes a lamp (?) to be hung above. He further provides a silver arch, an altar cloth with scenes of the Nativity, and other precious textiles. The altar is furnished with hangings, and other textiles are provided for the rood beam “*ante vestibulum altaris*”. The pope also donates curtains for the nave arcades, and smaller ones for those of the chancel. The entrance to the chancel is furnished with hangings, and the entrance to the church with large curtains: “*Ecclesiam denique sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae dominae nostrae quae appellatur Dominica, olim constructam et iam ruine proximam, sollerti vigilantia praefatus pontifex ampliorem melioremque quam ante fuerat a fundamentis aedificans renovavit. Absidamque eiusdem ecclesiae musibo mirifice decoravit. Ubi etiam et plurima obtulit dona, scilicet ciborium ex argento, pens. lib. CCCXXXII; propiciatorium sacri altaris ex lamminis argenteis compta decoravit. Confessionem quoque eius cum regulis intus et foris mirum in modum perficiens adornavit, pens. lib. CXV, unc. III. Item ubi supra fecit gabatam ex auro purissimo, pens. lib. II, unc. VIII. Verum etiam et arcum ex argento et columnelle II cum gammadiis duabus, pens. lib. (lacuna). Immo et in sacro altare fecit vestem de chrisoclabo, habentem storiā dominicae Nativitatis domini nostri Iesu Christi, mire pulchritudinis exornatam. Item ubi supra fecit vestem de stauraci pulcherrimam, cum periclisin de blati; item aliam vestem de blati bizantea, habentem tabulam de chrisoclabo, cum vultu sanctae Dei genetricis et angeli obsequia stantes, cum periclisin de stauraci; pariterque et aliam vestem de stauraci, habentem pavones et in medio crucem de blatin. Porro et vestes II de quadrapulo, habentes in medio cruces de blatin. Item ubi supra fecit vestem ex auro textam cum periclisin de blatin; coopertorium rubeum de syrigo I. Fecit etiam in circuitu altaris vela rubea sirica IIII, cum grammadiis et cruce de quadrapulo. Hic venerabilis praesul obtulit in trabem ante vestibulum altaris vela tyrea III, et de quadrapulo V; in arcos maiores eiusdem ecclesiae fecit vela de quadrapulo numero XX, et per arcos presbiterii vela parva de stauraci IIII; simulque in ingressu presbiterii vela tyrea III. Hic benignissimus pontifex fecit in ingressu iamdictae ecclesiae cortinam maiorem de quadrapulo, cum periclisin de fundato*” (L. P., II, 55). The same pope later donates silver grills (probably for the *confessio*): “*Venerabilis etenim praesul fecit in ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Dominica rugas ex argento, pens. lib. LXVI*” (L. P., II, 63).

Inscription in the apse below the mosaic, recording the restoration of the church:

“ISTA DOMUS PRIDEM FUERAT CONFRACTA RUINIS  
NUNC RUTILAT JUGITER VARIIS DECORATA METALLIS  
ET DEUS ECCE SUUS SPLENDET CEU PHOEBUS IN ORBE  
QUI POST FURVA FUGANS TETRAE VELAMINA NOCTIS  
VIRGO MARIA TIBI PASCHALIS PRAESUL HONESTUS  
CONDIDIT HANC AULAM LAETUS PER SAECLA MANENDAM”.

The monogram of the pope is placed in the soffit of the apse.

- XI, XII, and XIII** The clergy of the church are referred to by their titles “*archidiaconus*” and “*diaconus cardinalis*” in the *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae* (VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 361), Petrus Mallius’ *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae* (IDEM, p. 438) and Cencius Camerarius’ *Itinerarium secundae feriae paschae* (IDEM, p. 230, 309).
- cent.**
- 1447** The church is in poor repair. “*La chiesa di S. Maria in Dominica che secondo dimostra, e per gir(gitare?) presto per terra...*” (BIONDO, *Roma Instaurata*, ed. Venice, 1543, fol. 200). The Latin text (*De Roma instaurata*, Venice, 1510, f. 11v.) has “*brevi ut apparet ruitura*”.
- 1452** The church is mentioned as “*unser lieben frauen zum schifflein*” (N. MUFFEL, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Tübingen, 1876, p. 42). See also lecture notes of Pomponius Laetus, as quoted by de Rossi, “*Note di Topografia Romana raccolte dalla bocca di Pomponio Leto ...*”, *Studi e documenti di Storia e Diritto*, III (1882), pp. 49 ff., esp, p. 62: “*... templum S. Mariae in Domnica sive in Navicula ubi est navicula marmorosa ...*”.
- 1489-1513** The church, in need of repair, is restored by Giovanni Medici, title cardinal from 1489 until his election to the papal throne, as Leo X, in 1513. Payment records are preserved but, having been written down after 1527, the dates of the entries are not always reliable. The first list, undated, includes new window and door frames, the marble cornice and lettering in the apse, capitals and bases for the two porphyry columns at the apse opening, two coats-of-arms of Cardinal Medici and adjustment to the arms of Innocent VIII, also four new capitals for the columns of the old portico. These works were evaluated under the supervision of Andrea Sansovino. “*Stima... 4 finestre di travertino ... 8 canne di cornice di marmo alla tribune grande; l’occhio di marmo;*

2 capitelli e 2 basi e 2 zocholi e p. la colonna (sic) di porfido alla tribuna; per la porte grande della chiesa; per 2 porte pichole; per 4 capitelli di tevertino che se avevano a costruire alle colonne tonde del porticale da prima; p. 1 capitello quadro a base abbozzata; p. 4 canne di schaglione; p. 2 arme del cardinale di Medici e per aconciatura di quello di pp. Innocento che sono nella facciata; p. le lettere ... nel fregio ... nella tribuna grande; p. la stima della barcha ...” (Archivio, Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Lib. I di Francesco Magalotti, p. 20; repeated, *ibid.*, p. 47, with date, June 23, 1513, and with the correct version “per le colonne di porfido”, and with the addition “per 10 finestre di travertini”. Published by GIOVANNONI, *op. cit.*, p. 157 f.). These restorations are also mentioned in contemporary guide books: “*Ecclēsia S. Mariae in Domnica, vulgo in Navicula... Ioannes de Medicis ... Cardinalis ... eiusdem tituli, collapsam, in pristinam formam restituit*” (FRANCESCO ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae Urbis Romae*, ed. A. Schmarsow, pp. 7 f.); “... sanctae Mariae in Domnica ... collapsam a solo pucherrime refecit Leo X in minoribus existens” (FRA MARIANO, *Itinerarium*, p. 144). The restorations are also recorded in inscriptions at the apse and on the architrave of the portico: “IOHANNES MEDICES S. R. E. DIACONUS CARDINALIS HANC AEDEM DIVAE MARIAE VIRGINI IN DOMNICA NUNCUPATAE DICATAM QUAE SUI CARDINALATUS DENOMINATIO EXISTIT VETUSTAE COLLABENTEM INSTAURAVIT” (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 175), and “DIVAE VIRGINI TEMPLUM IN DOMNICA DIRUTUM IO. MEDICES DIAC. CARD. INSTAURAVIT” (*ibid.*).

- 1513-1514** Construction of the new portico, the ceiling of the nave, the aisle vaults, raising of the nave walls, numerous repairs, replacement of the Navicella; payment records of Nov. 2, 1513, May 2 and 6, 1514. “... *Fondamento achanto (or avanti?) a la chiesa di verso la vigna lungho p. 27 ... al disotto dello iscaglione del ... porticale ..., el s. do appiccato col primo ... lungho p. 80 ..., el 3° ecc ... el 4° ecc ...; fondamenti dei pilastri ... del porticale; ... pilastri sino al disopra della cimasa e il muro sopra detti pilastri e archi e architravi e cornice lungi p. 126; ... pilastri a ricontro nel muro della chiesa; la volta ...; ... lo tetto ...; le due nave messe in volta della chiesa; ... le due cappellette delle navi in testa; la cappella grande messo e adatto (?) due colonne di porfido ... e tagliata e ritondata detta cappella e messo fresio e cornice da muro ... e fatto uno podio attorno ...; l'alzatura del tetto ...; li muri sopra la vecchia acanto al tetto; lo muro sopra la cappella maggiore ..., racconciatura ... del tetto ...; ... ponte per dipintori in chiesa; per murare 4 finestre ..., p. murare l'occhio ...; palcho ...* (Archivio, Fabbrica di S. Pietro, *op. cit.*, f. 20 v., summed up on f. 47, with added note for the gilding of the ceiling and «nave di marmo a spese di M. Leonardo Bartolini” (GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*). These activities are confirmed by the arms of Leo X with the papal tiara, and his personal device in the vaults of the portico and the aisles. They are also mentioned by UGONIO (*Stationi*, 1588, cc. 119 f.) with additions concerning the glazing of the windows and the painting of the lion frieze in the nave, in allusion to the pope's name. “*La faccia ... ha un bel portico con archi di Trevertini, fattovi da Papa Leone X ... Il coperto delle due navi piccole Papa Leone fece fare a volta ... Il fregio con quei Leoni che gira nell'atto attorno la chiesa fece fare Papa Leone ad allusione del suo nome ... rifecede invitriato le finestre di questa chiesa ... Et vi fece una Navicella di marmo nova drizzandola sopra una bella base dinanzi alle sue porte. La vecchia si vede quivi appresso mezza rotta, à lato al portico*”.
- 1566-1567** Restoration by the title cardinal Ferdinand Medici during the first year of the pontificate of Pius V recorded by the inscription: “FERDIN. MEDICES. CARD. TEMPLI ORNAMENT. MEMORIAEQ. LEONIS X RENOVANDAE. F. PII. V. ANNO. I” (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 175). These restorations comprised the construction of the nave ceiling and the pavement: “*Il palco di quella di mezzo maggiore possedendo questa Diaconia ha fatto Ferdinando Card. de Medici ... Il medesimo Card. Ferdinando ha rinnovato, & ornato il pavimento*” (UGONIO, *op. cit.*, 119).
- before **1686** Unidentified repairs to the church: “... *ultimamente risarcita di nuovo*” (TITI, *Nuovo Studio di Pittura*, 1686, p. 184).
- 1699** An altar is erected to the right of the entrance by Joseph de Nova, the only remaining canon. Another one was planned on the left side: “*Ad praesens vero unicus in ea superest Canonicus, nomine Ioseph de Nova ... ad ingredientium dexteram Altare variorum marmorum incrustationibus ornatū aedificavit, aliudque simile ad sinistrā construere intēdit*” (CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monumenta*, II, Rome, 1699, p. 142).
- 1700-1721** Clement XI decorates the portico (?) with iron grills and restores the mosaic in the









Fig. 238 — S. Maria in Domnica. Interior (Photo: *Gab. Fot. Naz.*)

rooms may be to one another and to the *Statio Vigilium*, it is clear (as Colini observes) that, contrary to earlier belief, they have no connection with the *Castra Peregrinorum* which extended below and beside S. Stefano Rotondo, on the other side of the Via della Navicella. Although no Roman street pavement has yet been found below Via della Navicella it is probable that such a street existed. In medieval times its place was taken by the narrow Via della Mole di S. Sisto, which curved down the hill towards Porta Metronia and the church of S. Sisto Vecchio<sup>1</sup>.

#### E. — ANALYSIS<sup>2</sup>

As pointed out above, the church is a simple basilica with nave, aisles and three apses (fig. 238). Its clear length from the facade to the springing of the apse is 30.88 m, its clear width 20.12 m from wall to wall. The outer walls differ slightly in thickness, the one to the left being 0.58, the one to the right 0.65 m. The nave and aisles are divided from each other by two rows of nine columns. Together with piers projecting from the facade and the rear wall respectively, they carry the ten arches of the arcades on either side. The apses which terminate aisles and nave are semi-circular in plan, and are bonded into the walls of the church. The width of the nave, measured from center to center of the columns, is 12.52 m; in the clear it is 11.80 m. The aisles are each

(1) V. KOUDELKA, "Le Monasterium Tempuli", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 31, 1961, pp. 5 ff., esp. p. 22.

(2) This analysis depends very largely on observations which were made in 1938. More recently, the incumbent's uncompromising hostility to archaeological research has made further study impossible.

3.80 m wide, measured from the center of the column to the outer walls. The spacing of the columns, again from center to center, average 2.90 m, roughly 10 R. ft.; the clerestorey walls are 0.78 m thick. Five large rectangular windows in each clerestorey open into the nave, three similar windows into each of the aisles. At present the level of the church floor is 70 cm above that of Via della Navicella and this has been so at least since the early sixteenth century. The coffered ceiling of the nave, in its present state, hangs 14.60 m above the floor. The aisles, covered with groin vaults, are 6.75 m high. An apartment, presumably of early nineteenth-century date, extends above the right-hand aisle.

The entrance portico, three steps above street level and one step below nave level, was built in 1513-1514. The abundant documentation<sup>1</sup> is confirmed by the papal arms of Leo X in the vault and by the lions heads (an allusion to the pope's name) on the keystones of the arches. At the same time, the aisles were vaulted and the frieze of lions and genii was painted at the top of the nave walls; both being dated by the papal arms, Leo's personal device<sup>2</sup>, the allusion to his name and by the payment accounts. The remodelling of the nave by raising its walls, building a new roof and installing a ceiling (which has now disappeared) probably occurred at this period, as the payments of May 1, 1514 suggest, and it is also likely that the ten windows of the nave walls were made at the same time; they are listed in the summary of June 23, 1513<sup>3</sup>. However, the restorations had been started while Leo was still a cardinal (1489-1513); his arms on the facade are surmounted by the cardinal's hat, and the inscriptions on the entablatures of the facade and apse confirm

it. It is likely that the undated first list of payments, which is entirely concerned with sculptor's work, and its summary, dated April 15, 1513, refer to the earlier campaign, which thus comprised<sup>4</sup>: the apse cornice, the marble lattice of the oculus in the facade, the capitals, bases and plinths of the porphyry columns at the corners of the apse, and the door frames of the nave and aisles. It is possible that this first campaign was preceded by an even earlier programme, started during the years between Giovanni Medici's preferment to the rank of cardinal, 1489, and the death of Innocent VIII in 1492. In this early stage a porch

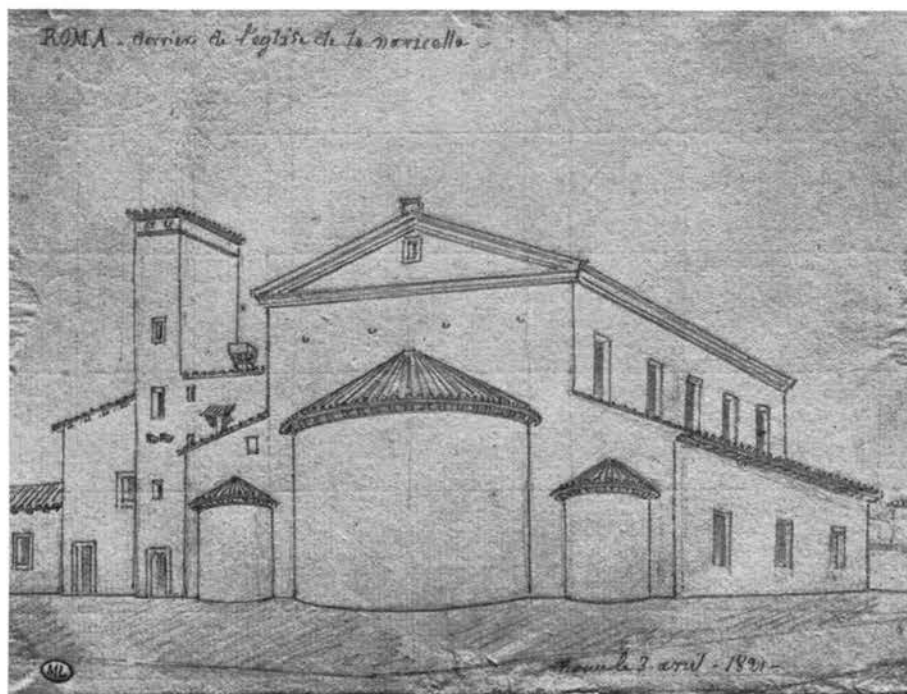


Fig. 239 — S. Maria in Domnica, Prosper Barbot, View from the south-west (Louvre, *Cab. des Dessins*).

may have been built and four windows pierced in the nave walls. They have been superseded, and have left no trace except the payments for "four capitals for the round columns in the former porch" and "four travertine windows"<sup>5</sup>. However, the passage is obscure and could equally well refer to the repair of a medieval narthex.

(1) See above, p. 00, dig. 1513-1514.

(2) A yoke surrounded by the word SUAVE; see J. Gelli, *Motti, divise, imprese...*, Milan, 1916, p. 593.

(3) See above, p. 310, dig. 1489-1513.

(4) See note 3.

(5) See note 3.

- apse: "Ora è stata notabilmente restaurata da Clemente XI, che ornò le Porte con cancellate di ferro" (PANCIOLOI, *Roma Sacra e Moderna*, 1725, p. 40); "esso [the mosaic] fu ristorato d'ordine di Clemente XI" (NIBBY, *Roma nell'anno 1838*, I, parte moderna, p. 373).
- 1714** Inscription recording the construction of a campanile, possibly the structure shown on the adjoining house on the plan of Falda:  
 CURTIVS. S. R. E. DIAC.  
 CARD. ORIGVS  
 EREXIT ANNO  
 DNI. MDCCXIV  
 (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 177).
- 1752** Restorations of Benedict XIII and dedication of altars, recorded in an inscription on the wall of the left aisle: "BENEDICTUS PP. XIII /.../ ECCLESIAM HANC A SE INSTAURATAM / AC PRISTINO RESTITUTAM DECORE / ..." (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 177).
- 1823-1824** Restorations under Pius VII and Leo XII, financed by the title Cardinal Tommaso Riario-Sforza, as recorded in an inscription on the left wall:  
 PROVIDENTIA. PII VII. ET. LEONIS. PONT. MAX.  
 HAC. AEDE. D. N. MARIAE. AD. NAVICULAM. IN. COELIO.  
 IN KYRIACA. SEU. DOMNICA. ANTIQUITUS. NUNCUPATA.  
 IN. MELIOREM. FORMAM.  
 PER. BELISARIUM. CRISTALDUM. V. C. PRAEF. AERARI.  
 UNA. CUM. PORTICU. RESTITUTA. ATQ. ESAURITA.  
 . . . . .  
 THOMAS. RIARIUS. SFORZA. DIACONUS. CARDINALIS.  
 IO. DE. MEDICIS. POSTEA. LEONIS. X.  
 PRISTINI. EIUSDEM. TEMPLI. INSTAURATIONIS, AEMULATOR.  
 AD. PERPETUAM. VETERIS. AC. NOVAE.  
 PONTIFICIAE. LIBERALITATIS. MEMORIAM.  
 PONI. CURAVIT. ANNO. CIC. IC. CCC. XXXIII. PONT. LEON XII.  
 ANNO I (FORCELLA, *op. cit.*, p. 178); "Nel pontificato di Pio VII il card. Raffaele (sic) Riario-Sforza, titolare, assieme ai suddetti monaci fecero in questo tempio tutti que' ristoramenti di cui abbisognava" (NIBBY, *op. cit.*, II, I, p. 373).
- 1881** Under Cardinal Domenico Consolini the church is once more restored, according to an inscription in the church. These restorations are said to have included the renovation of the altars, the portico, and the construction of an opening into the sacristy. "ECCLESIAM S. MARIA IN DOMNICA MONACHIS BASILIANIS GRAECIS MELCHITIS A S. IOANNE PABT. E COENOBIO SCIOAIRIENSI IN MONTE LIBANO A CLEMENTE XII A. A. MDCCXXXIX AD TRIBUTAM DIONYSIUS SAVAYA PROCURATOR GEN. A. MDCCCLXXXI INSTAURANDAM CURAVIT FAUTORE ATQUE AUSPICE DOMINICO CONSOLINI DIAC. CARD. TIT. EIUSDEM" (CATTAN, "La chiesa di S. Maria in Domnica detto vulgarmente della Navicella" *Bessarione*, 1917, p. 388).
- 1935** Restoration of the apse mosaics (A. TERENCE, "Notizie sulla chiesa di S. Maria in Domnica. Restauri dei Mosaici", *Bollettino d'arte*, ser. 3, XXIX, 1935, pp. 199-201).
- 1957** Construction of new open crypt at the sole initiative of the parish priest.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Maria in Domnica or S. Maria della Navicella (pl. XXII) rises on the crest of the Celian hill, and is partly enclosed in the gardens of the Villa Mattei, which lie to the southwest. The plan of the church is simple; it consists of a nave and two aisles, communicating by arched colonnades, and terminating in three semicircular apses. The axis of the church runs east-north-east to west-south-west, but for convenience sake we shall speak simply of east and west. The portico (fig. 237), a renaissance design long attributed to Raphael but, as recently published evi-



Fig. 237 — S. Maria in Domnica seen from the north (Photo: Alinari).

dence shows, really the work of Andrea Sansovino<sup>1</sup>, faces Via della Navicella to the east, which at that point is enlarged into Piazza della Navicella. The center of the piazza is occupied by the Navicella, the stone ship which has given its name to church, piazza, and street. It was set up in 1513-1514 and bears on its prow and pedestal the badge and arms of Leo X. However, a stone boat is mentioned in this neighbourhood in the middle of the fifteenth century and may well have existed earlier<sup>2</sup>. The gardens of Villa Mattei, which partly surround the church, have been gradually developed since 1553<sup>3</sup>.

A number of Roman constructions have been found near the church, and some have come to light recently underneath the church itself<sup>4</sup>. The most important are the remains of the precinct barracks of the fire brigade and police, the *Statio Cohortis V Vigilium*. They survive in the form of two rows of comparatively small rooms which follow the slope of the hill along the east boundary of Villa Mattei and the west side of Via della Navicella. The rooms nearest to the church open westwards in the direction of the gardens; those further down the hill, projecting eastwards beyond the line of the rear wall of the rooms closer to the church, face towards the Via della Navicella. There is no proof that these two groups of rooms belonged to the same building, but those closer to the church are identified as the *Statio Vigilium* by two bases, with inscriptions dated 205 and 210, which were found in 1820 approximately 18 m. from the south flank of the church and 2.50 m. below the surface of the ground<sup>5</sup>. Two rooms found in the gardens of Villa Mattei in 1814, approximately 25 m. west of the left side apse of the church, may or may not belong to the *Statio Vigilium*. But it is most likely that the *Statio* included another group of rooms which were discovered in 1957, in and below the new crypt. Their axis coincides with the rooms which lie to the south of the church, and their brickwork points to an early third-century date. Nevertheless, whatever the relation of all these

(1) G. GIOVANNONI, *op. cit.* Also above, p. 311 dig. 1513-14.

(2) See above, p. 310, dig., 1452.

(3) LANCIANI, *Storia Scavi*, 1902-1912, III, pp. ff.

(4) COLINI, *Celio*, p. 228 ff.; MATTHIAE, *S. Maria in Domnica*, pp. 9 f. and 46, and, following him, VOELKL, *op. cit.*

(5) COLINI, *loc. cit.* and fig. 291, reproducing three sheets from the survey made at the time of excavation by A. CELLES. *Raccolta Lanciani*, 16571.

The present ceiling of the nave with its Marianic emblems dates from 1566-1567, and to the same period one would like to assign the decorative painted panels between and below the clerestory windows, with their Marianic inscriptions enclosed in cartouches. It is not known when the aisle windows were made. They seem to be imitations of the clerestory windows and they must be earlier than 1820 since they appear on both Celles' drawings and Barbot's sketch (fig. 239). Until the

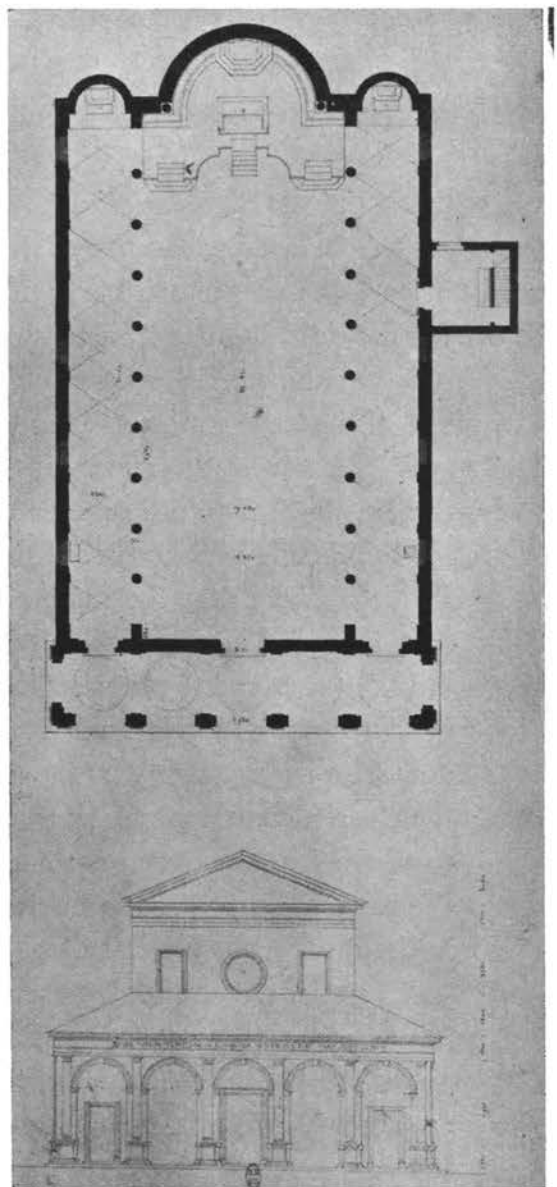


Fig. 240 — S. Maria in Domnica. Labrouste, plan and elevation (Paris, *Bibl. Nat. Cab. d'Est*).

railings and by a new altar, all *stile novecento*. At the same time, a large open crypt was laid out below the apse, its opening toward the nave corresponding with the seventh column in the nave colonnades, and the floor of nave and aisles was embellished with an elaborate marble pavement. In removing the old floor, various classical and Early Christian sculptured fragments were found, re-used in the pavement<sup>1</sup>, but we do not know whether this pavement was of the ninth or sixteenth century.

Despite the remodellings of the last five hundred years, the original core of the church is well preserved; and also is well dated by the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*, by the inscription of Pascal I which runs along the foot of the apse mosaic, and by his monogram at the apex of



Fig. 241 — S. Maria in Domnica. Monogram of Paschal I in the apse mosaic (*Gab. Fot. Naz.*).

recent thorough and somewhat unfortunate remodelling of the choir, the altar and chancel were of baroque design, and were presumably the ones which Benedict XIII dedicated in 1752. The eighteenth-century choir occupied the apse and the first bay of the nave, and was raised six steps above the nave floor. In the center, at the foot of the altar, the chancel wall curved back to give access to the *fenestella confessionis* by six descending steps (fig. 240). Underneath the altar, the small *confessio* was covered by a sloping barrel vault; the railings at the foot of the chancel were the same date as the altar. These features were replaced in 1957 by shining marble steps flanked by straight

(1) PORCU, *loc. cit.*

the apse arch (fig. 241)<sup>1</sup>. Except for the portico, the entire structure is of one build; the facade, the walls of the aisles, the nave walls and the three apses all being homogeneous<sup>2</sup>.

All the walls of the building are at present covered with plaster, but parts of them were checked by us in 1937-38 and again by the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio* in 1954. They are faced with brickwork which has a modulus of approximately five bricks and five mortarbeds in a height of 30 cm. The bricks are spoils from ancient buildings and vary in thickness from 2 to 4 cm. The mortarbeds are from 1.4 to 3 cm. in thickness<sup>3</sup>. The brick coursing is fairly regular and even, and the mortar is grey, with large quantities of pozzolana. The wall of the central apse rests on a foundation of large tufa blocks, probably taken from the Servian wall.

The nave arcades rest on continuous foundation walls which extend from the facade to the rear wall of the nave. It is said that individual foundation blocks of brickwork rise from these walls, to support each column, but this detail is no longer visible<sup>4</sup>. The column shafts are all of granite and are quite well matched, except for minor variations in diameter. The two shafts on the left side nearest the entrance are pink granite, all the others grey. The bases are spoils and differ slightly



Fig. 242 — S. Maria in Domnica. Fifth-century capital in the left colonnade (Photo: *Gab. Fot. Naz.*).



Fig. 243 — S. Maria in Domnica. Ninth-century capital in the left colonnade (Photo: German Archeological Institute).

in height, presumably to equalise the varying lengths of the shafts and capitals. The capitals vary greatly in size and style. The eighth in the right hand colonnade has an unusual pattern of tendrils and leaves. The others are of standard Corinthian type, but they differ greatly in style and date. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 in the right colonnade and nos. 2, 5 and 9 in the left, are spoils from Roman buildings of the first three centuries. Nos. 7 and 8 in the left colonnade are of fourth-century pattern, while nos. 2, 3 and 9 on the right, and no. 4 on the left (fig. 242), are of the fifth-century<sup>5</sup>.

(1) See above, p. 309 f., dig., 817-824.

(2) LANGIANI, *Forma Urbis*, erroneously suggests a pre-Christian date for the outer wall of the south aisle, a medieval date for the lateral apses.

(3) These dimensions were measured by us in 1938 in the roof space of the south aisle.

(4) PORCU, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

(5) KAUTZSCH, *Kapitellstudien*, pp. 237, f., convincingly compares these capitals with examples in Constantinople which date from the second quarter of the fifth century. (Disregarding the occidentation of S. Maria in Domnica, Kautzsch confuses north with south and east with west in his description). See also, R. CATTANEO, *L'architecture en Italie du VI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Venice, 1890, p. 168.

Only one, the sixth capital on the left side, seems to be of the ninth century (fig. 243). The clear distinction between the upper and lower tiers of foliage, and the neat, dry sculpture of its widely separated acanthus leaves, suggest that it is contemporary with the foundation of the church.

The semicircular arches of the colonnades spring from thin and barely noticeable impost blocks. Above them, some of the original round-headed clerestorey windows have survived in the wall space between the rectangular sixteenth-century openings and, though now hidden by new plaster, could be seen until 1957 through gaps in the revetment. In fact, their outlines are still faintly visible on the south side of the church; the apex of the blocked openings being at a level which is about two thirds of the height of the sixteenth-century windows. The original window sills were roughly 9.20 m above the nave floor; the openings were 1.20 m wide and 1.80 m high. The semicircular arched window heads are made with single rings of *bessales*, in which the springers are already sharply inclined. The height of the original clerestorey walls cannot be determined at present but, if some of the external plaster were removed, no doubt the part which was added at the time of Leo X would be easily distinguishable<sup>1</sup>. The thickness of the original wall, 0.78 m, can be measured at a doorway which leads from the organ loft into the attic above the aisle vaulting<sup>2</sup>. The half-gables of the original aisle end-walls have survived and are 0.73 m thick. At the east end of the aisle we note that the half-gable has been heightened by about 45 cm., presumably in the sixteenth century. Above the vaulting of the left aisle, 25 cm. below the level where the present roof meets the wall of the nave, the beam-holes of an earlier roof are preserved. Each hole is 20 cm. wide and 25 cm. high, and they are spaced at intervals of 2.66 m. A meter lower down, we note another row of holes of the same size, apparently intended for the horizontal beams of the roof.

Externally all three apses are built of brick, and the main apse and the northern side apse have cornices decorated with crudely profiled marble brackets. These differ in that the ones on the main apse have a simple *cyma*, whereas those of the north apse have *fasciae* as well as *cymata*. It has been suggested that the upper part of the north apse differs from the lower part and is therefore later, and the bracket cornices of both apses have consequently been attributed to a later medieval period<sup>3</sup>; but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. In the southern apse there are no brackets<sup>4</sup>, and the wall has certainly been raised; but this was a sixteenth-century modification.

Above the apse opening, on the interior of the nave end-wall, the mosaic of Paschal I terminates at a height of 11.25 m above the floor.

It must remain undecided whether or not an annular crypt existed in the original church of Pope Paschal I, as in so many other carolingian Roman churches. The old *confessio*, with its sloping vault, which formerly existed below the eighteenth-century altar could possibly have been a remnant of such a crypt, but the last traces, if it ever existed, must have been destroyed when the present open crypt was built in 1954. Unhappy though the construction of this crypt is, it brought to light a number of older structures, some of Roman date and others part of the present church. The Roman walls were partly destroyed to make way for the new crypt, but the details were noted by the observers of the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio*<sup>5</sup>, by whose permission it is included in our survey (Plate XXII). The Roman structure is rectangular and has the same orientation as the church. Foundation walls of shutter-cast concrete, retaining the grooves left by the former wooden shuttering posts, rose to within one meter of the present church floor. Brick faced walls which stood above these foundations had the usual character of early third-century construction. The bricks

(1) See above, p. 310 f., digs. 1489-1513 and 1513-1514.

(2) Observation made in 1938.

(3) PORCU, *loc. cit.*

(4) Brackets are shown on this apse in Prosper Barbot's drawing (fig. 239), but we presume erroneously.

(5) Plan and longitudinal section of the church by A. LEPORINI, in MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, figs. 15 and 16.

were new and of fairly uniform thickness, averaging 4.2 cm in height; the mortar averaged 1 cm in thickness, giving a modulus of six courses in the R. ft. The coursing was accurately horizontal. On the west side of the crypt, one Roman wall was used to support the chord of the church apse. To the north, a wall at right angles to it has been re-used in the foundations of the north colonnade of the carolingian church; part of it can still be examined at the back of the steps which lead down to the crypt. The south side of the crypt makes use of another Roman wall, parallel to the one last mentioned and 10.16 m distant from it. A panel of the facing brickwork has been left exposed. About half way between the north and south walls which we have described, the foundations of an intermediate wall were discovered, but were soon afterwards destroyed. Similarly, the foundations of a wall lying parallel to the one first mentioned, intersecting the south wall at right angles, were also destroyed. All these walls seem to be contemporary. They appear to define two chambers, measuring 3.90 m in width and about 4.80 m in length, lying end to end, on a north-south axis. Another chamber lay to the east, but its dimensions are unknown. The west wall coincides with the chord of the apse. The dimensions and orientation of these rooms are about the same as those previously noted in remains of the *Statio Vigilium*, a little distance away to the south, and it seems probable that the rooms now discovered also belonged to the same establishment.

#### F. — RECONSTRUCTION

Of the original church of Pascal I, all the essential parts are preserved: the nave, the aisles, the arcades, the clerestory, and the three apses terminating the nave and aisles respectively. The actual measurements indicate the use of a unit 0.305 m in length, which is slightly longer than the usual Roman foot, but may coincide with a Byzantine foot<sup>1</sup>. The total length of the church, including the facade and the wall of the apse, amounts to 36.50 m or 120 feet; the width, including the walls of both aisles, 21.35 m or 70 feet; while the width of the nave alone is 11.60 m or 38 feet. The height of the aisle walls, 7.80 m or 25 feet, is deduced from the lower row of beam holes, which are visible above the sixteenth-century groin vaults. The original height of the nave is doubtful. The upper margin of the mosaic, 11.40 m above floor level, might seem to show the height of the walls if comparison with other contemporary churches did not suggest that it was somewhat higher. In most buildings, the eaves of the roof are separated from the voussoirs of the clerestory windows by two or three feet of ordinary brickwork. At S. Maria in Domnica the apex of the window voussoirs is about level with the top of the mosaic. Therefore it seems likely that there was a low band of plain wall above the mosaic, bringing the roof-level to a height of about twelve metres.

A number of questions remain open. We know nothing of the original facade; nor do we know whether it was preceded by a narthex as early as the ninth century. The documents indicate that the portico built in 1513-14 took the place of an older one, but this older portico may well have been added to Paschal's church sometime during the middle ages. Alternatively, it could have been merely an early project, planned in 1489-92, and abandoned before it was finished<sup>2</sup>. Nor is it possible, at this point, to establish the presence of windows in the aisle walls, or to determine the existence of an annular crypt, following the curve of the apse and linked by a corridor to a *confessio* below the altar.

On the other hand, the layout of the chancel can be reconstructed on the basis of the gifts presented by Pascal I. The list states first that the altar was surmounted by a silver canopy, closed

(1) Cf. also S. Marco, see above, p. 243.

(2) See above, p. 310, dig. 1489-1513 and p. 315.



off by four curtains. It states further that the altar was decorated with a *frontale* (*propiciatorium*) of silver plaques. The *fenestella confessionis* was protected by two small grills (*rugulae*), one outside and one inside, and framed, it would seem, by a silver arch resting on two colonettes. In front of the altar (*ante vestibulum altaris*), a rood beam extended across the opening of the apse. The two sets of curtains listed for this beam, three and five respectively, suggest a possible reconstruction of four columns to support the rood, but it is not certain. In front of the apse a chancel seems to have projected into the eastern bays of the nave. Four small curtains are listed “*per arcus presbyterii*”, presumably to close two arches on either side of the chancel. At the entrance to the chancel, “*in ingressu presbyterii*”, three purple curtains were hung, possibly placed inside three arches. The reconstruction of the chancel can thus be ascertained in its main lines. Likewise, it is obvious that the twenty curtains donated by Pascal “*in arcos maiores ... ecclesia*” correspond to the ten arches on either side of the nave. At the same time, it is clear that no minor altars existed in the time of Pascal I and the function of the lateral apses remains obscure. One can only suggest hypothetically that they served for the rite of the offering.

### G. — CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of S. Maria in Domnica is fairly clear. No doubt a *diaconia* existed at the time of Leo III and, from the gifts of that pope listed in the *Liber Pontificalis*, it is evident that the *diaconia* enclosed an oratory. But no trace of this early sanctuary has yet been found. In all likelihood it was installed in some of the rooms of the *Statio Vigilium* and it must even then have been in need of repair, since Pascal found it “*jam ruine proximam*”.

The church of Pascal I, of course, is firmly dated in the short span of his pontificate. It has even been suggested<sup>1</sup> that the time of its construction can be limited to the years 818-822, but this refinement seems hardly worth discussion. No repairs to the church are mentioned during the middle ages, and no traces of such repairs are left.

The first major remodelling seems to have taken place in the cardinalate of Giovanni Medici, and later, during his reign as Pope Leo X. The date when work was started remains uncertain. The arms of Innocent VIII in the pediment of the facade, and the adjustment of the cartouche in 1513-1514 as reported in the documents, might suggest that the remodelling started between 1489 and 1492, before the death of Innocent VIII; but then the presence of his arms may be no more than an expression of gratitude by Giovanni Medici to the pope who made him cardinal. In any case, much of the remodelling of the church was done before 1513, that is, while Giovanni Medici was still a cardinal. On the other hand, the present portico was built, and the lion frieze in the nave was painted after March 11, 1513, when Giovanni had been raised to the papal throne. This is proved by the allusion to his papal name, Leo, in the lion masks of the portico and the lions of the frieze, and confirmation is found in the documents which we have quoted above, in the inscriptions of the apse and the facade, and in the Medici coats of arms, with papal tiara.

Of later repairs, the only significant ones are those executed by Cardinal Ferdinand Medici in 1566-1567. These include the nave ceiling and the painted decoration of the clerestory walls. The crypt was remodelled in 1957, unfortunately without the benefit of expert advice.

### H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The place of the church of S. Maria in Domnica in early Christian architecture is easily defined. It is a characteristic example of the carolingian revival of Early Christian church planning

(1) PORCU, *loc. cit.*

in Rome except for one element; the side apses. These apse triads begin to appear in Roman churches in the later part of the eighth century: at S. Angelo in Pescheria, either 755 or 770, and at S. Maria in Cosmedin during the pontificate of Hadrian I, 772-795<sup>1</sup>. At about the same time, and shortly afterwards, churches north of the Alps make use of the same feature, either in single naved buildings, such as Müstair or Malles (805-810); or projecting from transepts, whether of the tripartite type as at Steinbach (819) or continuous, as at Hersfeld (829) and Seligenstadt (830)<sup>2</sup>. Attached to aisles, the motif is in common use in North Italy from the eighth and ninth century onwards<sup>3</sup>. Originally, of course, triple apses are of Eastern origin (Kalat Siman, *ca.* 480) and penetrated into Europe by way of the Adriatic ports; occasionally joined to the aisles, as at Parenzo (*ca.* 550), but more frequently projecting from lateral chambers flanking the apse, as at S. Apollinare in Classe (*ca.* 540)<sup>4</sup>. In this latter form, the *motif* apparently came to Rome at roughly the same time, as is seen at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina<sup>5</sup>. The reasons for its revival in Rome in the later eighth century remain as yet unexplained.

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(1) See above, pp. 306, and vol. I, pp. 64 ff.

(2) E. LEHMANN, *Der frühe deutsche Kirchenbau*, Berlin 1938, pp. 129, 131, 140 f.

(3) See above, p. 306 and note 3.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 54.

(5) See above, vol. I, pp. 304 ff.

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**SYMBOLS FOR PLATES II, V & VI.**

S. LORENZO & BASILICA MAIOR GENERAL SURVEY

WALLS  
 IN SECTION IN ELEVATION  
 BELOW GROUNDLEVEL ABOVE GROUNDLEVEL  
 DESTROYED PRESERVED DESTROYED PRESERVED

- |     |                                                                                                        |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.  | 1. ROMAN BRICKWORK                                                                                     |
| 2.  | 2. OPUS LISTATUM "A" SYSTEM                                                                            |
| 3.  | 3. OPUS LISTATUM BASILICA MAIOR                                                                        |
| 4.  | 4. OPUS LISTATUM BASILICA MAIOR, DIG 7.                                                                |
| 5.  | 5. MAUSOLEA AND TOMBS NORTHFLANK BASILICA MAIOR, LARGELY DESTROYED                                     |
| 6.  | 6. FOUNDATION WALLS D <sup>1-5</sup> IRREGULAR BLOCKS OF MARBLE & TUFA, & D <sup>6</sup> OPUS LISTATUM |
| 7.  | 7. BRICKWALL NEAR CAMPANILE                                                                            |
| 8.  | 8. OPUS LISTATUM NEAR CAMPANILE                                                                        |
| 9.  | 9. OPUS LISTATUM FRAGMENT EAST FACE CAMPANILE                                                          |
| 10. | 10. OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS NORTH                                                              |
| 11. | 11. OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH                                                              |
| 12. | 12. OPUS LISTATUM EAST BASILICA, 579-590                                                               |
| 13. | 13. OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH                                                              |
| 14. | 14. OPUS LISTATUM ARCH FILLING INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH                                                 |
| 15. | 15. BRICK TUFA MASONRY INTERMEDIATE BAYS NORTH                                                         |
| 16. | 16. BRICKWORK CAMPANILE                                                                                |
| 17. | 17. BRICK TUFA MASONRY CONVENT AND REPAIRS INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH 1191-1198                           |
| 18. | 18. BRICK TUFA MASONRY REINFORCEMENTS EAST GALLERY                                                     |
| 19. | 19. WEST BASILICA BRICK INSIDE, TUFELLI OUTSIDE, COMPLETED 1216-1227                                   |
| 20. | 20. BRICKWORK INTERMEDIATE BAYS.                                                                       |
| 21. | 21. NARTHEX WEST BASILICA BRICK INSIDE, TUFELLI OUTSIDE, 1216-1227 OR AFTER                            |
| 22. | 22. LATERAL PORCH EAST BASILICA                                                                        |
| 23. | 23. CONVENT FACADE BRICKWORK                                                                           |

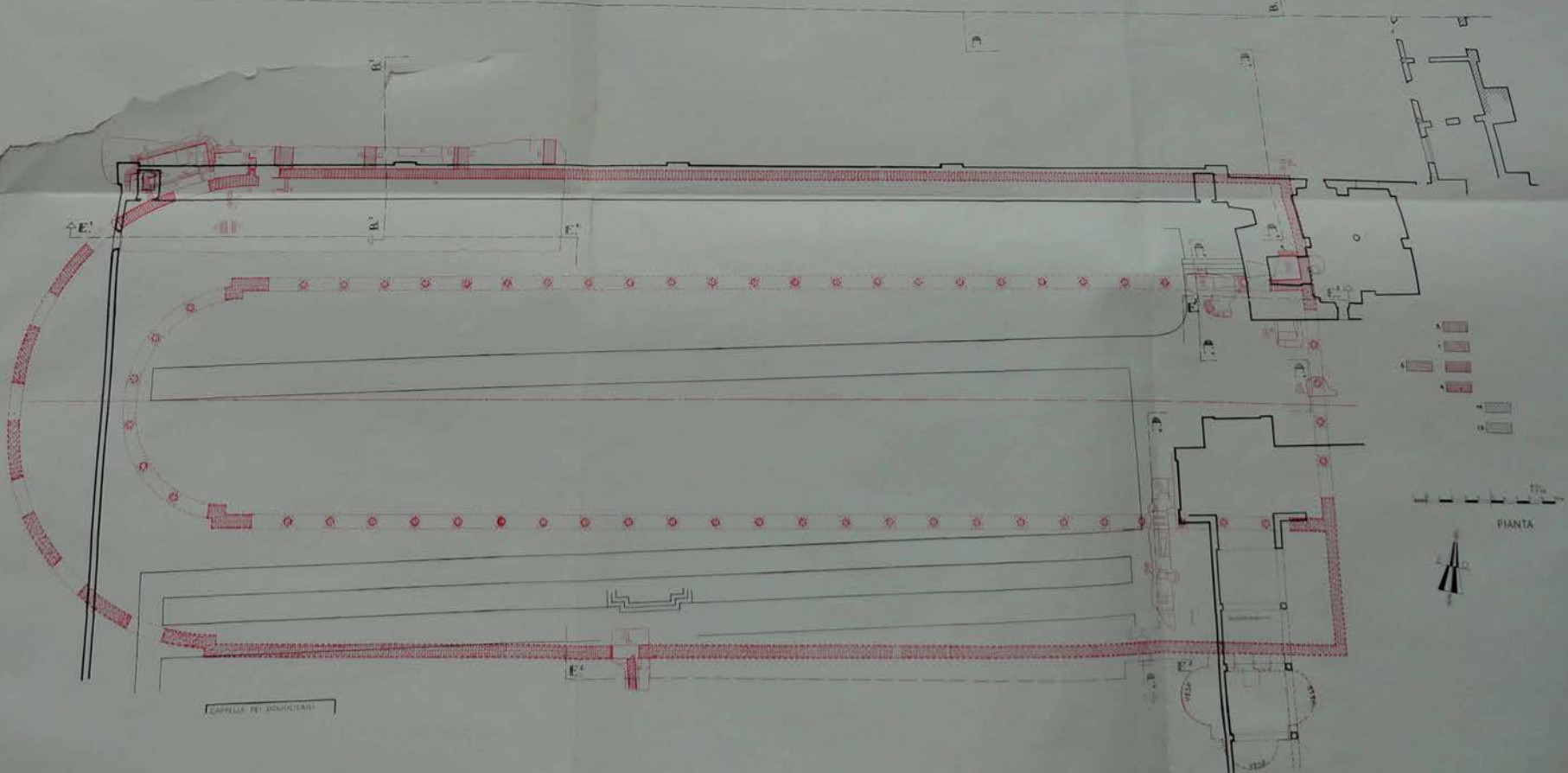
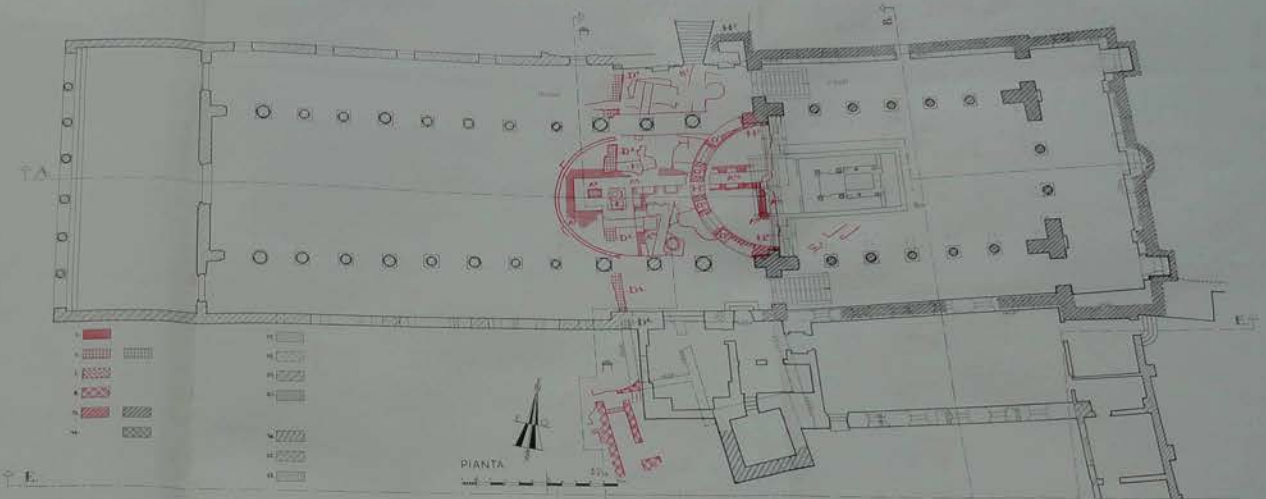
**SYMBOLS FOR PLATES III & IV.**

BASILICA MAIOR DETAILS OF EXCAVATIONS & PLANS  
 SYMBOLS FOR PLATES III & IV ARE INDICATED BY LETTERS AND DESCRIBED ON DRAWING.

**SYMBOLS FOR PLATES VII & VIII.**

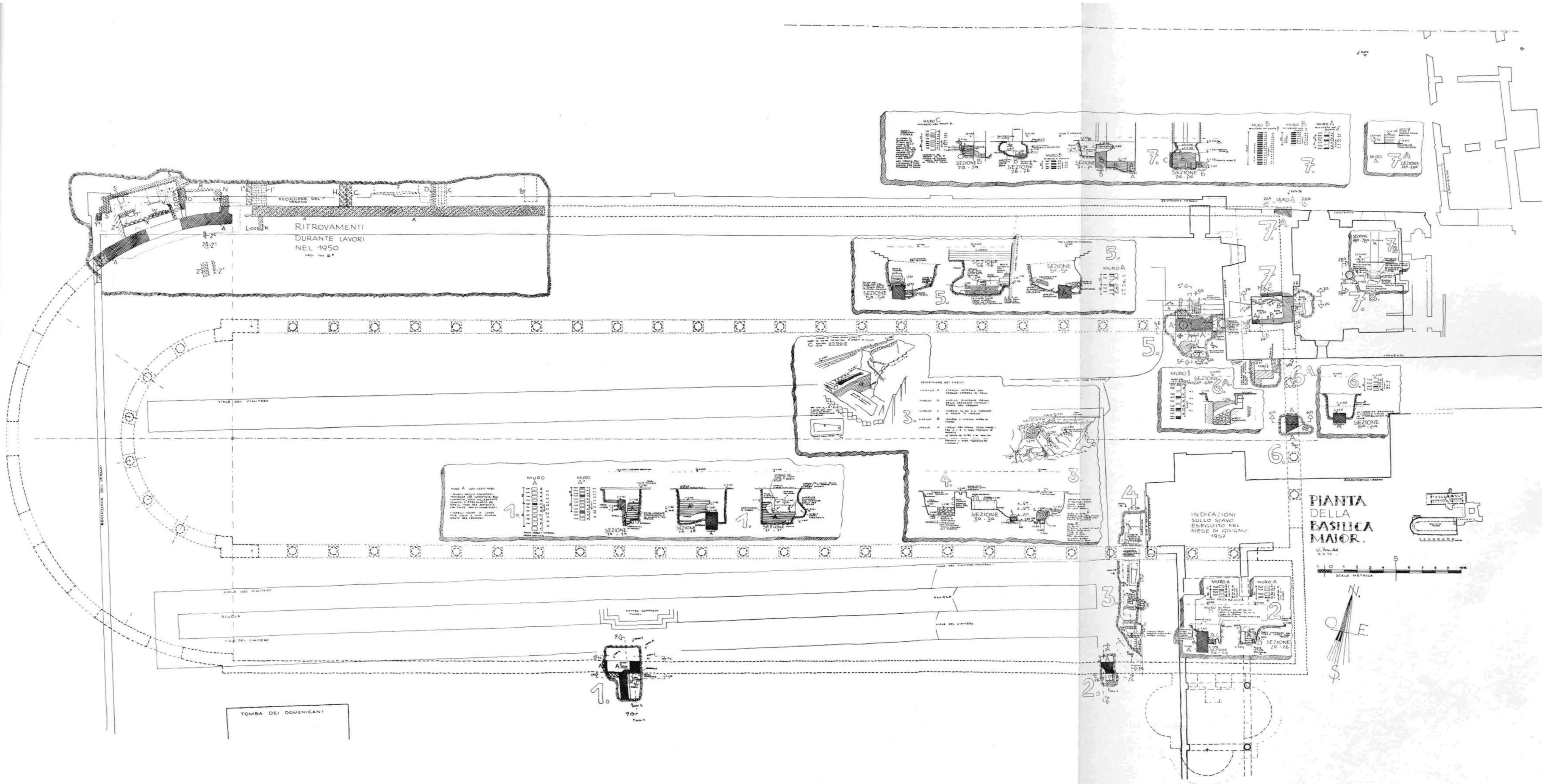
EXCAVATIONS 1947-1949

- |                   |                                                                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | LIVE TUFA                                                                         |
|                   | ARENARIUM                                                                         |
|                   | CATACOMB                                                                          |
|                   | CUBICULA GALLERIES                                                                |
|                   | "A" SYSTEM AND LATER CHANGES                                                      |
| A <sup>1-19</sup> | (2.) OPUS LISTATUM = WALLS 2 PLATE II                                             |
| B <sup>1-2</sup>  | OPUS LISTATUM                                                                     |
| t                 | MARTYR'S TOMB AND CATARACT                                                        |
| C <sup>1-3</sup>  | OPUS LISTATUM INSIDE "L" CHAMBER                                                  |
| D <sup>1-5</sup>  | (6.) FOUNDATION WALLS IRREGULAR BLOCKS OF MARBLE & TUFA = WALLS 6 PLATE II.       |
| E <sup>1-4</sup>  | OPUS LISTATUM FILLINGS & REPAIRS IN "A <sup>1-19</sup> "                          |
| F <sup>1-5</sup>  | TUFA BLOCKS                                                                       |
| G                 | DOUBLE CUBICULUM                                                                  |
| H <sup>1-10</sup> | (12.) EAST BASILICA AND ANNEXES 579-590                                           |
| I <sup>1</sup>    | (10.) OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS NORTH = WALL 10 PLATE II                    |
| I <sup>2</sup>    | (11.) OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH = WALL 11 PLATE II                    |
| K                 | ORTHOSTATS & BRICK PATCHES                                                        |
| L <sup>1-4</sup>  | PIERS RUBBLE WORK                                                                 |
| M <sup>1</sup>    | (15.) BRICK TUFA MASONRY INTERMEDIATE BAYS NORTH = WALL 15 PLATE II               |
| M <sup>2</sup>    | (13.) OPUS LISTATUM INTERMEDIATE BAYS SOUTH = WALL 13 PLATE II                    |
| O <sup>1-12</sup> | BRICK WORK WEST EXTENSION EAST BASILICA 11 <sup>TH</sup> - 12 <sup>TH</sup> CENT. |
| P <sup>1-2</sup>  | END WALL ENCLOSURE TOMB OF SAINT LAWRENCE ±1200                                   |
| f                 | FORMAE                                                                            |



CAPPELLA DEI DONZOLARI



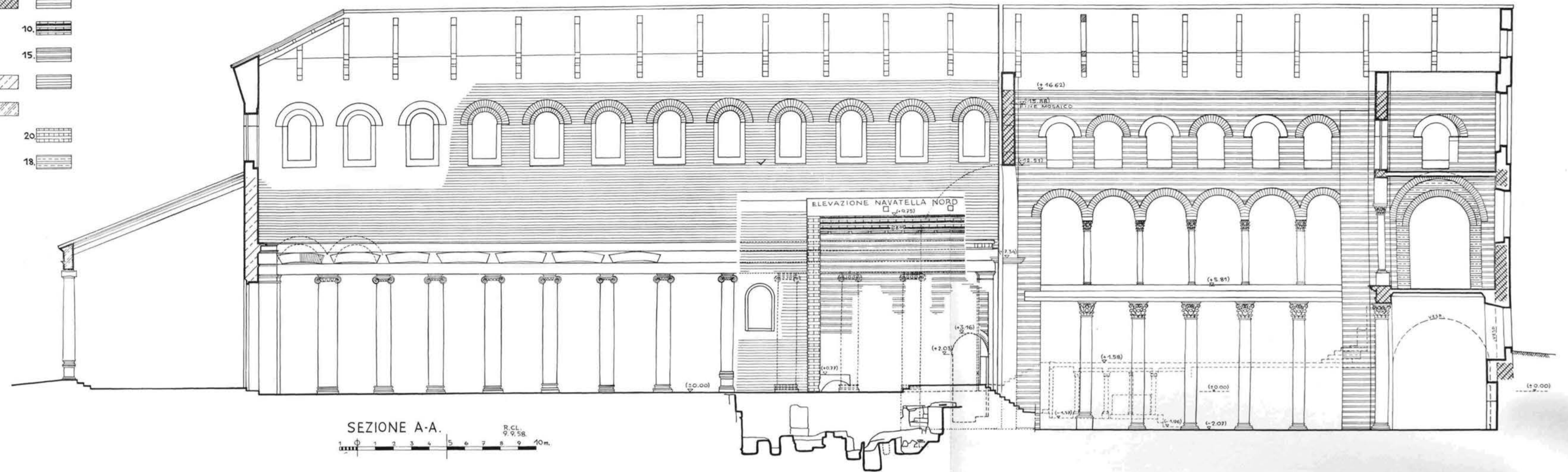




S. LORENZO F. L. M. AND BASILICA MAIOR

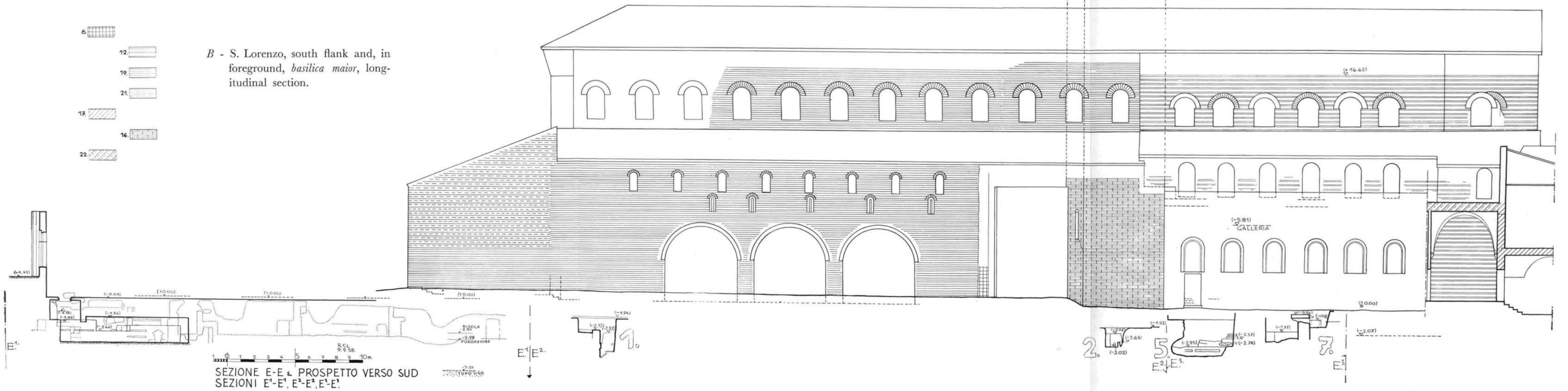
- 12
- 10
- 15
- 19
- 21
- 20
- 18

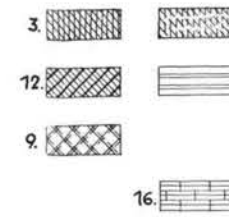
A - S. Lorenzo, longitudinal section, including elevation intermediate bay north.



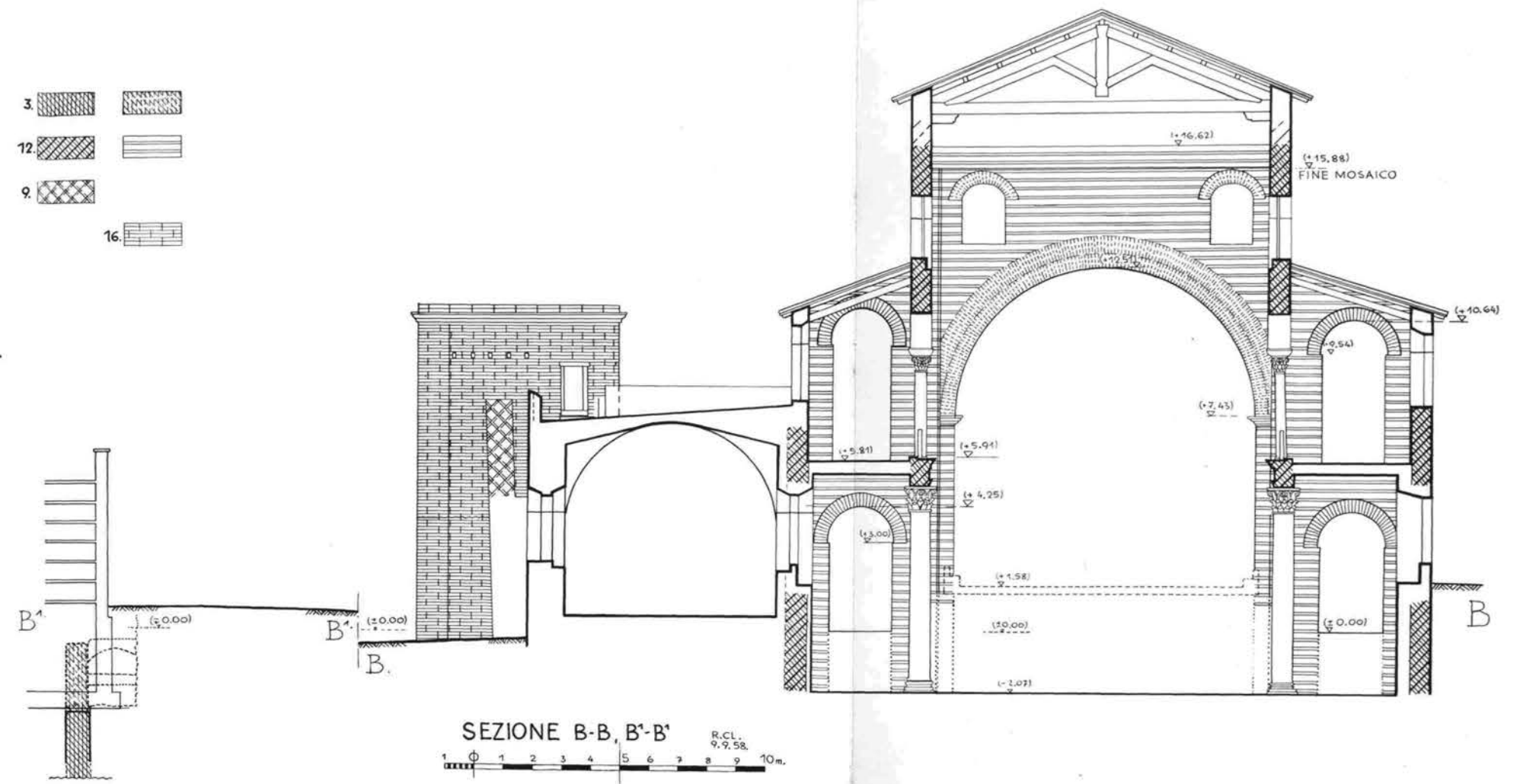
- 6
- 12
- 19
- 21
- 17
- 16
- 22

B - S. Lorenzo, south flank and, in foreground, basilica maior, longitudinal section.

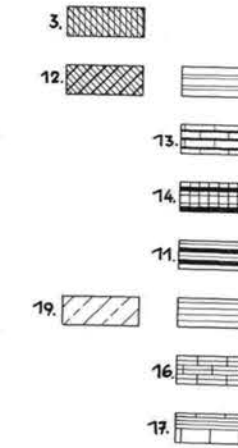
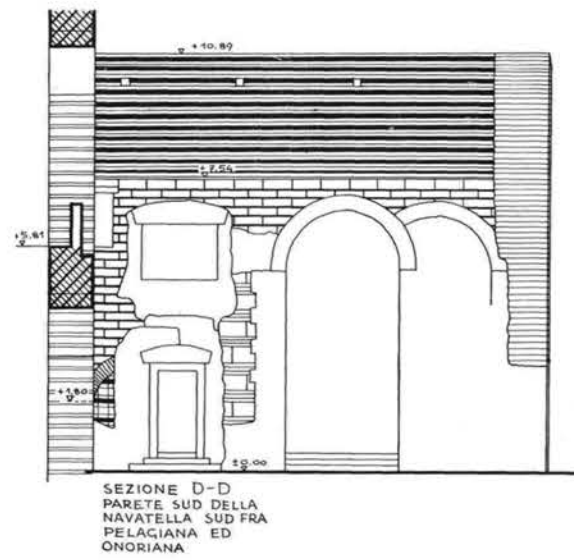
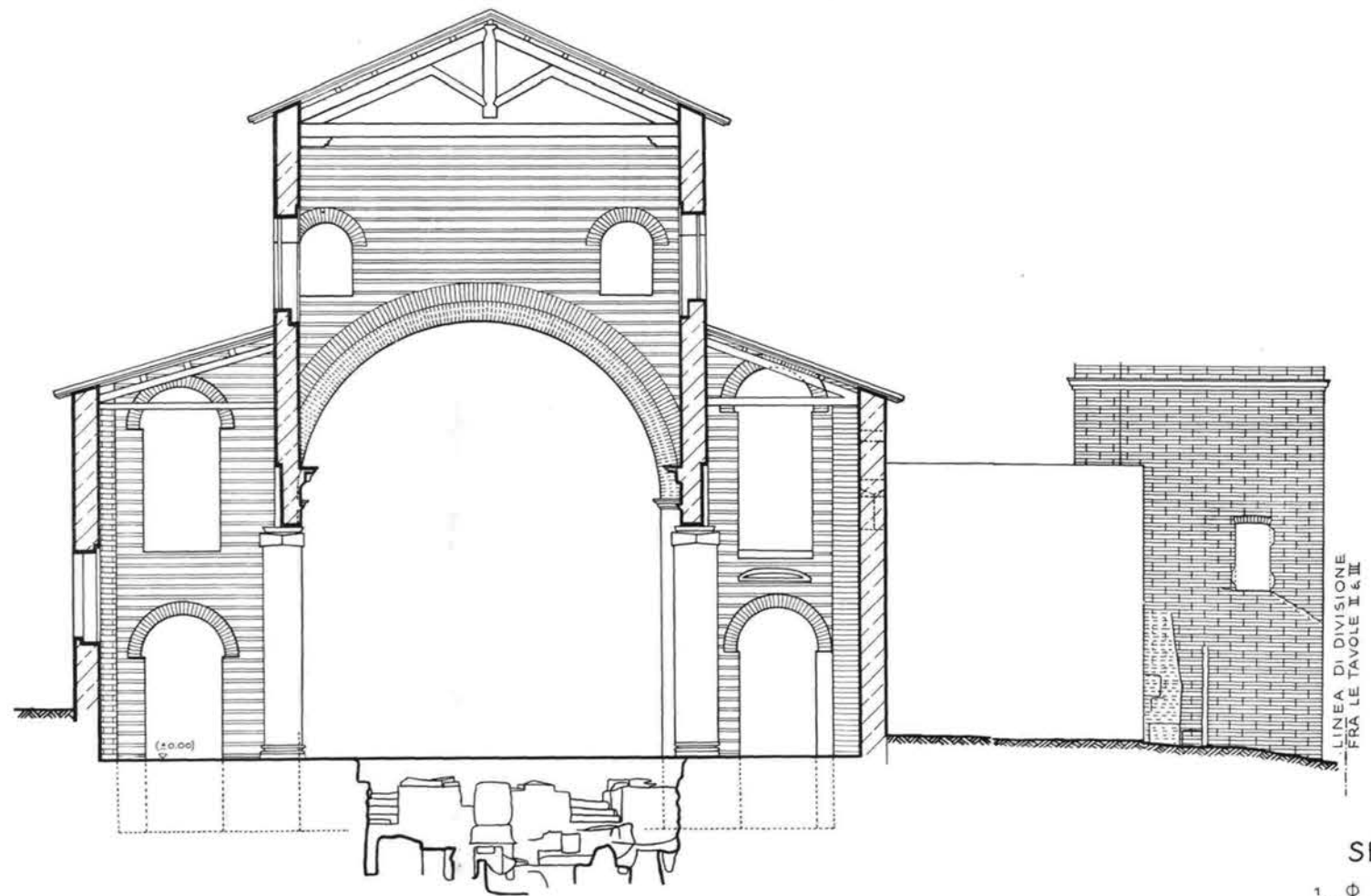




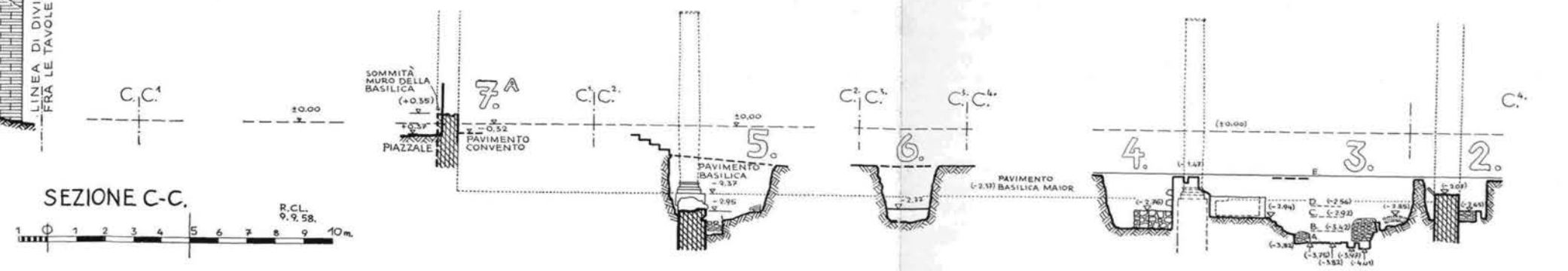
A - East Basilica, cross section B-B.



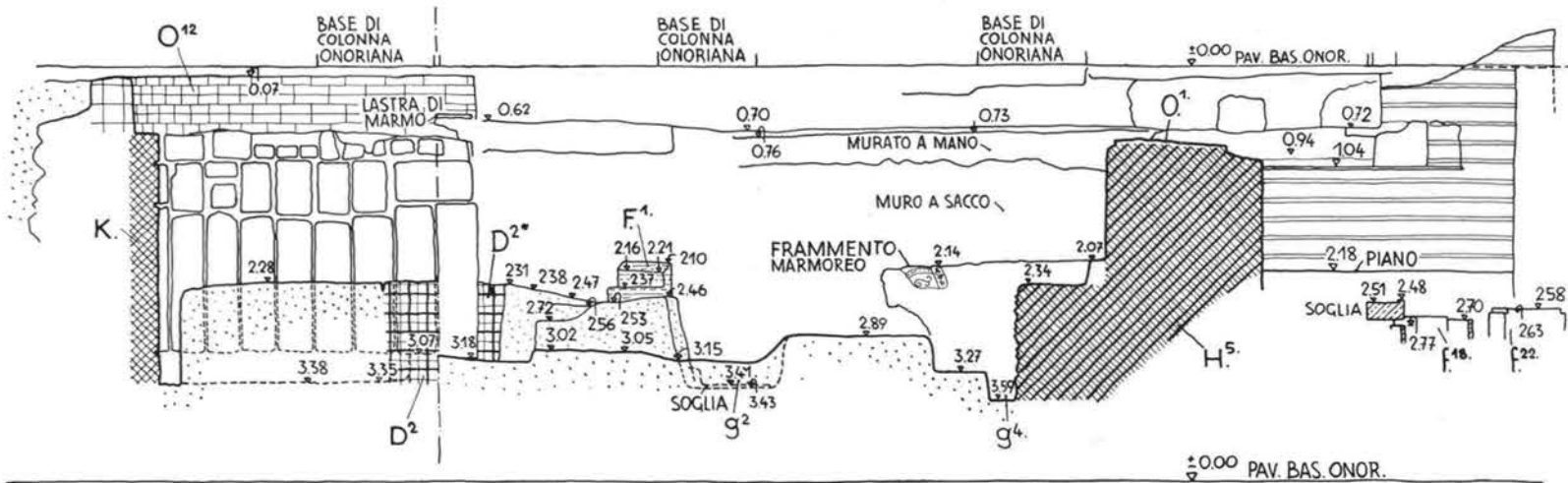
B - West Basilica and basilica maior, cross section C-C.



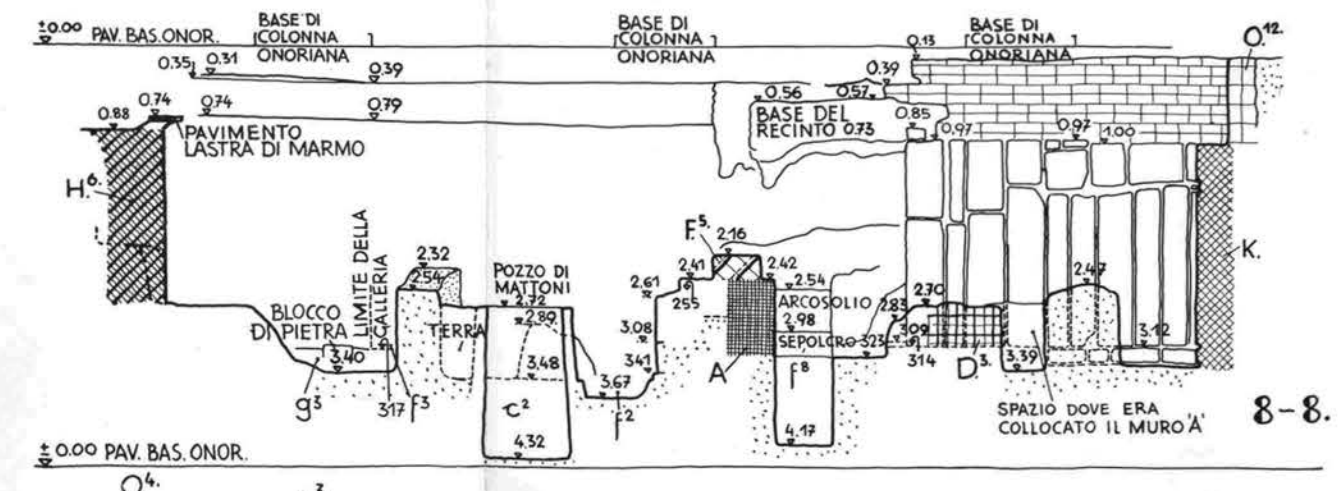
C - West Basilica, intermediate bay south, elevation.



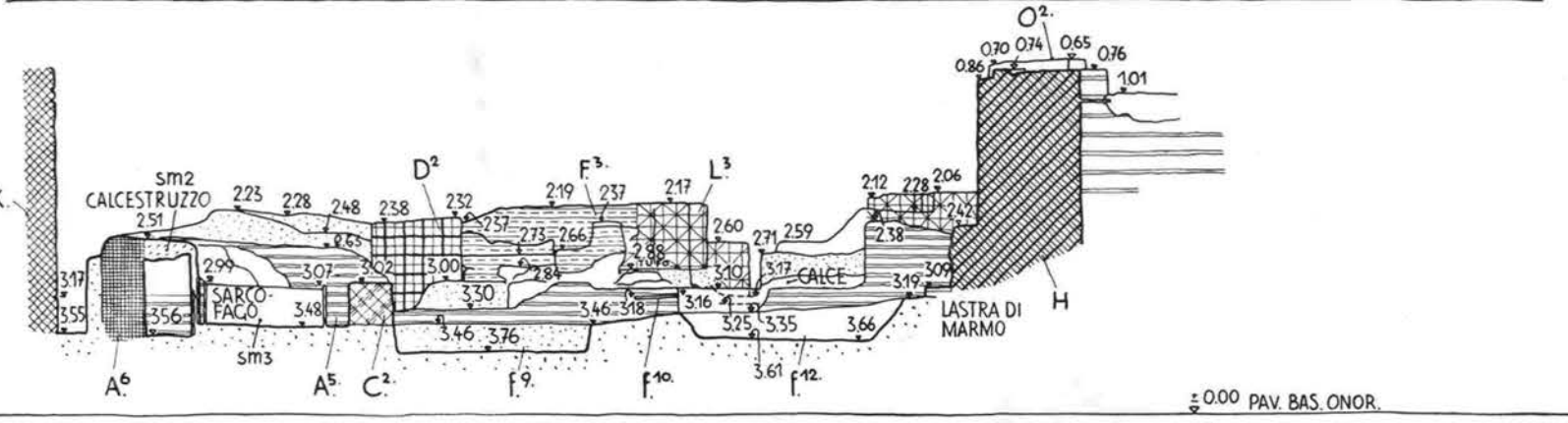




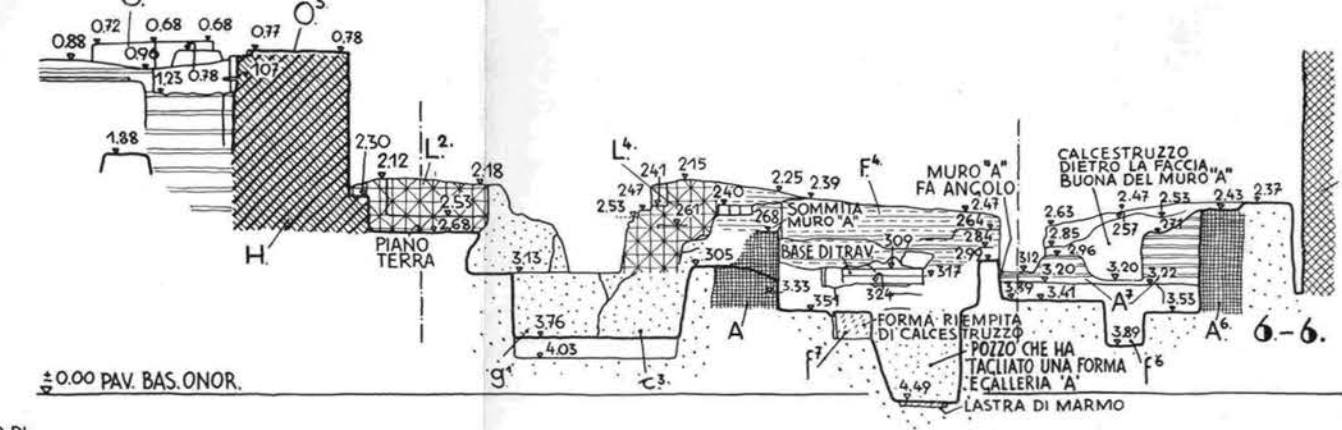
1-1.



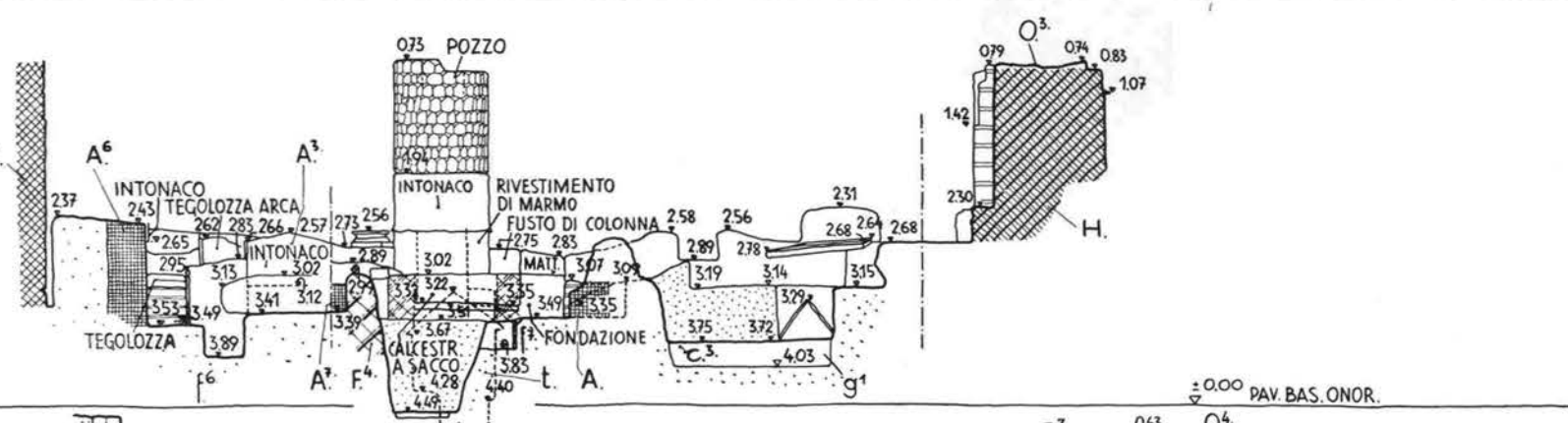
8-8.



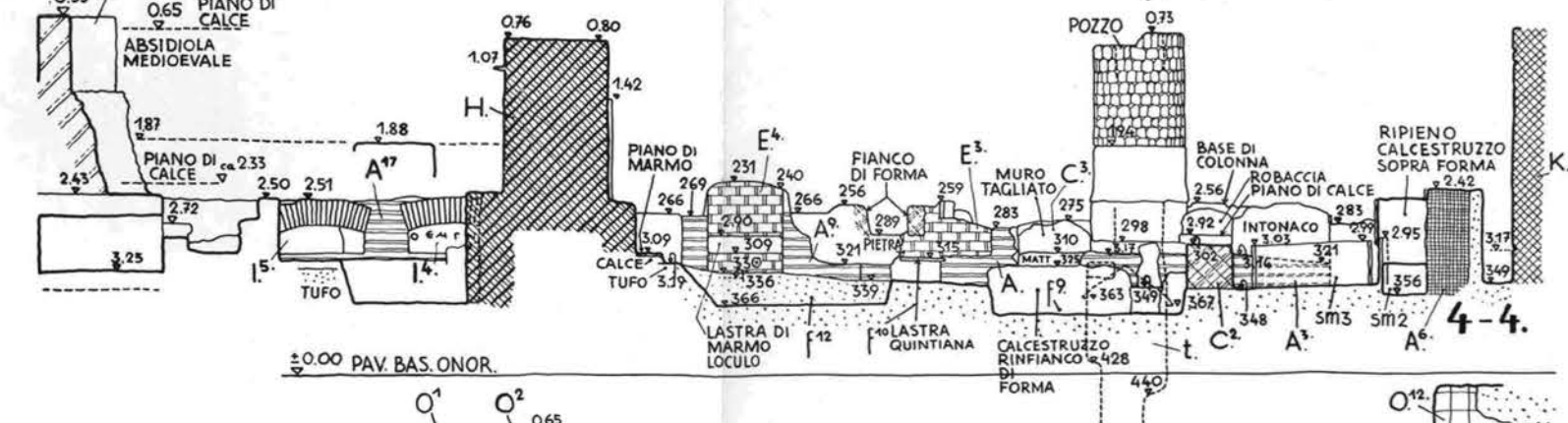
3-3.



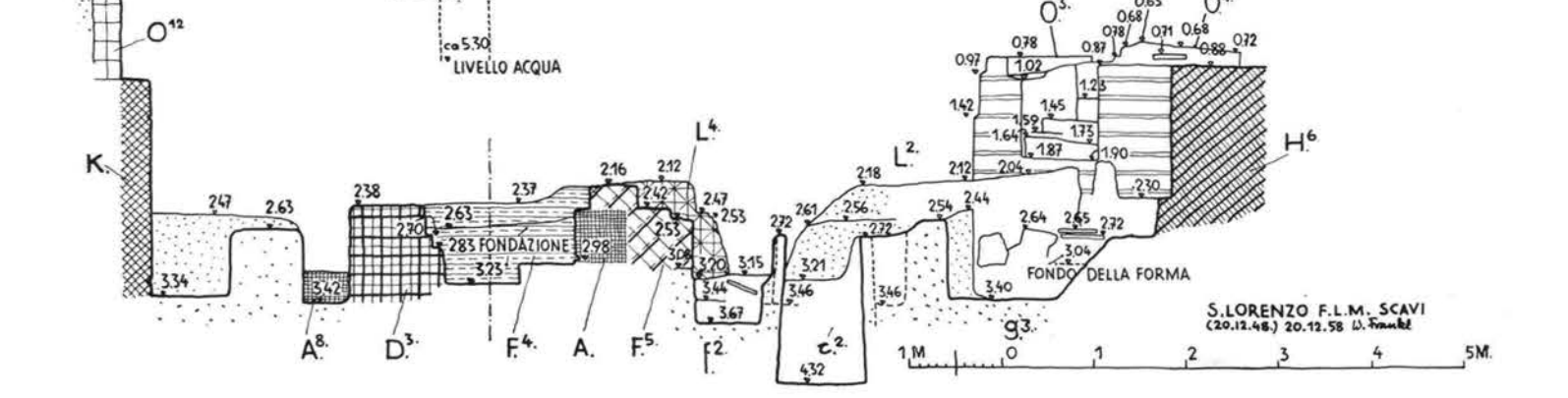
6-6.



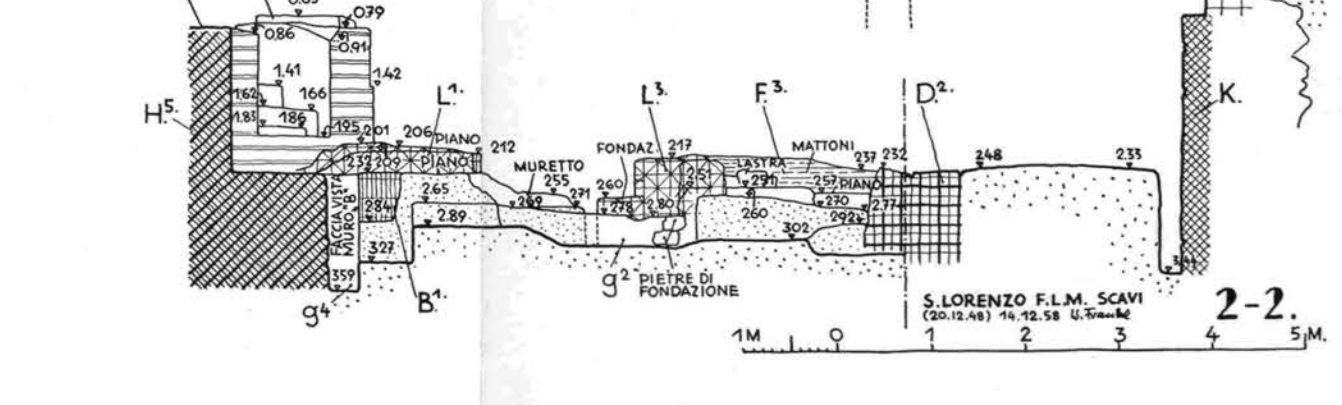
5-5.



4-4.

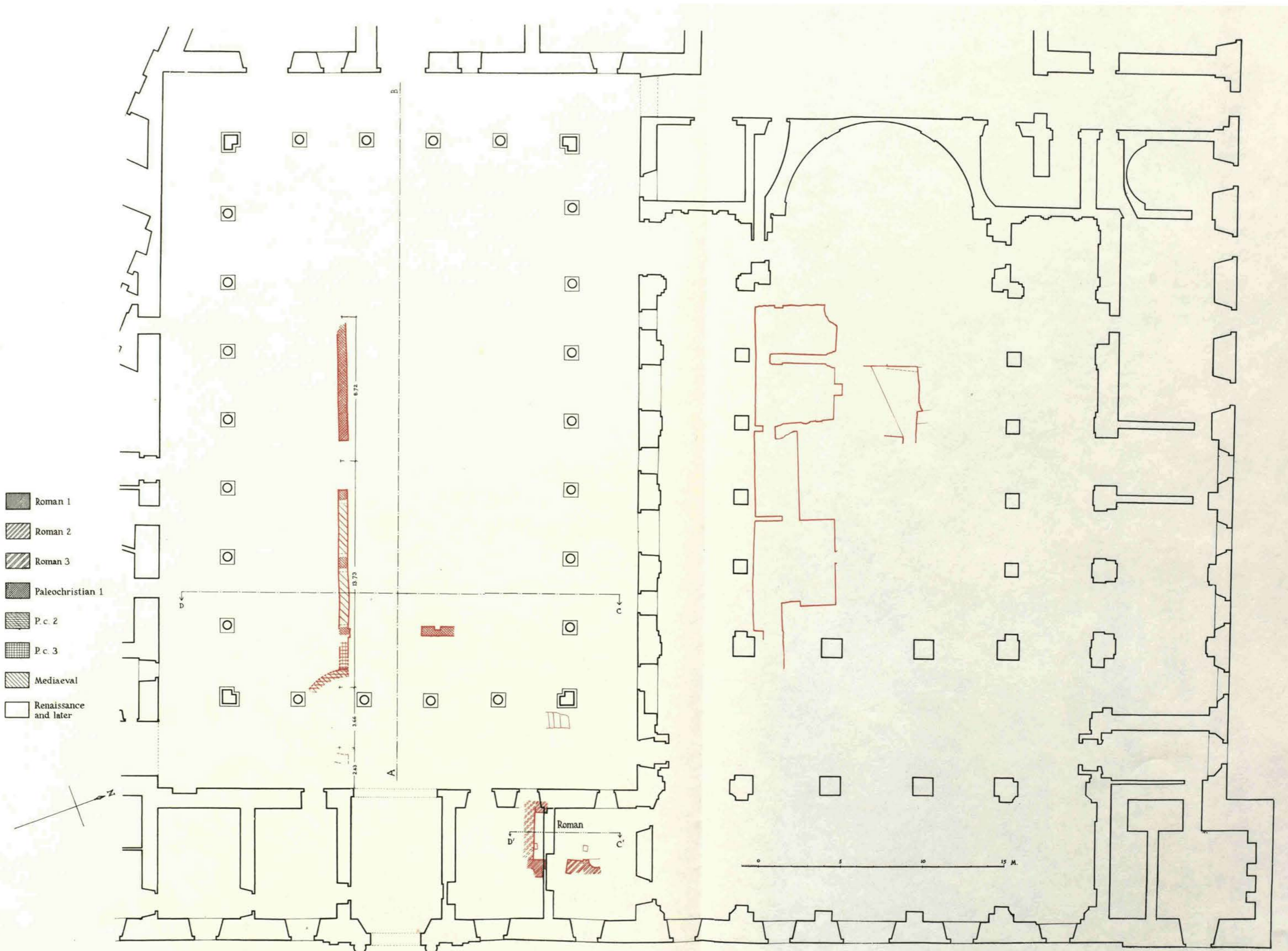


7-7.



2-2.

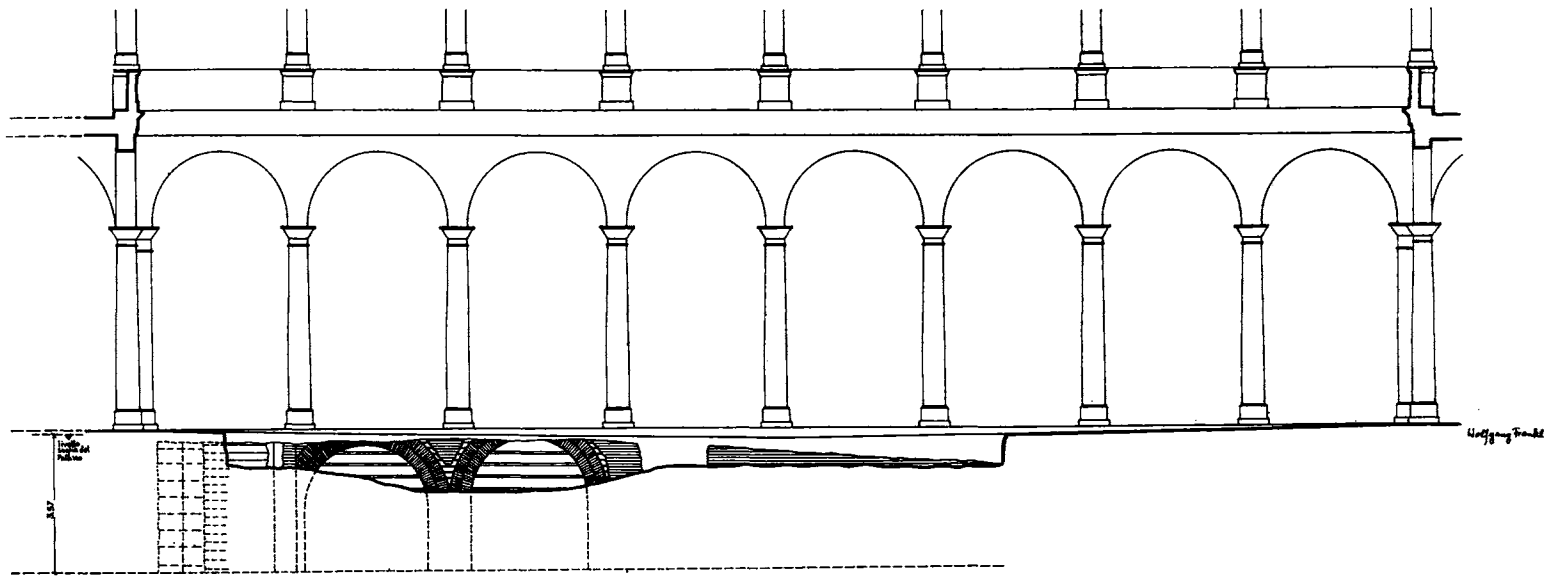
A-H - Longitudinal section.



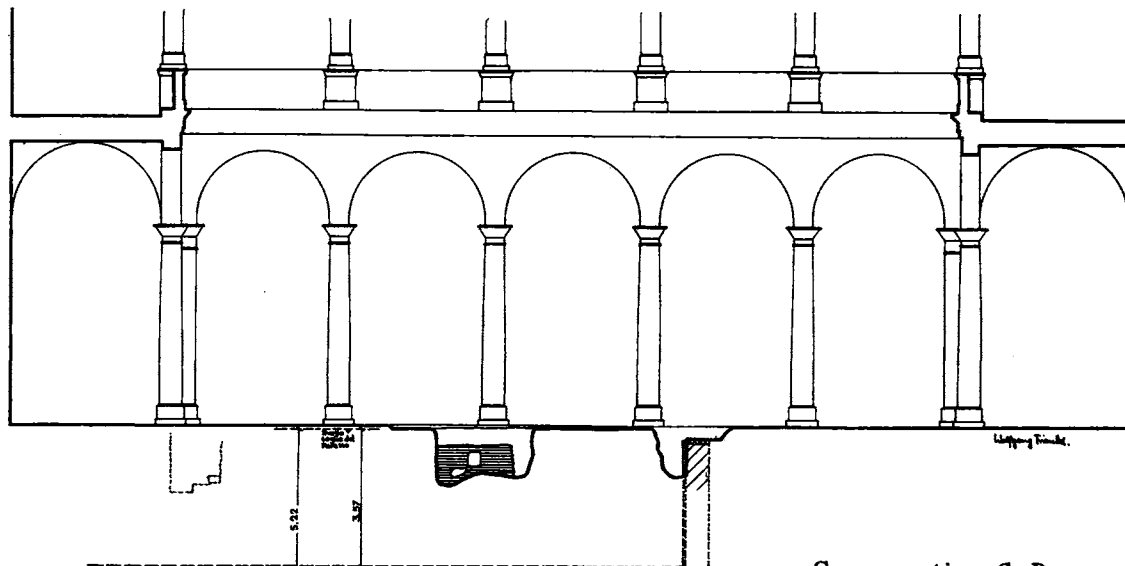


S. LORENZO IN DAMASO

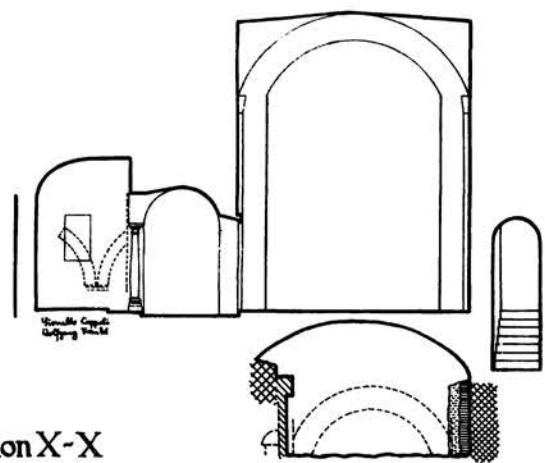
CROSS-SECTIONS SHOWING EXCAVATIONS IN THE CORTILE  
OF THE PALAZZO DELLA CANCELLERIA



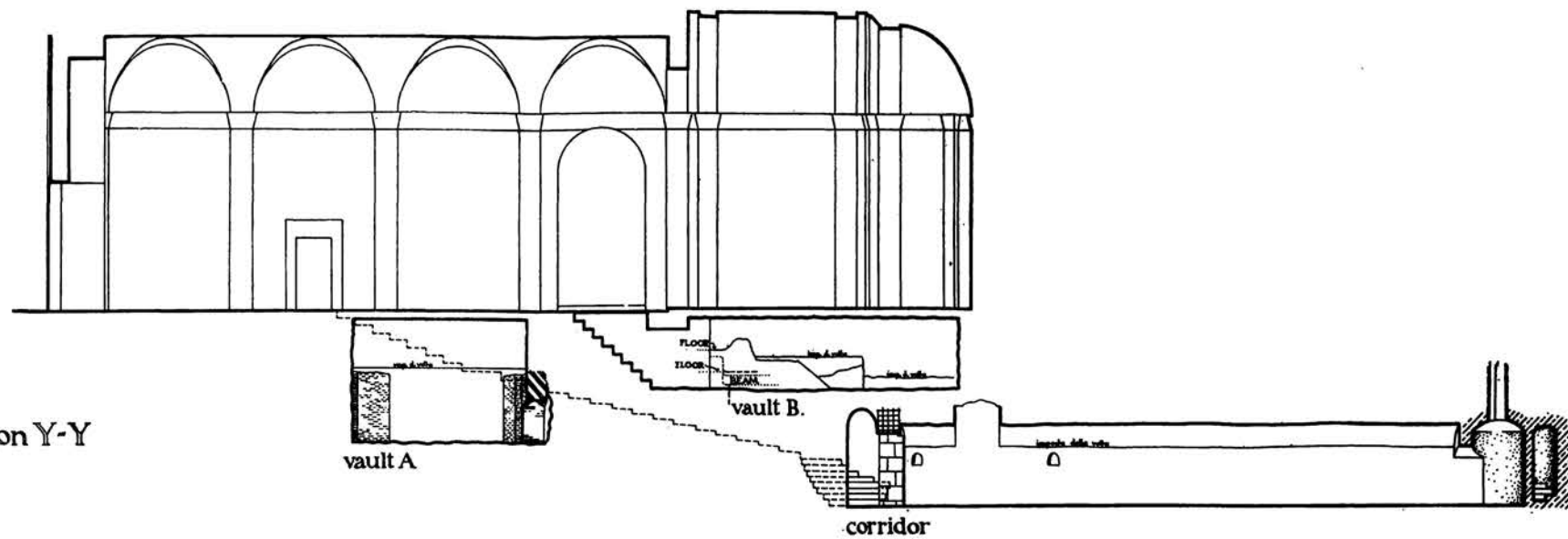
→ ← Cross-section A-B



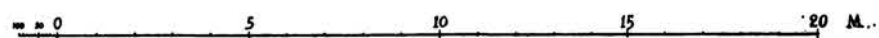
→ ← Cross-section C-D and C'-D'



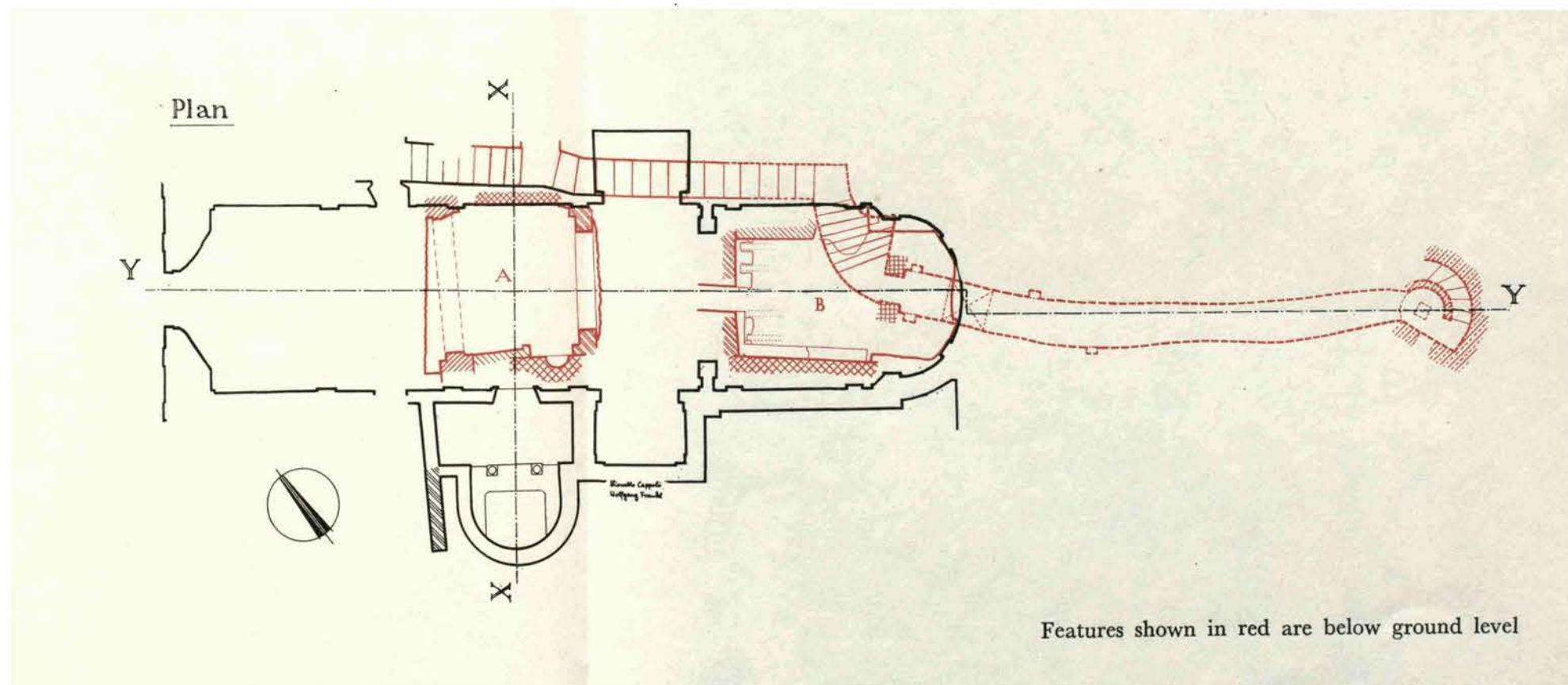
Section X-X



Section Y-Y

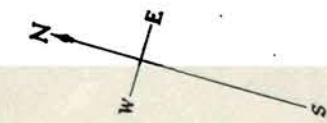
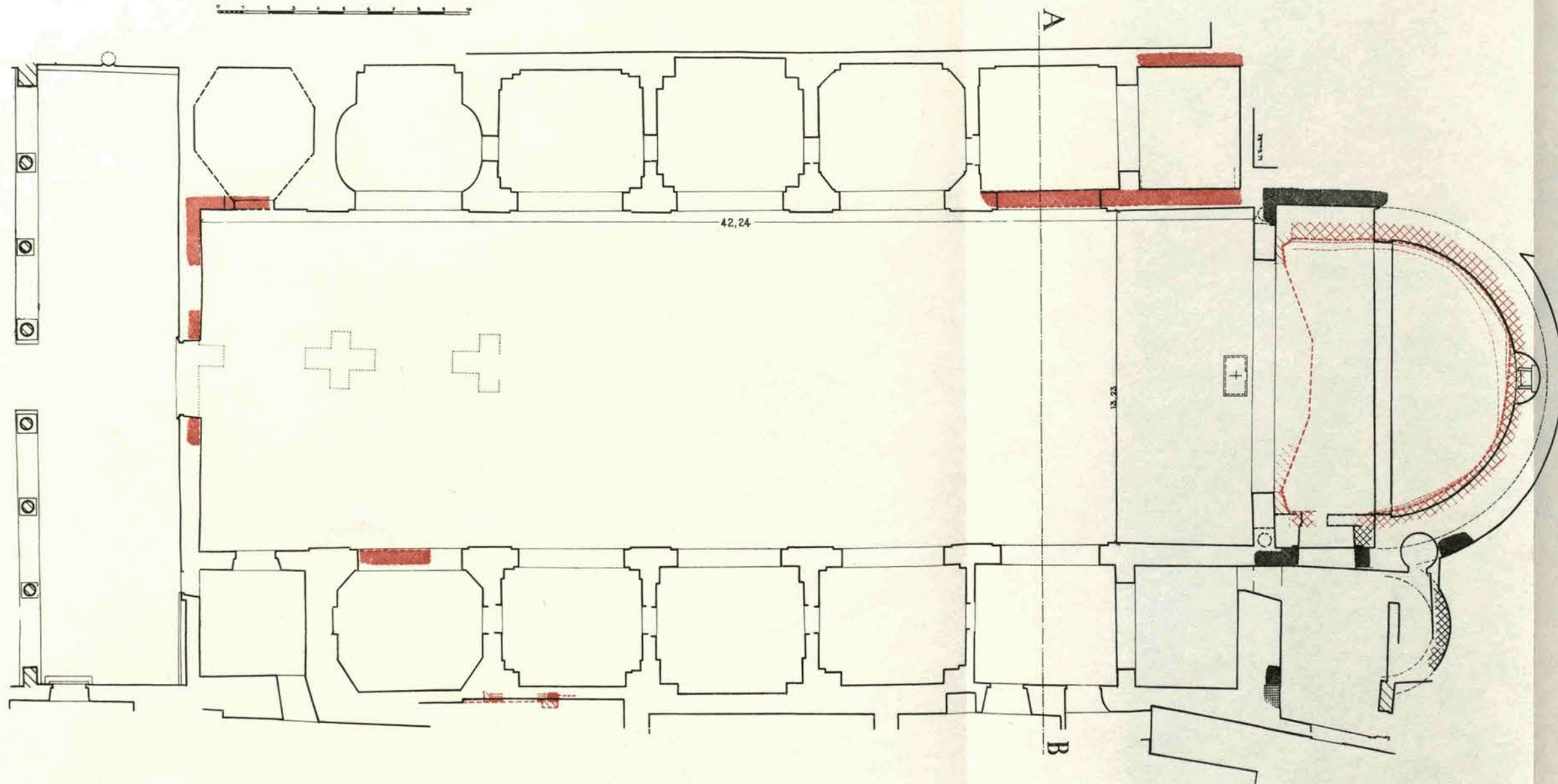
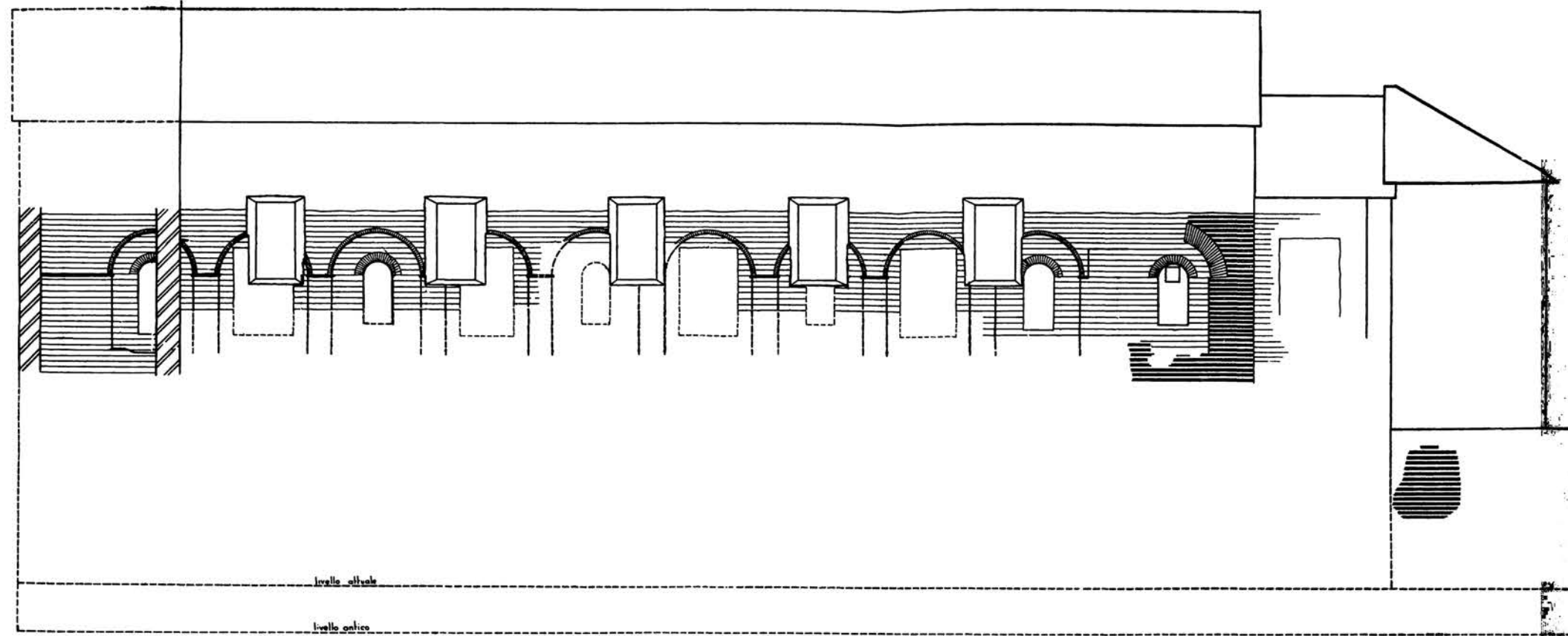









- Ashlar
- Opus reticulatum
- Brickwork, iii-cent.
- viii or ix-cent.
- xii-cent. ?
- xiii-cent. ?
- xiv-cent. ?
- Baroque



Features shown in red are below ground level

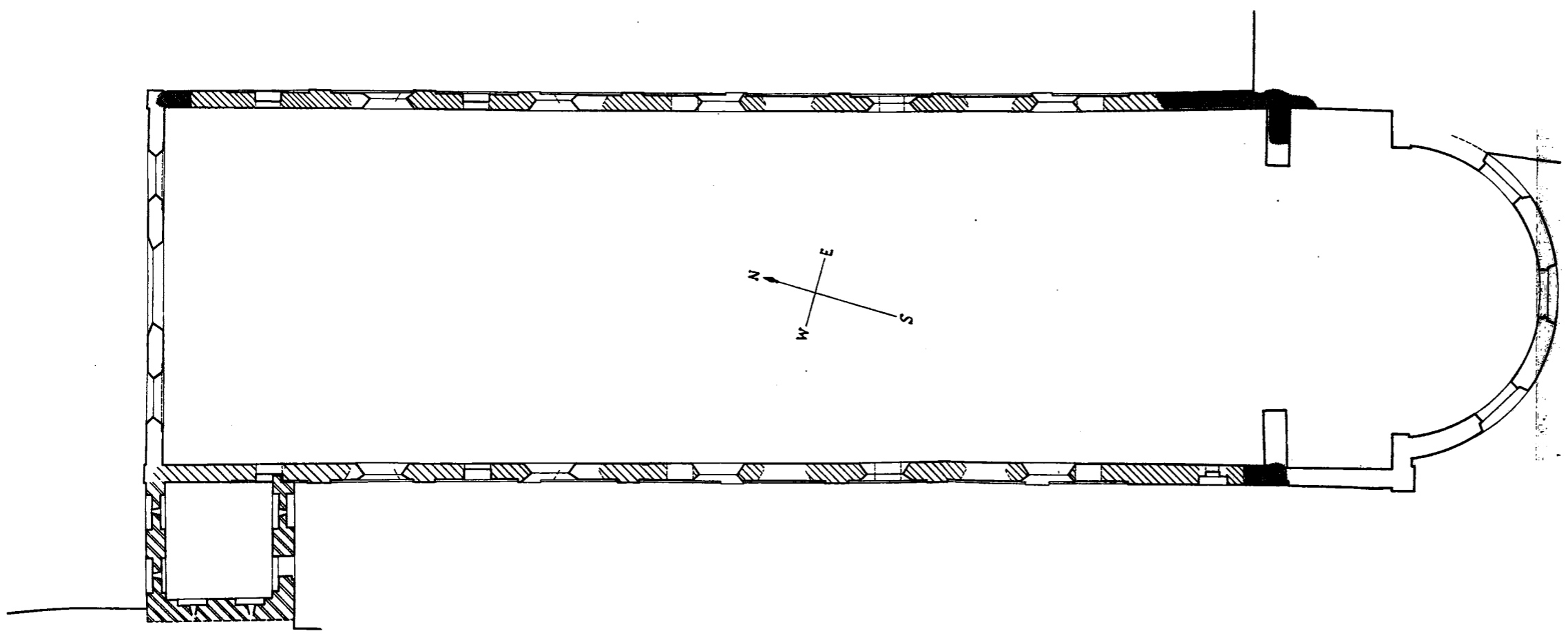
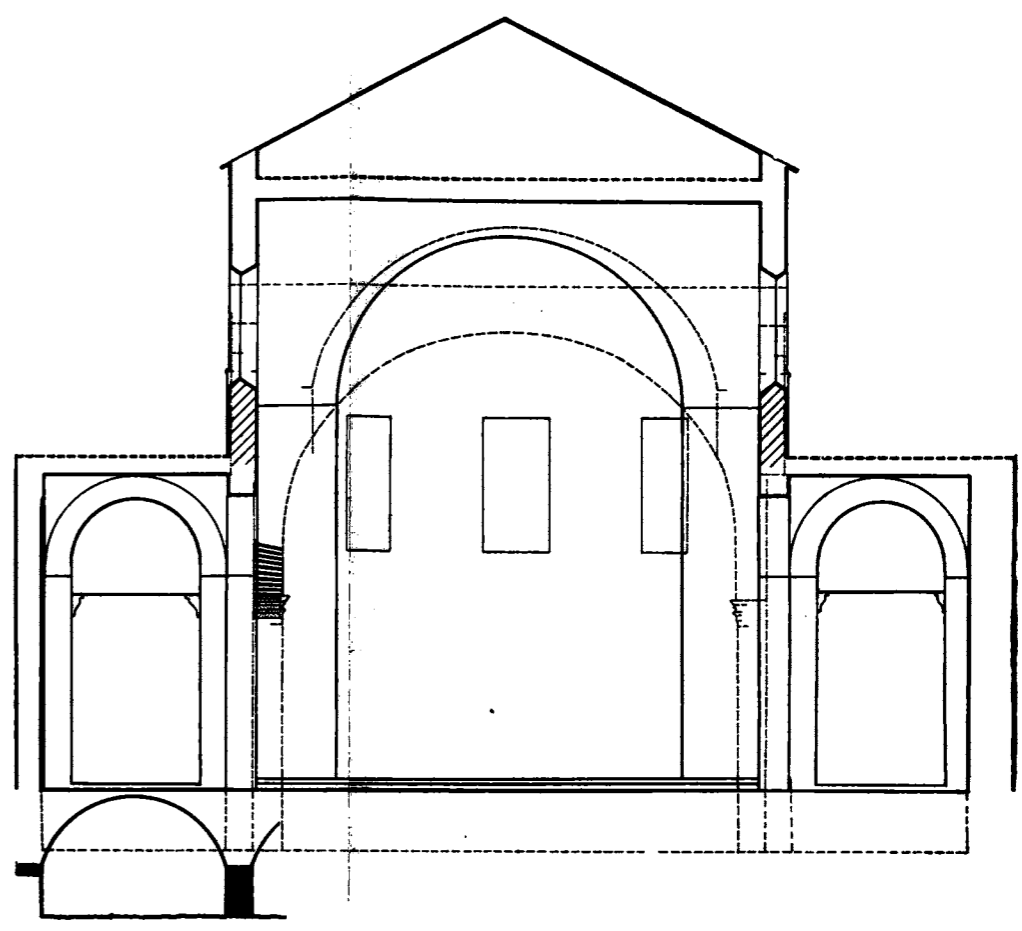
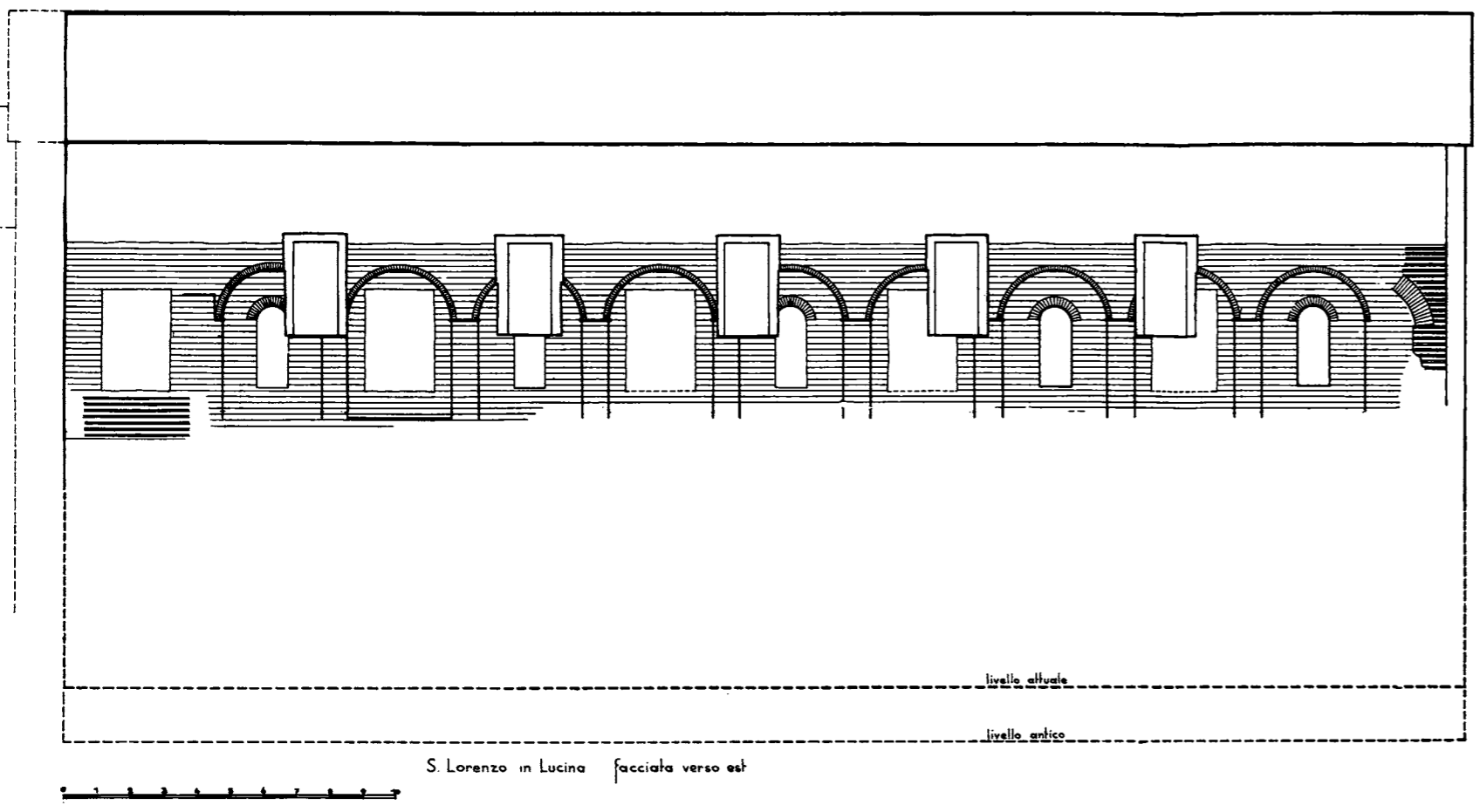




-  Roman
-   Plan and elevation of Early Christian walls
-  Eighth-century alterations
-   Romanesque, first period
-  Romanesque, later additions

S. LORENZO IN LUCINA

EAST ELEVATION, CROSS SECTION A-B, AND PLAN AT CLERESTOREY LEVEL

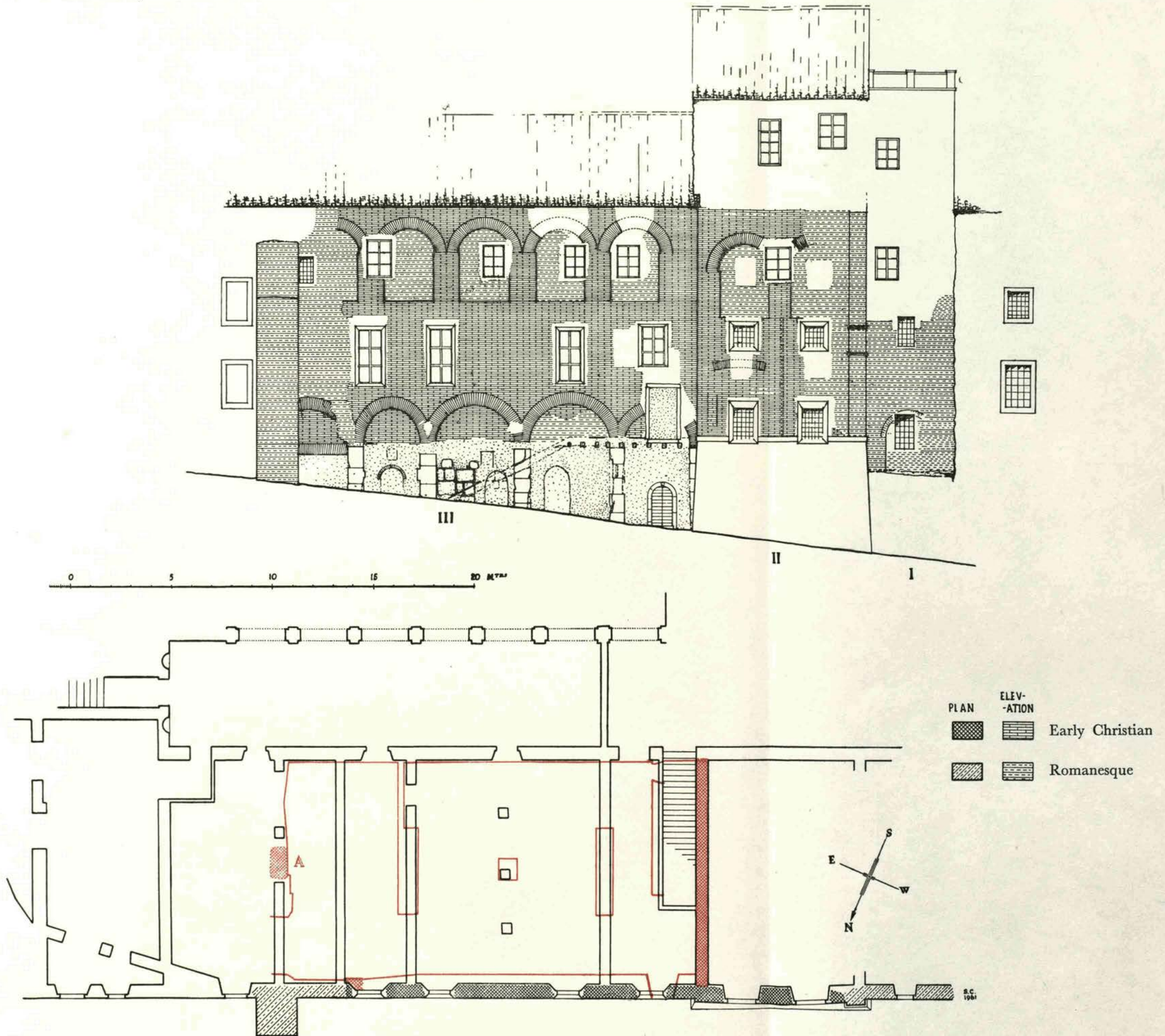


- Early Christian walls, plan and section
- ▨ Early Christian walls, elevation
- ▩ Romanesque walls, plan and section
- ▧ Romanesque walls, elevation
- ▤ Later Romanesque walls

S. LUCIA IN SELCIS

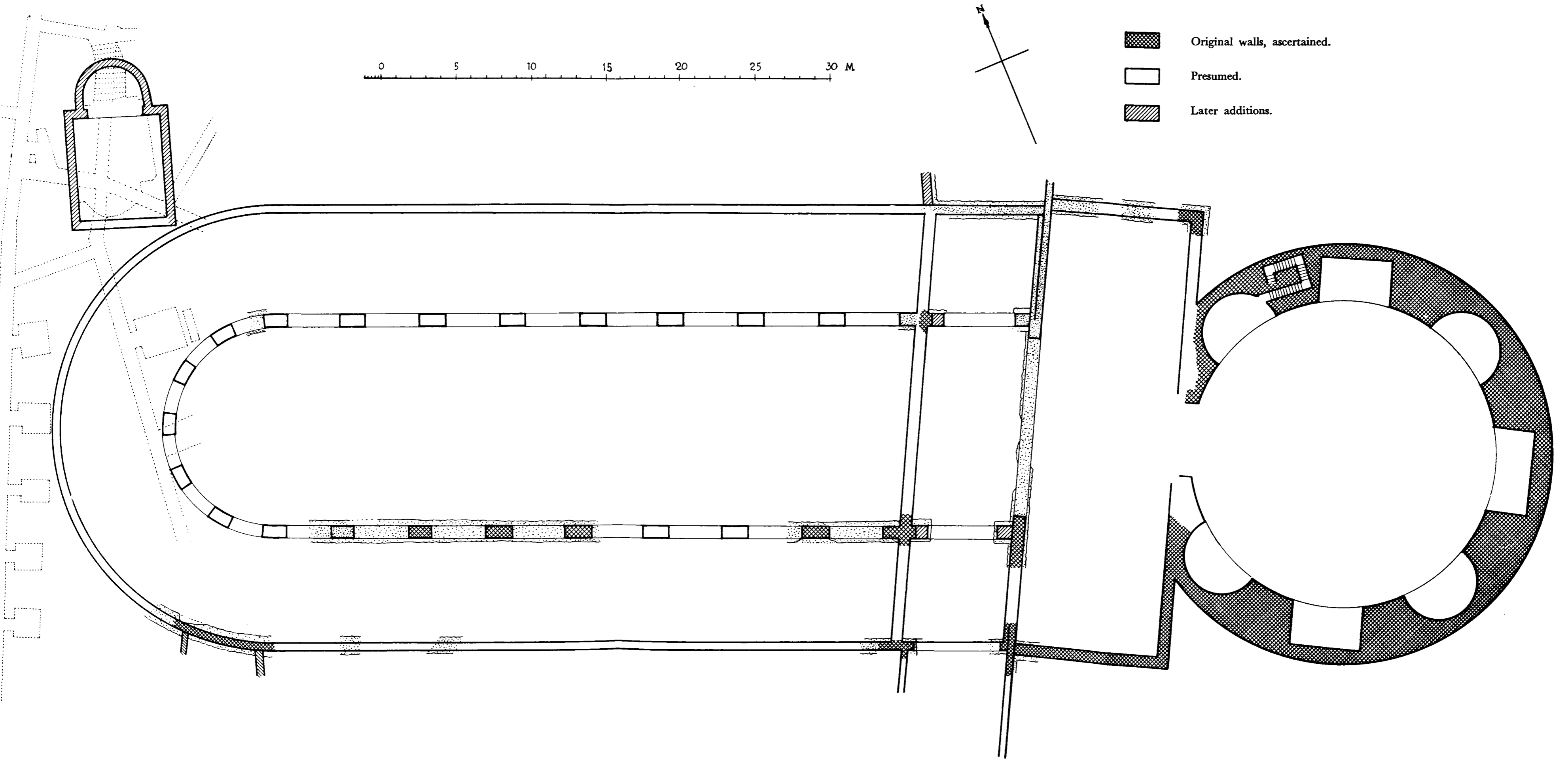
PL. XIV

NORTH ELEVATION, AND PLAN OF THE CONVENT AT SECOND FLOOR LEVEL



Survey W. FRANKL  
Drawing S. CORBETT







Features shown in red are at ground level

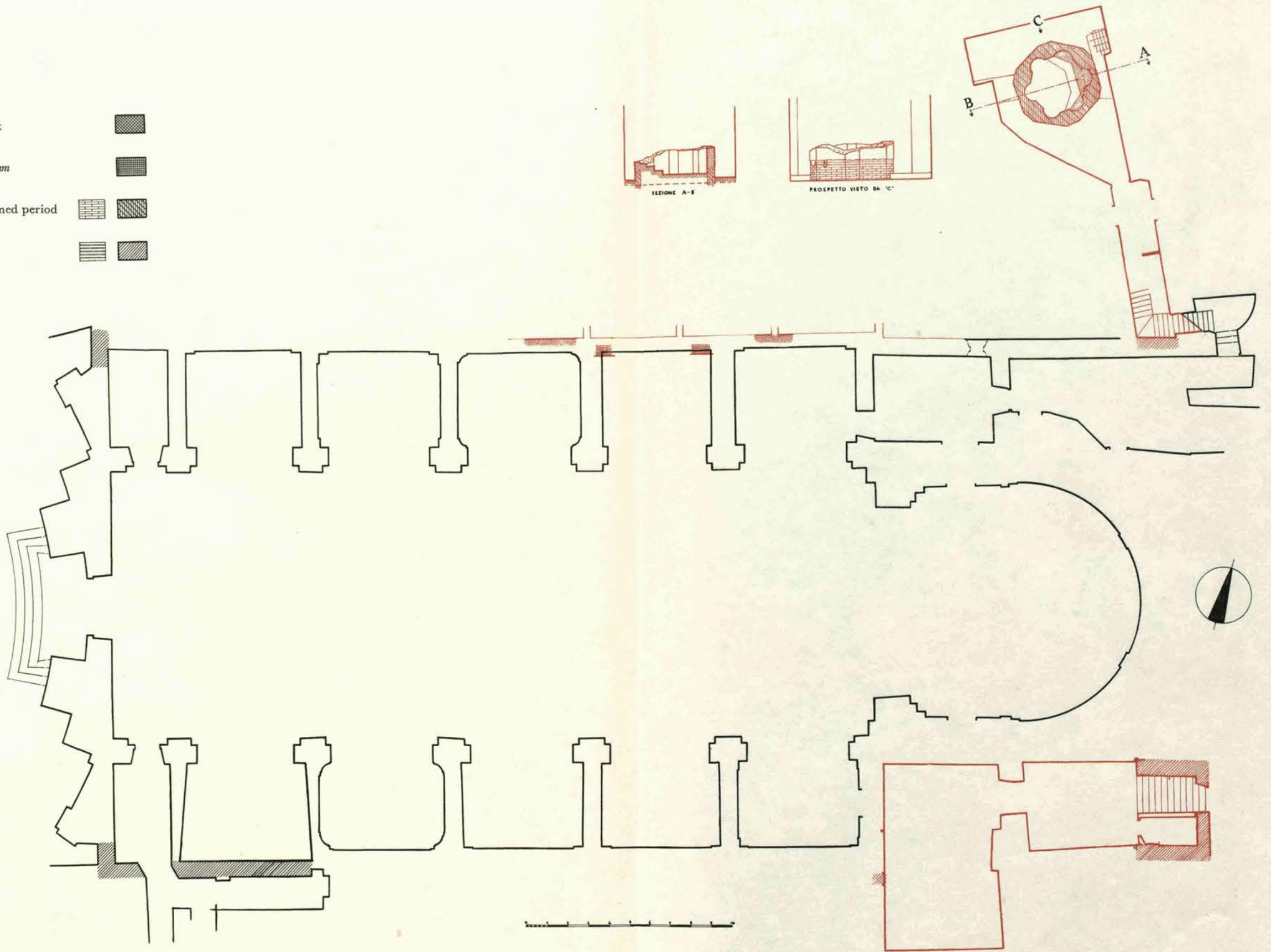


S. MARCELLO AL CORSO

GROUND PLAN, WITH ELEVATIONS OF BAPTISTRY

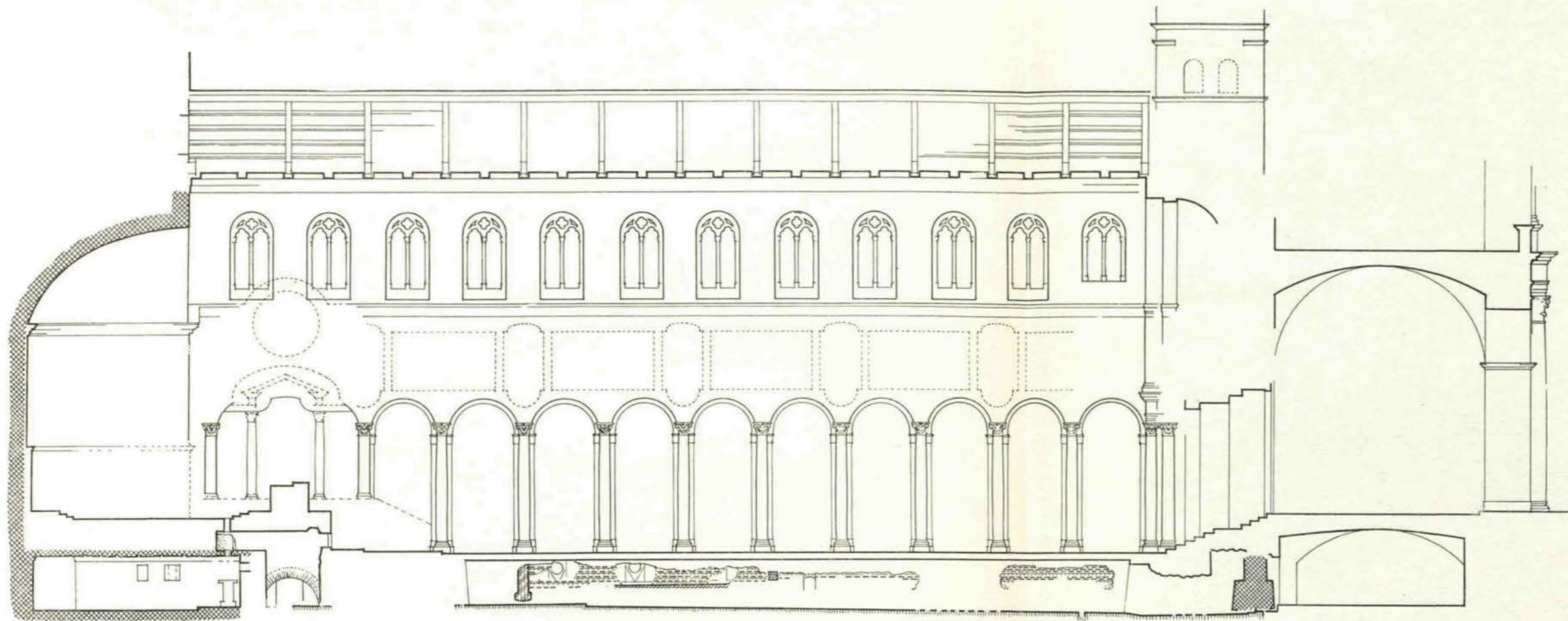
PL. XVI

- Fifth-century brickwork 
- Fifth-century *opus listatum* 
- Brickwork of undetermined period  
- Romanesque  



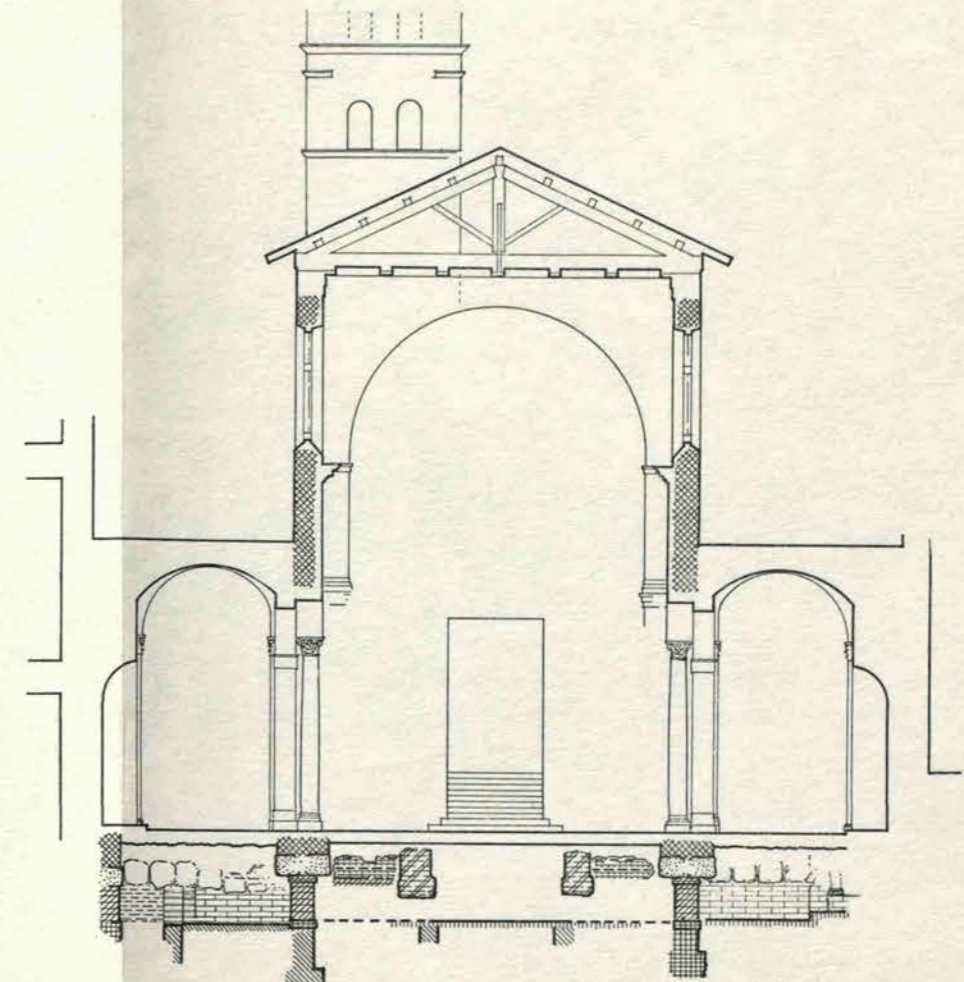
Survey W. FRANKL

Features shown in red are below ground level

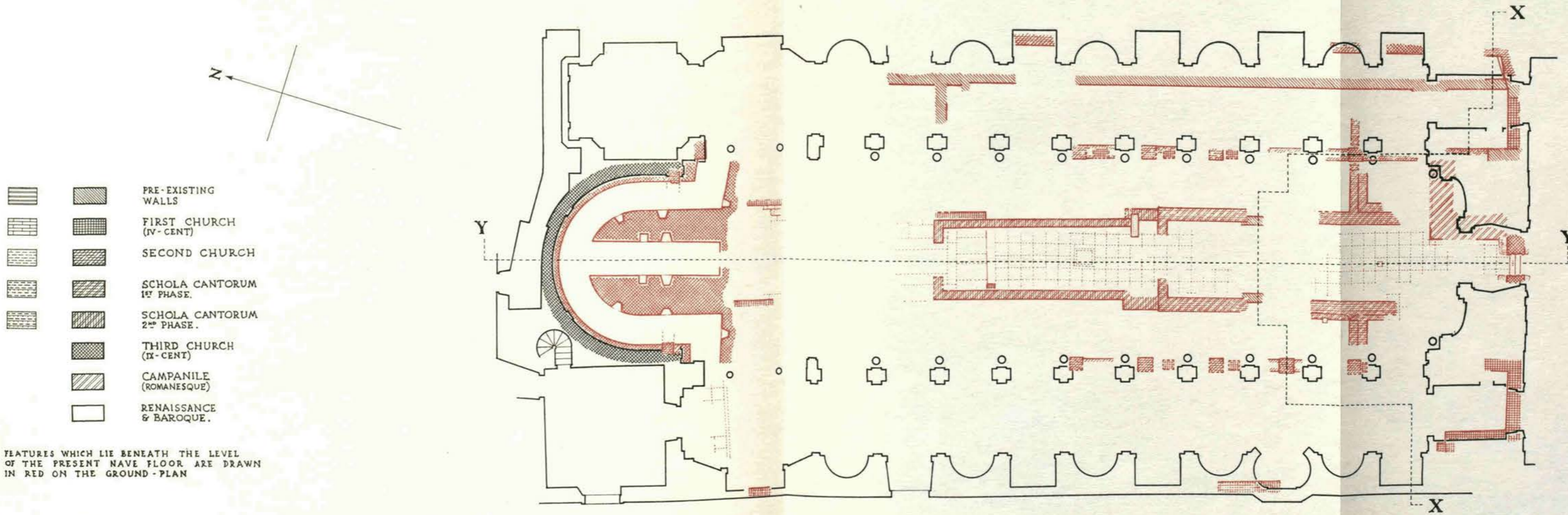










LONG SECTION Y-Y

0 10 20 30 M.

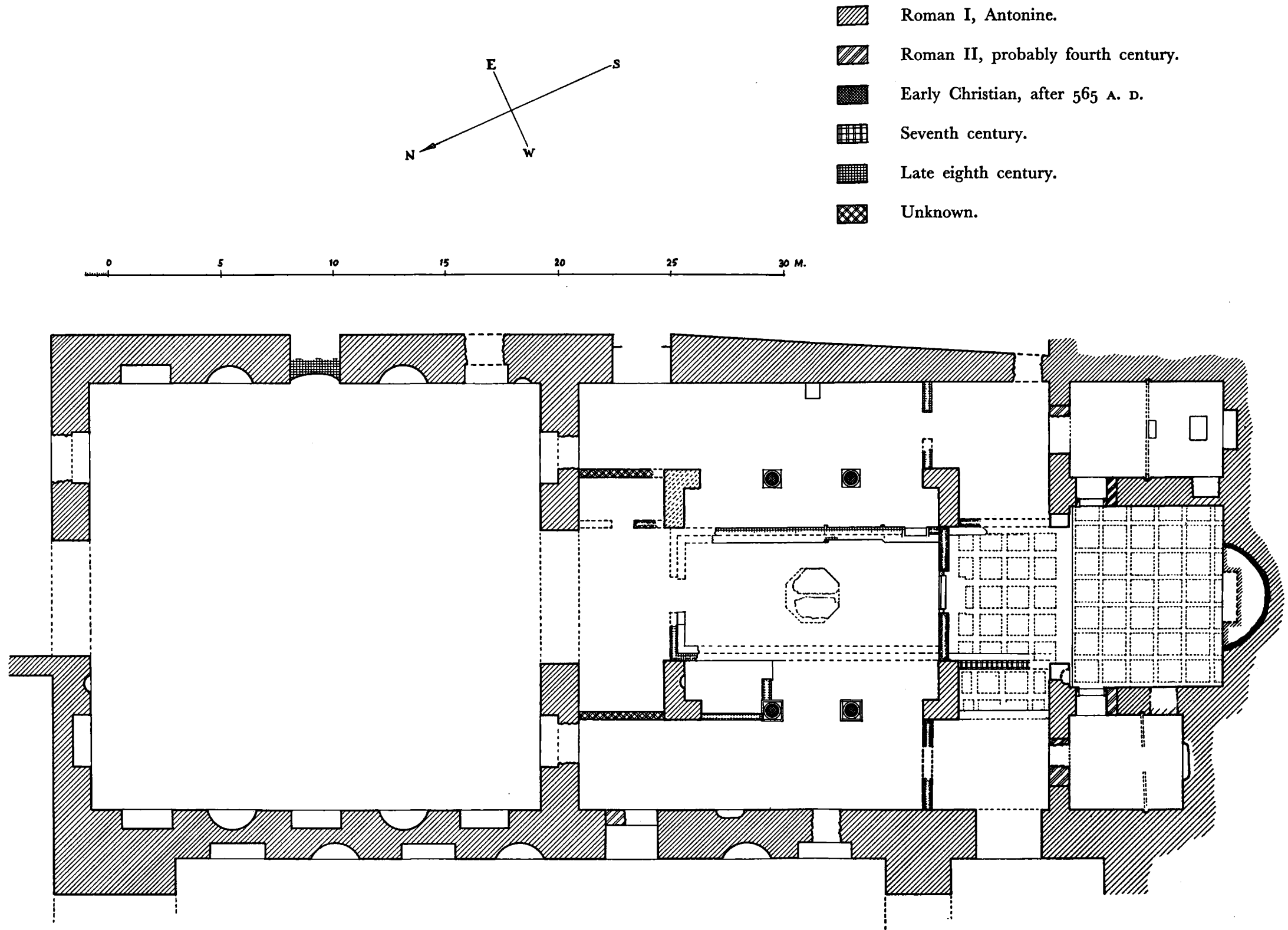


CROSS SECTION X-X



-  PRE-EXISTING WALLS
-  FIRST CHURCH (IV-CENT)
-  SECOND CHURCH
-  SCHOLA CANTORUM 1<sup>ST</sup> PHASE.
-  SCHOLA CANTORUM 2<sup>ND</sup> PHASE.
-  THIRD CHURCH (IX-CENT)
-  CAMPANILE (ROMANESQUE)
-  RENAISSANCE & BAROQUE.

FEATURES WHICH LIE BENEATH THE LEVEL OF THE PRESENT NAVE FLOOR ARE DRAWN IN RED ON THE GROUND-PLAN

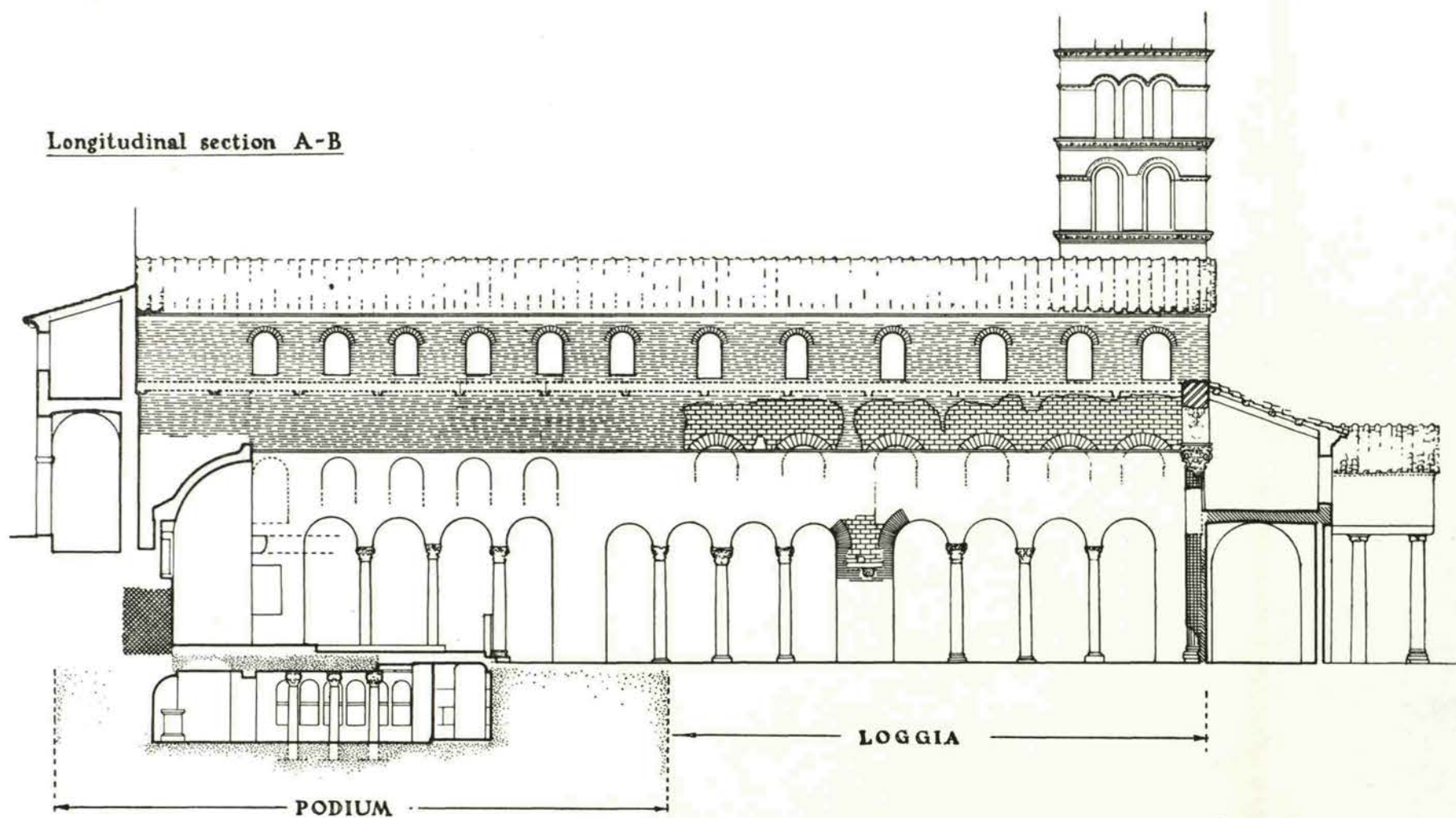




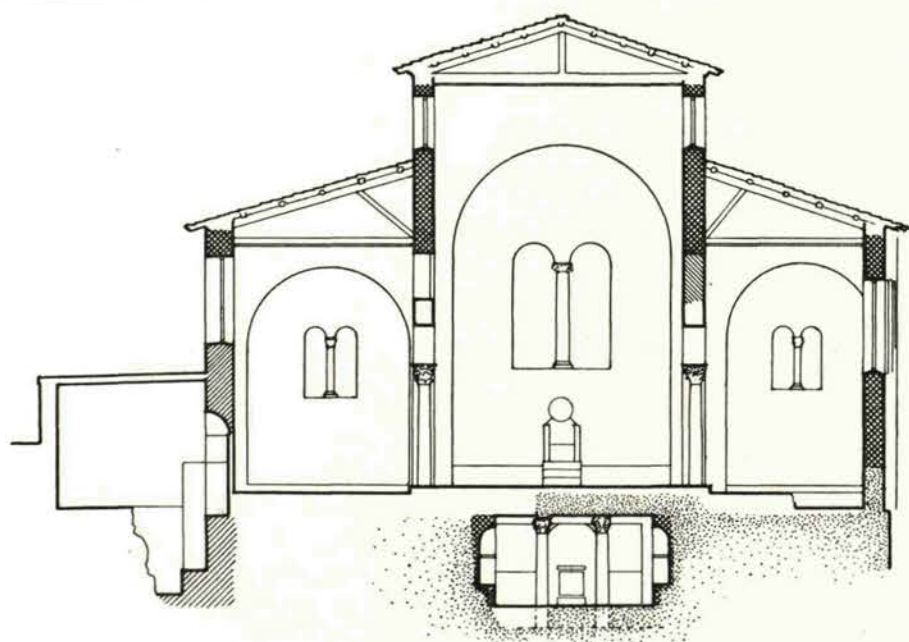
RVDERI · DEI · PAL<sup>ZI</sup> · IMP<sup>ALI</sup>  
E DI · S<sup>TA</sup> · MARIA · ANTIQVA  
TORNATI · A · LVCE  
L' ANNO · MDCCCC



Longitudinal section A-B

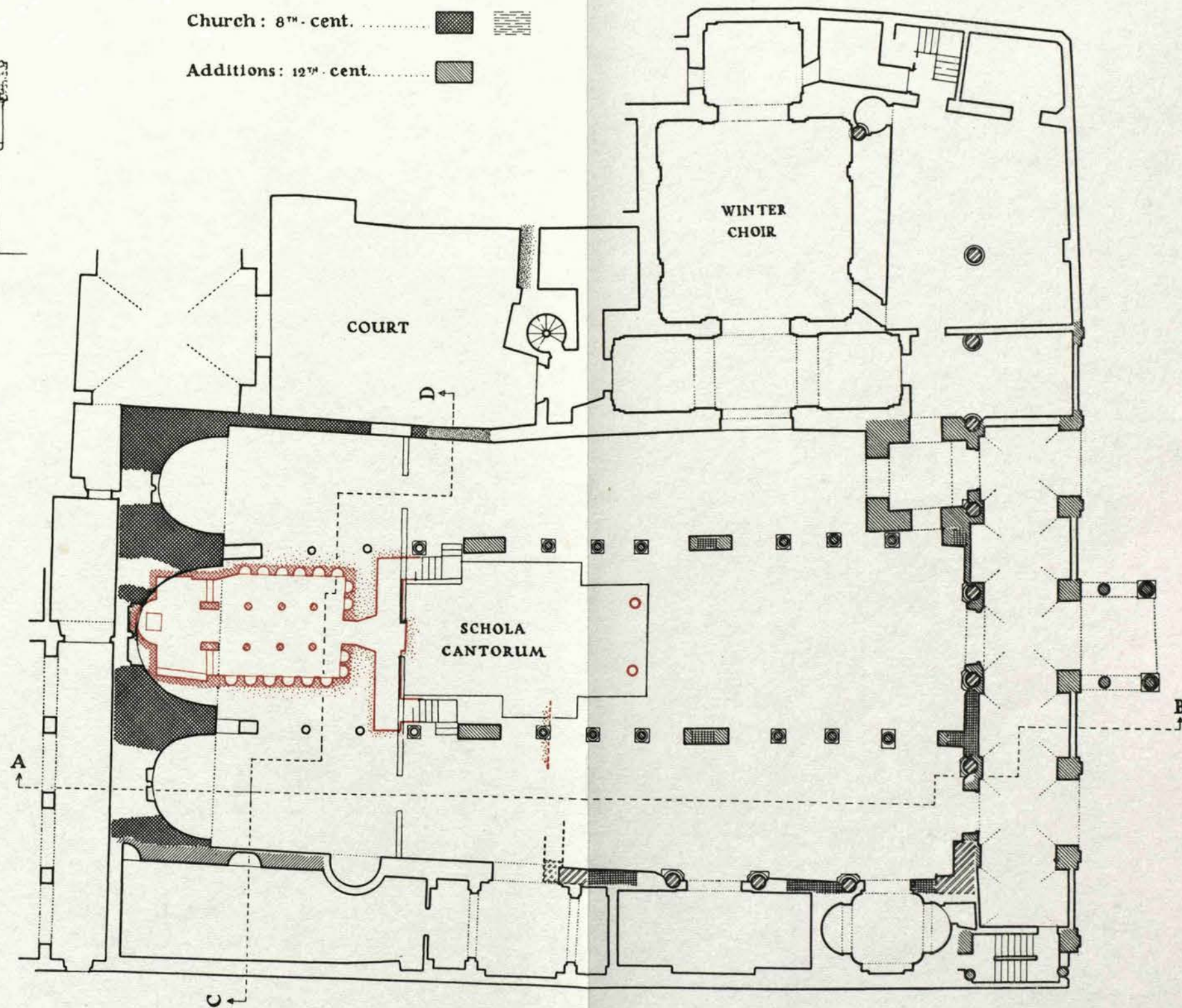


Cross section C-D.



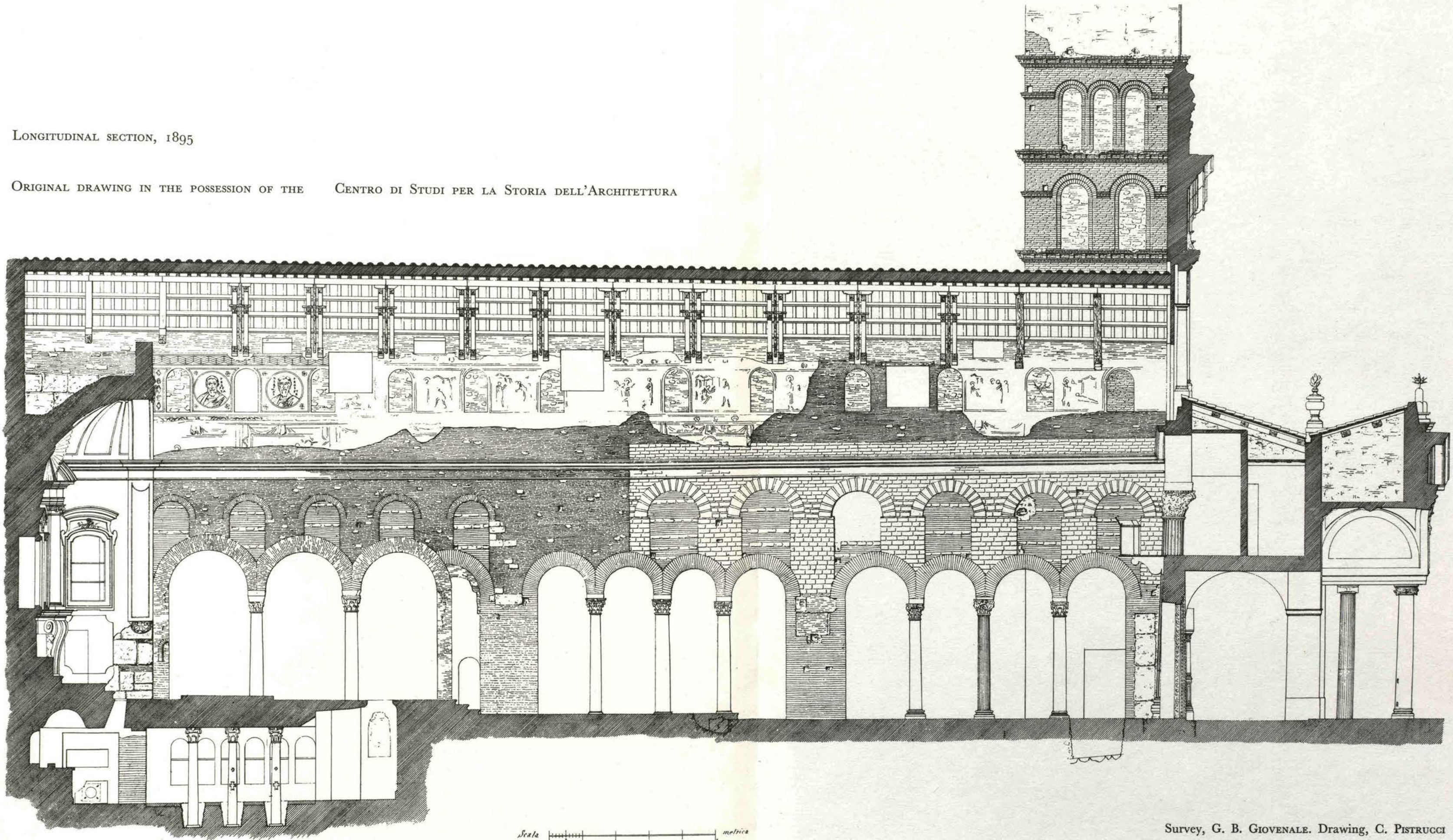
Features drawn in red on the plan are below ground level.

- Podium : 1<sup>st</sup> - cent. ....
- Loggia : 4<sup>th</sup> - cent. ....
- Wall with niches : 4<sup>th</sup> - cent ?
- Diaconia : 6<sup>th</sup> - cent ?
- Church : 8<sup>th</sup> - cent. ....
- Additions : 12<sup>th</sup> - cent. ....

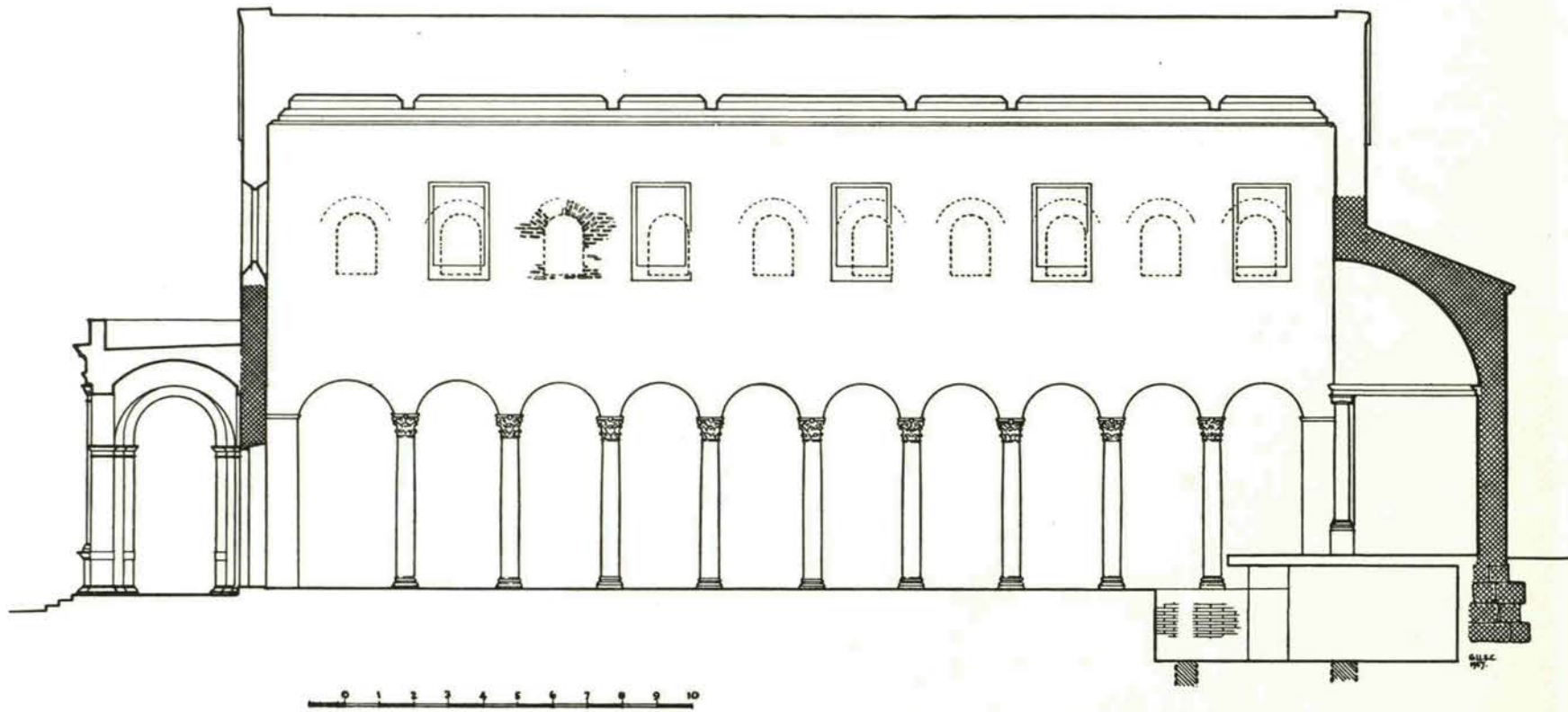


LONGITUDINAL SECTION, 1895

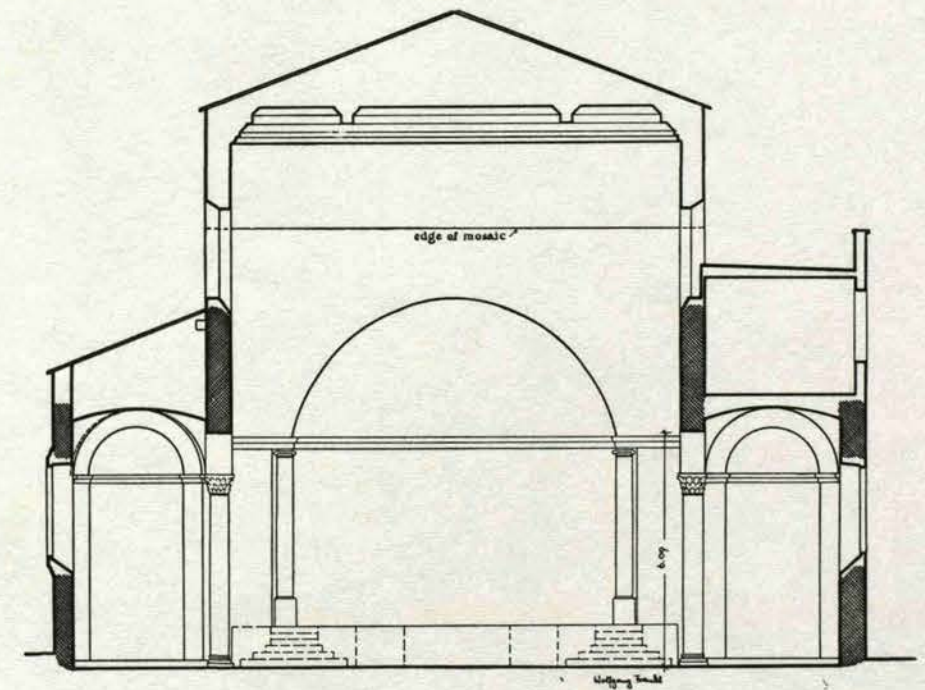
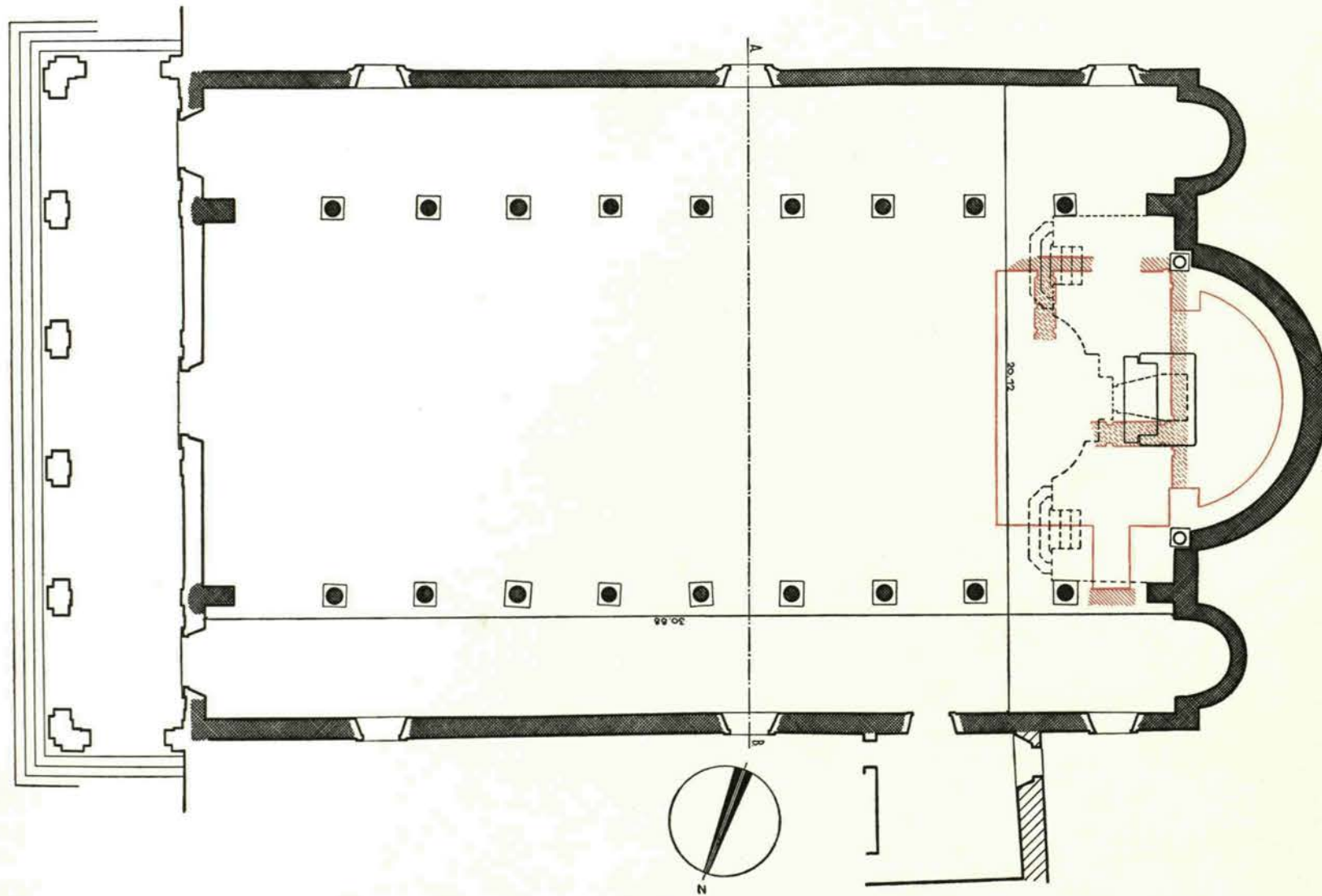
ORIGINAL DRAWING IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CENTRO DI STUDI PER LA STORIA DELL'ARCHITETTURA









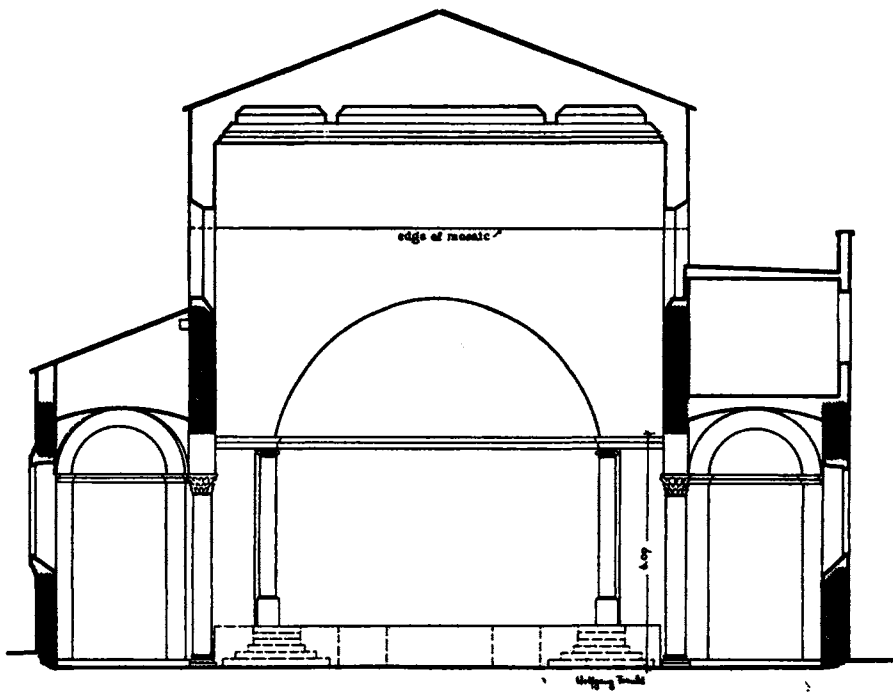
Survey, G. B. GIOVENALE. Drawing, C. PISTRUCCI



Section	Elevation
	Roman
	Carolingian (817-824)
	Medieval.
	Now destroyed



<u>Section</u>	<u>Elevation</u>
	 Roman
	 Carolingian (817 - 824)
	Medieval.
	Now destroyed



Survey and drawing, W. FRANKL, S. CORBETT